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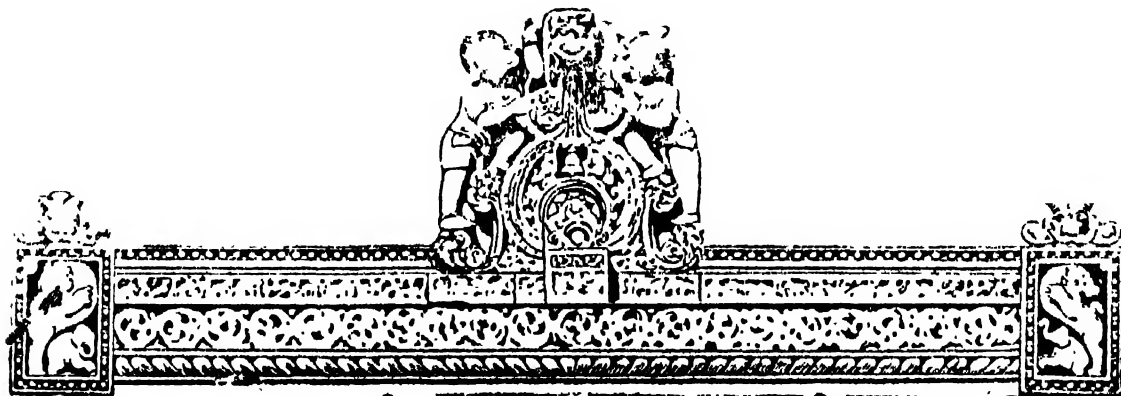
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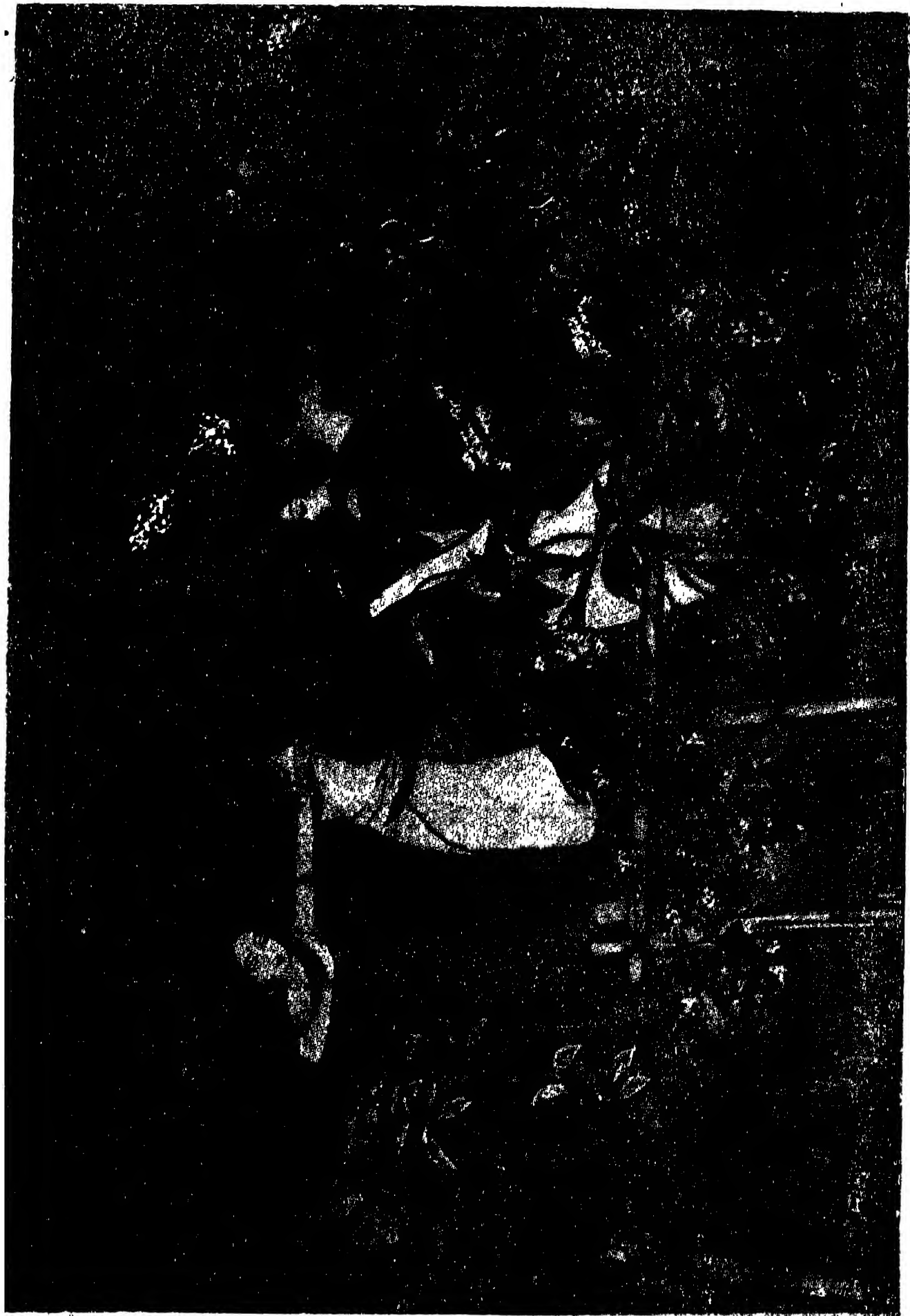
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In quest of work
Photo by Sunil Das



An Adibasi mother
Photo by Sunil Das



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NOTES

New Year Prospects

The Old Year is out and the New Year is in. We take this opportunity to wish all our friends, associates and readers a happy and prosperous New Year. We would further ask them to join with us in hoping and wishing a dawn of common sense and awakening to the stark realities of the problems that beset us from all sides, to all those whom we have put in power and office. In particular we wish a long life full of achievements to Pandit Nehru, who is the sole hope of the people, and we hope he will realise within this year that he is not the Prime Minister of the whole world, but of a divided India, whose suffering public has been let down by his Cabinet all along this decade.

It might be asked as to why we end our New Year greetings on a cynical note. It is because we find that almost all the problems of 1957 have reached out into 1958, without any lessening of tension and stress and without any signs that those who are in power are actively attempting to tackle them. We know that all of them are inexperienced and that some of them are arrogant to boot, but we had hoped that they would at least comprehend the nature and extent of the distress of the people.

Our Constitution is an admirable one. It should be inscribed in letters of gold, on real parchment, put in a golden casket, adorned with the nine precious stones, locked up as a museum piece—and a new one drawn up. It has made the life of the law-abiding common citizen one long journey into inferno, it has provided the law-breaker with all the safe-guards and escape-holes he could ever dream of, and put the bureaucracy on a higher pedestal than it ever had. As a result the public utility services are

all running down-hill, without any possibility of any brakes being applied and corruption and immorality is rife, even in high places.

The Constitution was drawn up by eminent people, who were well-versed in law but had no understanding whatsoever of the nature of problems, arising out of human psychology.

Man is an animal with primitive passions, lusts and cravings, which can only be regulated by social laws and regulations. Those laws and regulations, particularly those that define crime and the punishment thereof, have to have teeth and claws, or else they can never be deterrent, where the reckless and the venturesome are concerned. And if the Social Laws become ineffective, the Law of the Jungle is bound to prevail, as it is doing today all over India. This eventuality was evidently beyond the conception of the enthusiasts who drew up the Constitution or of the motley crowd that formed the Constituent Assembly.

Take for example, the Rashtrabhasha. Hindi is to be our official language, as laid down in our Constitution. What Hindi? Avadhi of Tulsidas, Brij Bhasa of the Vaishnav poets, Khari-boli of the north-west U.P., Hindustani of the common gentry, Maithili of Vidyapati—which is akin to Bengali—or the hotchpotch of the *Kanth-langoti* type? There is no definition!

And what about the Equal Rights of all citizens of India? There are words in Hindi that are obscene expressions in other Indian National languages, are they to be retained in the official terminology? What about the grammar and idiom, which is a queer mixture of several contradictory racial groups of basic languages? Have not the non-Hindi-speaking peoples, who are the majority in India, any say in the matter? There seems to be no answer.

A Critique of Achievements

The Prime Minister of India's address at the Associated Chamber of Commerce makes an attempt to review the achievements India has made during the past decade. He admits that the problems that face the country are tremendous and whatever have been done are very small compared with what would have to be done. He makes the observation that in India today, one of the most popular pastimes is to criticize the Government and to condemn its activities as if nothing has happened since independence. He states that an expert on administration who had visited India two or three years ago and critically examined the developments in this country thought that the most surprising thing about India was that the people seemed to be unaware of the country's tremendous achievements. But the people of this country may pertinently ask what are actually the "tremendous achievements." What is the standard of evaluation for judging whether the achievements are tremendous or not?

Pandit Nehru himself states that Mahatma Gandhi used to say that whenever a problem arose efforts should be made to judge the effect of it on the poorest people. This was the criterion which India had placed before it in formulating its social objectives. By this standard certainly India has not achieved anything memorable since the attainment of independence. If the poorest man in the country is asked about his reaction to the so-called achievements of the country, he will sharply retort that he does not feel at all whether the country is independent or the Britishers still rule the country. The criterion of achievements must necessarily be the welfare of the people, the material and social welfare, and not merely the spiritual. The poorer section of the people in the country still wallow in poverty and ignorance and disease and dirt. The light of freedom has neither enlightened their hearths and homes nor their minds. The poorest people are still the victims of drought and flood and epidemics. The poverty and the unemployment problems of the poor in this country remain unchanged, even though the first Five-Year Plan came and went and Second Five-Year Plan has come and is going. Today almost every home is faced with unemployment and poverty and the material achievements of a country cannot be measured in terms of a

Sindri or a Chittaranjan nor can it be measured in terms of spending huge sums of money, part of which is either unproductive or misappropriated.

We do not deny that there have been some achievements in the post-independence era. But this achievement does not benefit the poorest people in the country, it benefits the few privileged. The poor in this country still sits in the lowest rung of the ladder of achievements. That is why he is not much interested in the affairs of the State nor is there any incentive for him to keep himself informed about the developments in this country.

Pandit Nehru then passes on to a reference to Socialism. He says that it is a very wide term and has not been very precisely defined. Even Communists say that they want socialism. For some people Communism is a gospel and for others it is a bogey. He says that it is neither a gospel nor a bogey for India, which does not belong to any of these categories. That is why India is called an unaligned country. But that is not exactly the position. In the international power politics, India is much maligned because she thinks that she is unaligned. She is believed really by neither of these camps. The Communists think that India is on the side of the Capitalists. That is not wholly unjustified. India is still in the Commonwealth and she indirectly allows the growth of private capital in the country and she goes to Capitalist countries for loans.

The Capitalist countries on the other hand do not believe India. That is why foreign capital as is desired by India is not forthcoming.

They are apprehensive of India's policy of socialism. They find that in international politics India is more aligned with the Soviet block than with the other side. India sacrificed Tibet at the scaffold of China's imperialist policy. Today Tibet is virtually a province of China which she never was until China grabbed this independent country. When China attacked Tibet, Pandit Nehru said, "They (that is, China) are saying that they are liberating the country. But I do not know from whom." Today Nepal is a hot-bed of Communist infiltration and on account of India's namby-pamby policy, anti-Indian outlook is fast developing in that country. But Nepal is strategically of great importance to India because Nepal fortifies the

• northern frontiers. India's foreign policy lacks any shape and the result is that she is believed by neither of these contending Powers.

• As regards socialism, Pandit Nehru says that there are many forms of socialism. He is not going to define it nor is he tied by any particular definition of it. He wants everyone in India to have equal opportunities for progress and then to raise the level of progress. The concept of socialism has been so fluid that India is moving away and away from this philosophy of economic structure. There is much advantage in not defining a thing and this is done by an opportunist who twists things according to his advantage to suit the situation. Does it indicate that the staunch socialist of yesterday is fast becoming the hard-boiled capitalist of to-morrow? Sriman Narayan, the General Secretary of the Congress, in his pamphlet, "A Plea for Ideological Clarity," observes: "But the fact remains that the greatest factor which is at the root of our weakness is the lack of ideological clarity." . . . "Even the Avadi resolution on Socialist Pattern of Society is gradually losing its appeal for want of clarity and effective implementation." Sriman Narayan concludes by saying: "While we do not desire to create hatred and bitterness towards the privileged sections of the society, the Congress can no longer afford to try to satisfy all interests at the same time. In our attempt to please every one, we are likely to displease everybody." The Indian National Congress is definitely moving away from the ideal of socialism and the Avadi resolution remains a mere wishful thinking. The recently-formed Socialist Forum within the Congress reveals that a feeling is growing among an influential section within the Congress that an ever-yawning gap stands between the idea of socialism and its realization. Socialism does not necessarily mean violence and socialism can also be achieved nowadays by peaceful means through legislation. Whatever may be the meaning of socialism, one thing is certain about it and it is that socialism involves the State ownership of key and large-scale industries and it also brings about a leveling of the economic classes. Pandit Nehru's emphasis is not on economic classes but on castes and this surely is a diversion of attention from the key point to the subsidiary point and in other words this is just an evasion of the issue. In

India we find today that the concentration of capital is on the increase, notwithstanding the "severe" taxation measures. The trouble with the Congress in implementing the socialism in practice is that it is infested with old die-hards who always have a tendency to look askance at socialism which is just Greek to them. They neither know what is socialism nor do they believe in it. Congress today, that is, the ruling party, is the den of vested interests to whom socialism would mean ringing in a deathknell. The result is that Pandit Nehru's lone voice preaching socialism remains a cry in the wilderness being a mere pious wish.

Must India Devalue her Rupee?

Presiding over the 40th annual session of the all-India Economic Conference which was held recently at Nagpur, Prof. B. R. Shenoy suggested devaluation of the rupee and a deflation of the Plan targets to match the available resources as the main solutions for monetary and economic stabilisation in the country. He said that the three factors which necessitated devaluation of the rupee were: Indian exports today are below the pre-war level notwithstanding an increase of 85 per cent in industrial production and of 30 per cent in agricultural production; the vast gap between the internal and external prices of gold; and the gap between the landed costs and market prices of imported goods for which free internal market existed. Prof. Shenoy said that this gap between the prices of gold and between the landed cost and market prices of imported goods could not be covered except through devaluation and cessation of further inflation.

We confess we fail to understand how the devaluation of the rupee will reduce the gap between the internal and external prices of gold in the country. Even before the devaluation of rupee in 1949, there was this abnormal gap between the external and internal prices of gold. Under the IMF price fixation of gold, the price of a tola of gold before devaluation was Rs. 45 only. But at that price gold was never available in India during and after the war, although India has been a member of the IMF ever since 1954. After devaluation, the price of a tola of gold should not exceed Rs. 62; but still at that price gold has not been available in this country. It is really a puzzle how

devaluation of the rupee will bring equilibrium between the external and the internal prices of gold. Gold is sold in this country at a profiteering price with the very knowledge, if not the connivance, of the authorities. India produces nearly 5 million ounces of gold a year. Her annual requirements stand at about 12 million ounces. The balance quantity is smuggled into India which is regarded as the paradise for gold smuggling. India is the traditional "sink" of the yellow metal. Since the beginning of the second world war, the import of gold has been strictly prohibited in India. But it is an open secret that a large quantity of gold is smuggled into the country. Of all the persons and the institutions that benefit on account of this high price of gold in India is the Bombay Bullion Exchange, a private concern and also other bullion dealers in the country. By prohibiting the import of gold, the Government of India has been patronizing these handful of persons who make huge profits on account of the short supply of this metal in this country.

Suggestions were made that as India is losing customs duty as well as valuable foreign exchanges on account of the clandestine import of gold into India, it is better that India should allow import of gold against sterling and that would yield a high import duty to the Government. This open import would have also forced down the prices and profiteering would have been controlled. But the authorities turned a deaf ear to this suggestion. Alternatively it was also suggested that in order to meet the shortage in foreign exchange the Reserve Bank of India should purchase gold and jewellery from the people either against cash or against long-dated bonds. But this suggestion has also gone unheeded. Therefore devaluation is no remedy to bring down the price disparities in gold. If the cost of gold production is high in this country, the Government should give subsidy to the Mysore Government so that gold can be sold in the internal market of India at a price not exceeding the price as fixed by the International Monetary Fund (that is, Rs. 62 a tola).

Devaluation is not in any way a panacea for the economic ills of a country. The IMF has also deprecated that devaluation cannot cure the deficit in a country's balance of payments

position. The main proof is that neither India nor the United Kingdom has been able to stop the persistent deficits in their balance of payments position. The devaluation in 1949 has not in any way helped India, rather it has done harm to our foreign trade. From 1949, India has been running adverse trade balances, with the solitary exception of 1950, when the balance of trade was in favour of India on account of stockpiling purchases by the USA and other countries apprehending the outbreak of the third world war following the declaration of war in Korea. But since then India's balance of payments position has been adverse. From 1951 to 1956, the total adverse balance of payments for India was as high as Rs. 802 crores.

The very suggestion of devaluation of the currency should be regarded as mischievous, no matter from whatever source does it come. When a country imports more, the devaluation would bring about an adverse trade position. India today is heavily importing capital goods as well as foodgrains, particularly from the USA, a dollar area. As a result of the last devaluation India today is made to pay 44 per cent more on these imports of capital goods and foodgrains. That have resulted in turn in higher cost of production and also higher prices. The export of prices of Indian goods since devaluation, contrary to expectation, have gone up by about 20 per cent. Devaluation raises the cost of imported goods and also the cost of living and the internal price level as a whole. The rising internal price level ultimately influences the external price level, that is the prices of exportable commodities. One of the major causes of India's adverse trade balance today is the devaluation of 1949. Professor Shenoy has complained that India's exports are now much lower than what they were before devaluation. But the rising prices of goods have brought down the fall in exports. Further, India is to pay at a higher rate for the repatriation of foreign capital and also for the redemption of debt to the IBRD and the IMF. All external payments having to be made in terms of gold or dollar, India is compelled to pay more and receive less in terms of gold. Had there been gold currencies in circulation between the two countries, India could have benefited by devaluation as in that case it would have been cheaper to make purchases from India.

But on account of managed currency and also on account of transacting only through gold bullion, India has lost and stands to lose for devaluation of the rupee.

Professor Shenoy further observes: "Devaluation may not raise the prices of imported goods or of gold. Its incidence would be on the price differential and therefore, on the abnormal profit margins of the importers and of the gold smugglers." But devaluation inevitably will raise the cost of imported goods and actually it has raised such prices. It is elementary arithmetic to say that if a country is required to pay more on its imports, prices will certainly rise. Gold smuggling is an illegal affair and devaluation of the currency will have little effect on its price, rather much more foreign exchanges of India will be smuggled out of the country.

He has further suggested that "the test of economic statesmanship is, on the one hand, resisting the temptation to invest beyond the savings which the public are willing and able to produce and, on the other, to limit the haste of an impatient democracy for the much-needed social legislation to what the pace of expansion of output would permit without jeopardising the pace of capital formation." The test as laid down by the above suggestion is vague and incapable of tangible measurement. The ability and willingness of the people cannot be a standard for investment, particularly in a planned economy. In a planned economy having a socialistic pattern of economy, savings are created on a national basis by taxation, by borrowing and also by deficit financing. Therefore, the willingness or the ability of the people to save cannot be viewed as an isolated phenomenon; it is inter-connected and dependent on various factors. The agency for mobilising the savings of the nation is Government and it is for the Government to turn private savings into social savings by withdrawing surplus income of the people by taxation or by borrowing. The people's willingness to save and ability to save are therefore not independent factors for determining the basis of the planned economy. Had it been the case, no planned economy could be possible, particularly in a country where private enterprise still plays a predominant part. In a backward country like that of ours, there cannot be over-investment at a level of annual expenditure

at Rs. 1000 crores. It is rather too low. The post-war Germany has spent about 2 billion dollars within four to five years. Russia has spent much more on her economic plans than what is being spent by India on her plans. The shortage of foreign exchange is to be attributed to various other factors, and not to the alleged over-investment. It is on account of the inherent difficulty in planning in a democracy where private enterprises, like commercial banks do not co-operate with the authorities. The present shortage of foreign exchange is to a considerable extent due to the leakage of India's export earnings.

The present debacle in planning the economy in India is not on account of the shortage of internal savings or external assistance. India has received enough of these two kinds of funds. The defect lies fundamentally with the concept of planning, in not pursuing large-scale industrialisation on a more progressive basis.

Developments on Kashmir

The latest Security Council move on Kashmir by adopting a resolution to send Graham to the subcontinent of India to mediate over the 10-year old dispute indicates that the Anglo-American Power block is not in a mood to give up their game of using the Kashmir issue as a weapon in cold war. The first resolution on Graham mission was vetoed by Soviet Russia as it contained a clause authorising Dr. Graham to look into the progress of demilitarization on either side in the dispute. The second resolution has subsequently been adopted on omitting the clause on demilitarization. But in view of Jarring Report on Kashmir, the resolution on Graham Mission is quite uncalled for, because the points raised by India to Mr. Jarring had not been decided over by the Security Council. India has declared that Pakistan has committed an act of aggression on India by invading her territory. Pakistan has not been asked by the Security Council to vacate this aggression. The issue on this point is very simple. India came to the Security Council in order to get redress of her complaint that Pakistan must withdraw from the occupied parts of Jammu and Kashmir which were forcibly taken over by Pakistan. But the Security Council did not ask Pakistan to do that. Instead it placed the

aggressor (Pakistan) and the invaded country on the same footing.

India has declared several times that she is bound only by the Security Council resolution of August 13, 1948. This resolution consists of two main parts. Part I provided for a simultaneous cease-fire order in both parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the date to be agreed-upon within four days. Both countries were called upon to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of their forces, including "organized and unorganized" elements. Other paragraphs dealt with military observers and liaison, and obligated India and Pakistan to "appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiation."

Part II of this resolution dealt with truce agreement. Pakistan was to withdraw its troops from Jammu and Kashmir and use "its best endeavour" to secure withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident in the State who had entered for the purpose of fighting. The evacuated territory was to be administered by local authorities under the surveillance of the United Nations Commission. When Pakistan forces and tribesmen had been withdrawn, India was to begin the withdrawal of the bulk of its forces in stages to be agreed upon by the Commission. Pending a final settlement India was to maintain on her side of the cease-fire line such forces as the Commission agreed were necessary "to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order."

Part III of the August 13 resolution consisted of a reaffirmation by both Governments of their wish "that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured."

The Government of India pointed out to Mr. Jarring that Pakistan had not performed her part of the obligation as laid down in the resolution of August 13, 1948. Mr. Jarring reported to the Security Council, "The Government of India laid particular emphasis on the fact that, in their view, two factors stood in the

way of the implementation of the two UNCIP resolutions. The first of these was that Part I of the resolution of 13 August 1948 . . . had in their view, not been implemented by the Government of Pakistan." Particularly India felt that Pakistan had not refrained from taking measures that might augment its military potential in Kashmir, and had not co-operated in "creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations." India also felt aggrieved, Mr. Jarring reported, that the Security Council had so far not expressed itself on the question of what in their view was aggression committed by Pakistan on India. The Government of India feel that it is incumbent on the Security Council "to express itself on this question," and equally incumbent on Pakistan to vacate the aggression. The Indian Government maintain that these matters must precede execution of Indian commitments.

Mr. Jarring declared in his report that he "could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia." He warned that the implementation of international agreements on an *ad hoc* character may become progressively more difficult, if not achieved quickly, "because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change." What Mr. Jarring meant by "changed factors" was not clear. Evidently he meant ratification of Kashmir's accession to India on January 26 of this year and also the arms pact between the USA and Pakistan and the consequential U.S. military aid to Pakistan. But during the August session of the Security Council, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon was allowed to interpret Mr. Jarring's report to the effect that the changed factors in his report referred only to the ratification of Kashmir's accession. India objected to this procedure in allowing Pakistan to interpret the report to her advantage. Mr. Jarring, when asked to explain the report, refused to be drawn into controversy at that stage. India pointed out that conditions in regard to Kashmir had changed a great deal since the Council was first seized of the Kashmir question. India emphasized that the changed circumstances were on account of the U.S.

military aid to Pakistan and also Pakistan's not implementing the UNCIP resolution of August 13 by vacating aggression in Kashmir as was laid down by that resolution. India's viewpoint is that the accession of Kashmir has not been questioned by the Security Council ever. Kashmir is an established part of India, and that the adoption of a constitution by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in November 1956 was not an innovating step, but an act growing out of an established accession to India. The requirements of a plebiscite have been satisfied by this act of ratification by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly as a plebiscite is nothing but an expression of the will of the people through their chosen representatives.

In the Security Council there was a suggestion to refer the Kashmir dispute to arbitration. But India refused to accept the arbitration. India declares that although she is not against the principle of arbitration in other situations, the particular issues at stake here are not suitable for arbitration "because such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of India in respect of this territory." Further, India is apprehensive that arbitration even on an isolated part of the resolutions of the UNCIP might be interpreted as indicating that Pakistan has a *locus standi* (right to be heard) in the Kashmir question because Pakistan is an aggressor. The Graham Mission which has been accepted by the Security Council in its December session is another attempt on the part of the Anglo-American Power block to reject India's claim that Pakistan should vacate the aggression first. This is not only an evasion of the issue, but is practically an act of support to Pakistan in her invasion of the Indian territory. But the question is why Pakistan is being supported in her forcible occupation of the Indian territory? The answer is simple. In Gilgit the USA has been allowed to build military bases and it is not so much the interest of Pakistan as that of the USA in not vacating the Pakistani aggression from Kashmir.

The Kashmir issue is being used by the Anglo-American block on putting pressure on the political integrity and stability of India. The main object behind the creation of Pakistan was to build a powerful ally that would support both the USA and the U.K. in their oil monopolies

in the Middle East. But that hope has been belied and Pakistan today is the victim of her own internal strifes. Mr. R. H. Shackford, an American journalist, made the following observations about Pakistan in May, 1957: "This country is in danger of slowly starving to death—in fact it would be starving and totally bankrupt if it were not for American aid. To read the newspapers and listen to Government officials here one would think that Kashmir and the feud with India were Pakistan's only problems."

Caste Riots in the South

Recently we had an occasion to refer to the unfortunate events in the Ramanathapuram districts in Madras. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report on these deplorable incidents says that in so far as burning of houses was concerned the Scheduled Castes had suffered most and had lost 3,000 houses. They were, the Commissioner says, "certainly weaker and terribly afraid" of the other party—the Maravars. The Commissioner reports that the four talukas affected by the riots were very backward and under-developed.

There was some excitement in the Lok Sabha on December 18 when Shri B. N. Datar, Minister of State for Home Affairs, on behalf of the Government initially refused to place before the House the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes claiming that it was privileged document. Some scheduled caste members of the House, however, pressed for its presentation and the Speaker Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar rejected Shri Datar's contention that the Report was a privileged document and asked him to place on the table of the House such portions of the Report on the Ramanathapuram riots as did not relate to arson, loot, etc.

The full story of the Ramanathapuram outrages would not be known for a long time to come and perhaps need not be known because it is not at all difficult for any Indian to make out a picture very much approximate to what had actually happened. However, the Government's reticence in taking people, nay even the Lok Sabha, into confidence is inexplicable. And such reticence is by no means restricted to this

isolated incident. Foreign experts often wonder at the paucity of official information on our national undertakings. The tendency to hold back ordinary economic and political information from the people is a dangerous phenomenon and unless eschewed in time may give rise to dictatorial tyranny—the signs of which are already apparent in many of our State-managed undertakings.

Portugal and Rule of Law

Portugal—rather the Government of the dictator, Dr. Oliveira Salazar—has been stubborn in its refusal to see reason over the question of acquiescing in the demand of the people of Goa for independence. The continuation of Portuguese occupation over parts of Indian territory, it should be noted, would have been impossible without the encouragement of some of the leading Western Powers—notably the United States and the United Kingdom. Yet what is the nature of the Salazar Dictatorship? There does not seem to be much awareness even in quarters where there should be such awareness in the full. For example, the New York weekly *New Leader* in a recent issue discussed the internal situation in Portugal but it apparently failed to draw the necessary conclusion. That, perhaps, recounts for the omission of Salazar in the following remark of the weekly: "Some day we will have the kind of world," the *New Leader* writes, "in which the Titos, Kadars and Sukarnos can be dealt with effectively by their own people—a world in which courageous spirits like Djilas, the Dedijers, Nagy, Dery, Hay, Zelk, Tardos and Lubis are freer than the most powerful politician alive." It is really curious how the *New Leader* could overlook the presentation of intellectuals in Portugal.

Be that as it may a recent survey conducted on behalf of the International Commission of jurists—a body whose authority and respectability can hardly be called into question in this context—presents us with a fairly detailed account not only of recent political trials but also of the legal aspects of civil rights in Portugal. We give below a summary of the report as published in the Issue No. 7 of the *Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists*:

"Since 1932 Portugal has been under the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar. There is a 120-member National Assembly with little real powers in so far as the Government is not responsible to the Assembly but to the President, who is supposed to be 'elected' every seven years. Even the Courts have no authority to comment upon the legality or constitutionality of Ordinances promulgated by the President. There was not a single contested election for Presidency. Moreover, candidates cannot contest the Presidential election unless they are approved by the Government. 'Although the National Assembly is elected every four years, for similar reasons there has only been one occasion on which any opposition candidates have stood. No opposition member has ever been elected to the National Assembly'."

About half the people of Portugal itself is disfranchised. Even then the Government does not hesitate to resort to any devices to deprive the opposition of even the slightest chances of success. The manner of holding elections completely violates the requirements of a secret ballot. The Government, moreover, does not allow any representative of the opposition to be present when the votes are counted.

There is virtually no freedom for the Press. As the survey reads: "In practice every newspaper and publication is subject to rigid censorship which excludes practically all criticism of the Government. The newspapers all bear the imprint 'Passed by the Censorship Committee'." No political party, except Dr. Salazar's own party, is recognised. Portugal gained UN membership in 1955 but yet the Government refused to grant permission to the formation of a national United Nations Association to encourage an interest in the work of the United Nations. Even student unions are not allowed to function; strikes and lock-outs are illegal. A worker who strikes may be punished to a term of imprisonment ranging from two to eight years. Trade Unions are regarded as criminal offenders.

The power of the political police is very extensive. Under the various laws many people were arrested by the Political Police and kept in their prisons or deported without trial for periods of years to the Portuguese deportation camps in Timor (East Indies), and in Portuguese Africa, or to the concentration camp of Tarrapal

in the island of Sal in the Cape Verde Archipelago. The police have authority to arrest and detain people without trial even up to six months (whereas before the rule of Dr. Salazar no one could be detained for more than 48 hours without a court's permission); and the police uses these arbitrary powers very frequently. While the Constitution concedes the right of *Habeas Corpus*, it is not granted in practice.

Fifty-two young people were recently tried by the Portuguese Government of whom only three were over thirty. More than half of them were students. They were arrested between January and May 1955 but contrary to Portuguese law which requires trial to be held within one year from the date of arrest, the trial had not begun before December, 1956 and was concluded only in June, 1957. During the trial it was proved beyond doubt that the police had tortured the students in prison. Seventy-two jurists of Lisbon and Oporto requested the Government to institute an enquiry into the conduct of the police. This demand was backed by another thirty-three jurists of Coimbra. How did the Government react? In the words of the *Survey*: "Except that some of the Jurists were threatened with 'security measures' for having signed the request, no action whatever was taken by the Government in the matter."

In another instance Professor Ruy Luis Gomes and four others were tried and convicted for the "crime" of sending an article to the newspapers (the article, it should be noted, was *not published* on account of censorship) in which they advocated for the restoration of free press, free speech and free assembly and for friendly discussions with India over the future of Goa. They were arrested in August 1954, and were duly convicted by the court.

B.B.C. Play Slanders India

Some of the Britishers, it appears, are finding it extremely difficult to reconcile themselves with the norms of civilised conduct—particularly in relation to India. They are even inclined to be oblivious of Indian independence as anecdote described by the President of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of a British firm asking its Indian Branch Manager to contact the Viceroy to get over certain difficulties. Apparently the hack writers of the British and

American Press are so used to slandering India that they find it extremely hard to divest themselves of this habit. Sometimes apologies are made: but apologies do not mean much when the thing goes on recurring. Oftener even such apologies are not also given as in the case of Daniel Bell who justifies his slanderous article about Calcutta on "Sociological" grounds. The news item given below is another example of this jaundiced attitude:

"New Delhi, December 17.—In reply to a question by Shri Maneswar Naik, whether it was a fact that television play produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation contained slanderous features against India and the Indian nation and if so, what action Government had taken in the matter, Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in the Rajya Sabha today:

"The play *Free Passage Home* contained certain objectionable features which were pointed out by our High Commission in London to the British Broadcasting Corporation. In reply, the author, Mr. Ian MacCormick, has regretted giving any offence to Indian sentiment and has offered his apologies for any impression that the play was in any way biased against India."

The War Psychosis

The facts disclosed by Mr. Khrushchev in his interview with Mr. W. R. Hearst Junior, Editor-in-Chief and owner of the influential U.S. "Hearst newspapers" and the "International News Service Agency" provide an idea of the extent of the war psychosis. We reproduce the relevant portion of the conversation between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Hearst and his American colleagues:

"*Considine*: You said that in case of war, American bases both in the country and abroad will be demolished by Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. Does this mean that already today they are specially trained on all these targets?

"*Khrushchev*: This is a question for the chief of the general staff, as it lies outside the scope of my duties.

"That's what the general staff exists for, to be ready in case of war to hit those centres

which are decisive for the speedy ending of the war, for defeating the enemy.

"In connection with this I would like to express my views with regard to statements made by certain representatives of military circles and published in the Press. It was reported that, allegedly, a part of the American bomber force, with hydrogen and atomic bombs, were constantly in the air and always ready to strike against the Soviet Union. Reports have it that one-half of the planes are in the air.

"This is very dangerous. Such a situation serves as an illustration of the extent of the military psychosis in the U.S.A. When planes with hydrogen bombs take off, that means that many people will be in the air piloting them. There is always the possibility of a mental blackout when the pilot may take the slightest signal as a signal for action and fly to the target that he had been instructed to fly to. Under such conditions a war may start purely by chance, since immediately retaliatory action would be taken.

"Does this not go to show that in such a case a war may start as a result of sheer misunderstanding or of a derangement in the normal psychic state of a person, which may happen to anybody. Such a horrible possibility must be excluded. It may be that both sides will be against war, and yet war may still start as a result of the military psychosis whipped up in the United States of America.

"Hearst: That is a very interesting idea. I had not heard of such a thing. I personally am not a military man, but I do not think that half of our planes are in the air. Mr. Considine here suggests that it may be one-third.

"Khrushchev: Even if only one plane with one atomic or one hydrogen bomb were in the air, in this case too it would be not the government but the pilot who could decide the question of war. And this, as you may imagine, would be a terrible thing.

"Hearst: That is a very interesting thought."

The New Communist Manifesto

The Communist parties of the world seized the opportunity offered by their coming together on the occasion of the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet October

(November) Revolution in Moscow to issue a Peace Manifesto which was signed by the representatives of the sixty-four Communist parties of the world. The Manifesto reads in part:

"People all over the world, irrespective of nationality and political views, religious belief or colour want to live in peace and ordinary people all over the world say: surely man, whose victorious mind is wresting from nature all her secrets, subordinating her more and more, who, now with the launching of the Soviet earth satellites, may soon reach the stars, surely man can prevent war and self-destruction.

"We, the representatives of the Communist and workers' parties, fully conscious of our responsibility for human destiny, declare:

"War is not inevitable. War can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

"We are gathered in the capital of the country which forty years ago opened a new era in human history. In the year 1917 for the first time the socialist revolution triumphed on Russian soil. The working people took power into their own hands and set out to destroy all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. The workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, inscribed peace on their banners and have always remained faithful to it. In the course of its forty years the Soviet Union has opened the way to peace for all peoples, and has sought—despite all imperialist obstacles—peaceful co-existence with all other countries irrespective of their social system.

"We, Communists, say that now it is possible to prevent war, possible to safeguard peace. We say this with full confidence because the world situation today is different and the balance of forces has changed.

"Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive which brings huge profits to the monopolists weighs heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of the countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the United States, have rejected proposals for disarmament, pro-

hibition of nuclear weapons and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. Not a few excellent proposals by the peace-loving nations have been submitted to the United Nations Organization, acceptance of which would have strengthened peace and lessened the danger of war. No one can deny that the submission to the United Nations of proposals aimed at ending the arms race, removing the threat of an atomic war, and promoting peaceful co-existence of states and economic co-operation between States which is a decisive factor in creating proper confidence in international relations, is in keeping with the vital interests of all nations. The destiny of the world and the destinies of the future generations hinge on the solution of these problems. These proposals are actively resisted only by those interested in maintaining international tension.

"Thousands of newspapers and radio stations daily instil into the minds of the people of the United States, Britain, France, Italy and other countries the claim that 'world communism' is endangering their freedom, their way of life and their peaceful existence.

"However, neither the Communist parties nor any of the socialist countries has any motive or reason for launching wars or military attacks on other countries, for seizing alien soil. The Soviet Union and People's China both have vast expanses of land and untold natural riches. In all the socialist countries there are no classes or social groups interested in war. Power is in the hands of the workers and peasants who in all wars have been the greatest sufferers. Is it possible that they could desire another war? The aim of the Communists is to build a society that will ensure universal well-being, the blossoming of all nations and eternal peace between them. In order to build this society the socialist countries need a lasting and stable peace. There are, therefore, no more consistent enemies of war, no stauncher champions of peace than the Communists.

"Having in mind the well-being of the people throughout the world and desirous of progress and a bright future for all nations we address ourselves: to men and women, to workers and peasants, to men of science and art, to teachers and office workers, to the youth, to handicraftsmen, traders and industrialists, to

socialists, democrats and liberals, to all irrespective of political and religious convictions, to all who love their country, to all who do not want war, to all people of goodwill with the call:

"Demand an end to the arms drive which daily intensifies the danger of war and of which you, the common people, bear the burden;

"Support the policy of collective security, of peaceful co-existence of different social systems, and the widest economic and cultural co-operation of all peoples.

"We address ourselves to all people of goodwill throughout the world: 'Organize and work for (1) immediate cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, and (2) unconditional and speedy prohibition of the manufacture and use of the weapons.'

"We, the Communists, have devoted our lives to the cause of socialism. We, the Communists, are firmly convinced that this noble cause will triumph. And it is because we believe in the triumph of our ideas—the ideas of Marx and Lenin—the ideas of proletarian internationalism, that we want peace and are working for peace. War is our enemy.

"From now on let the countries with different social systems compete with one another in developing science and technology for peace.

"Let them demonstrate their superiority not on the field of battle but in competition for progress and for raising living standards.

"We extend a hand to all people of goodwill. By a common effort let us get rid of the burden of armaments which oppresses the peoples. Let us rid the world of the danger of war, death and annihilation. Before us is a bright and happy future of mankind marching forward to progress.

"Peace to the world!"

In addition the Communist parties of twelve Socialist countries (Jugoslavia did not participate) issued a Declaration which concluded: "The participants in the meeting unanimously express their firm confidence that, by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement

and accelerate further big victories for the cause of Peace, Democracy and Socialism."

The Soviet Affairs Analysis, Munich, points out that "together the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto outline the plan of action and the tactics to be employed in carrying it out." Thus they deserve close study by all concerned.

Goa, Irian and Formosa

Goa, Irian and Formosa have become three plague spots in Asia. In all these three places there is either intransigence or a refusal to acknowledge the changes in the world outlook and persistence in sticking to old colonial outlook regarding possessions, and in all three cases they have the backing of leading Western propounders of "democracy."

Particularly in Goa, the Portuguese colonialists would not have dared to go against India unless Portugal were encouraged to do so by the NATO Powers—more notably by the USA and UK. For a proper assessment of the objectives of the present Portuguese military concentrations in Goa it is sufficient to recall that before India became independent Portugal had no military installations in her territories in India. Neither were there any restrictions between Portuguese and British territories in India. All these, however, changed with Indian independence and it was in a way through British insinuation that Portugal showed the temerity to defy all Indian overtures to a peaceful liberation of Goa. Moreover, Portugal even went to the extent of bringing a complaint against India before the International Court of Justice claiming absolute right of passage (an unheard of thing in international law and practice) through the territory of India so that Portugal could reoccupy the parts already independent of her will. India naturally opposed such a fictitious "right" of passage to crush Indians. The case would be heard this year—though the International Court would not be effective in the case in so far as the issue is predominantly political and not judicial.

Here, however, one cannot but refer to the confusion existing among Goan freedom-fighters about certain things. For example, one may refer to what Mr. Peter Alvarez, the well-known Goan leader, has written in the Goa Special Number of the bi-monthly *United Asia*,

October, 1957: "The statement of Bulganin and Khrushchev in India on Goa gave the West a chance to pull the issue of Goa into a cold-war sphere, and the opportunity that they were seeking. Mr. Dulles had no choice but to side with Portugal when Russia gave its opinion in favour of India."

This statement is factually and chronologically wrong. Long before the U.S.S.R. had indicated its position on Goa, Mr. Dulles had issued his notorious joint statement with Dr. Cunha, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, declaring Goa to be part of Portugal. Mr. Alvarez is a Praja-Socialist leader. Perhaps, that is why he wrote this. But such writing, specially from the pen of a man of his standing does more harm than good. In short, our ideological predilections should not blind us toward facts of life.

Indian Businessmen Helping Portugal?

Are Indian businessmen helping Portugal in Goa? It seems so from an article by Shrikrishna Vanjari in the Goa Special Number of the bi-monthly *United Asia*. He writes: "The latest statements . . . show beyond any shadow of doubt that Indian capital is being exploited and Indian businessmen are actually supporting the Portuguese in India and strengthening their economy."

Mr. Vanjari lists eight Indian (Marwari and Gujarati) firms which helped Portugal in Goa in various ways. He adds: "The suspicion is shared by well-informed observers that the recent relaxation in the Indian restrictions *vis-a-vis* the Portuguese in Goa was the outcome, *inter alia*, of the pressure exerted by the powerful racket of Indian businessmen operating in Goa for securing Indian labour for the Goa mines . . ."

This matter deserves official notice.

The Official Language Controversy

We append below four news reports, taken from *The Statesman*, to show the way the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India view the problem:

New Delhi December 28.—When the Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the Official Language Commission's report re-assembles on January 6, it will have before it a comprehensive memorandum on the subject

from the Madras Government. The memorandum, the only one on the report received from a State Government, was recently submitted to the Government of India.

In the memorandum, it is learnt, the Madras Government makes it clear that it does not oppose the constitutional directive in favour of Hindi in principle. But it strongly expresses the view that since Hindi has made little progress towards becoming the official language of the Union so far, it will be essential to retain English long after 1965, the target date for the change-over provided in the Constitution.

It states that half the 15-year period provided to enable Hindi to fulfil the requirements of the official language had expired without it making substantial progress. In these circumstances, it would be impractical to fix an early target date.

At the same time, the memorandum suggests, greater efforts be made to spread understanding of Hindi which, it agrees, must inevitably become the language of the Union.

The memorandum is understood to be strongly critical of the Official Language Commission for not fulfilling its primary responsibility of suggesting a clear time-table for the progressive use of Hindi, while making recommendations on issues beyond its terms of reference. But since the Commission has done so, the memorandum also touches on those issues.

Among the suggestions it makes is that while Hindi should ultimately become the language of the Supreme Court, High Courts should use the regional language. But before either of these steps is taken, it points out, it will be necessary to provide for authoritative translations of Supreme Court proceedings into the regional languages and vice versa.

The memorandum is also reported to oppose the proposal to make Hindi a compulsory subject for public services examinations.

Madras, December 28.—Mr. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, declared here today that the “almost continuous deterioration in the standards of teaching, and consequently in the standards of education, is bound to accelerate into a widening spiral unless effective ameliorative measures are taken, backed by the necessary efforts to raise the required financial resources.”

Mr. Deshmukh, who was presiding over the 32nd All-India Educational Conference here, told the 3,000 educationists from all parts of the country that, “in spite of best efforts,” financial resources would be limited and it was not easy to determine where preferably improvements should take place.

“In my view, improvements must begin with college and university teachers, in combination with other simultaneous measures, to improve the standards of higher education,” he said. “Among the other measures, while agreeing with the conclusions of the last conference that there should be no contraction of existing facilities and no throwing out of employment of teachers, all the available funds should be used for the consolidation of the educational system rather than for its expansion.”

The four-day conference was inaugurated by the State Governor, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar.

Referring to the protest in certain circles against the scaling down of expenditure on education in the Second Plan, Mr. Deshmukh declared: “I hold that such protests are unrealistic and of no practical benefit. The determination of priorities is an essential feature of any plan, in view of the limited resources available. That, as it is, the Second Plan will strain the country’s resources to the utmost has become abundantly clear as a result of recent developments.”

Educationists in general and teachers in particular might continue, properly, to point out the dangers involved in not making an adequate provision for consolidation and extension of education at all stages. But they should also take note of the decisions taken at the highest level and devote some thought to the drawing up of priorities within the limit of the total allocations for education in the Plan.

“In other words,” he said, “the onus lies on educationists of suggesting how the approved allocations made available can be put to the maximum possible use so as to secure an optimum improvement in the educational system of the country. If they are dissatisfied with the sub-allocations made within the educational plan, or with the development of such sub-allocations. It is against this background that I consider that the scales for the university teachers recommended in the resolution in the university education section are somewhat un-

realistic although I do not for a moment hold that they are unreasonable."

Mr. Deshmukh, referred to the "tremendous wastage" at various levels of the educational system and said: "It is notorious that at the elementary stage the strength of attendance of children rapidly falls off with every higher standard, so that in terms of literary gain the cost incurred on producing one literate child is several times more than it need be. It is doubtful if this involves merely questions of quality or emoluments of the elementary teacher. It involves wider social problems, such as, paucity of women teachers, and calls for powerful enough efforts to bring about the reorientation of the attitude of the population, especially in the rural areas, where there is still an indifference towards sending children to school."

Bhubaneswar, December 29.—Dr. Prasad who chose to speak in Hindi in spite of welcome addresses being presented in English at two functions, said there was no need for any controversy over the language issue.

The Constitution had merely provided for a workable language for all-India official purposes only. One language had to be adopted, and it so happened that Hindi was spoken by largest number of people in the country. It was, therefore, merely on the basis of utility and convenience that Hindi had been selected for that restricted use.

The President deprecated the tendency on the part of any one to imagine that his language was superior to other languages. That was a wrong attitude. The best thing would be for people of non-Hindi-speaking States to be allowed to influence the further growth of the vocabulary and style of Hindi. Having been adopted as an all-India language Hindi no longer belonged to any particular State and every State had equal rights to it. The Hindi-speaking people would have to concede this right of influencing Hindi to non-Hindi-speaking people.

Another suggestion he offered was that Hindi-speaking people should learn other languages so that they might know the difficulty of learning a language and also the genius of other languages.

At the first function, the inauguration of the Orissa Sahitya Akademy, Pandit Nilkantha

Das, Speaker of the Orissa Assembly and president of the Orissa Akademy, welcoming the President said that the problem which arose in connexion with the language of the Union and the regional languages was very difficult, almost insurmountable.

Hyderabad, December 29.—Mr. V. K. Ayappan Pillai, Secretary of the Inter-University Board, today emphasized the need to adopt an attitude of "stern realism" with regard to English, says *PTI*.

Presiding over the eighth All-India English Teachers' Conference at Osmania University here, Mr. Pillai said it would be "folly" to throw English overboard just when it was steadily and rapidly becoming an international language which every nation, not excluding Russia, was striving more and more to study, cultivate and master.

The conference, which will last three days, is being attended by 125 delegates drawn from all the universities in the country and some schools, and also by some professors from the U.K. and the U.S.A. The conference has recently been registered as the Indian Association for English Studies with a view to including in it all those in the country interested in the study of English.

Mr. Pillai said that after the reaction against English following independence, there was now a widespread recognition of its need and value. It had to be admitted, however, that being a foreign language English could not at any time arouse the love and passionate devotion Indian languages did. Still it was possible, without in any way impeding the development of these languages, to maintain a high standard of English "so that our young men and women can have a direct access to world literature, science and thought."

Mr. Pillai wanted the mother-tongue or regional language, English and Hindi to be made compulsory in schools and colleges.

Earlier, welcoming the delegates, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. D. S. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, said English had come to occupy the foremost place among the languages of the world. Historical accident had placed the people of India in a position of advantage so far as knowledge of this language was concerned, and it would be

foolish to throw away this advantage in the name of nationalism.

Inaugurating the conference (*UPI* reports), Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Governor of Andhra Pradesh, made a strong plea for the study of English along with other Indian languages. "The study of English in our country need not connote any slavish adherence to a foreign language," he said. "On the contrary, I feel that if, as a free and independent nation, we choose to study English, it testifies not only to our catholicity of outlook and tolerance of everything that is good and useful, irrespective of its country of origin, but to a promising sense of realism."

Stressing that knowledge of English was essential if people were to keep pace with world events. Mr. Sachar said that even in countries like China and Russia English was being given a prominent place.

"It would, I think, be no exaggeration to say that the opinion, in regard to the richness of English literature, its impact on our country's economic, political and social life, and consequently our indebtedness to this language, and above all its present-day international utility, is unanimous. When one is prepared to concede so much in favour of this language, it seems that there is hardly any justification for importing acrimony in discussions connected with the determination of the place English should occupy in our country."

Pandit Nehru at Santiniketan

Pandit Nehru was in an expansive mood when he spoke for 90 minutes at the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati University, as the following report from *The Statesman* shows.

The problems at Santiniketan, at least the most complicated ones, originate from the insidious activities of the old gang, that nearly brought Rabindranath's life-long labours to ruin. We hope Pandit Nehru in his usual way would not fall a victim to their wiles.

Mr. Nehru said it was obvious that Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati were different from other places. This did not mean a criticism of other universities, some of which were hundred years old and produced great men. But the fact was that Visva-Bharati was different from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities.

At the back of this difference lay the great personality of one of the greatest men of our generation. But they had to assess how far they had been following Gurudev's ideals and how far they had been swept away from them.

Mr. Nehru, who is the Chancellor of the University, added that no institution which lived cut off from the main current of history and progress was likely to survive.

Referring to the development of Santiniketan, he said it was very good that the institution had put great emphasis on certain very important aspects of education, such as art, music and dancing, which had been neglected by other universities. But it was also necessary to be in tune with the age. It was essential to have a basic scientific approach.

Among highly industrialized countries such as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. there was one point of similarity. However great their political differences might be, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. bowed to the machine more than other countries. They had become technology-minded. "I am not criticizing it. I hope we also may become so and more of us study technology. Unless we hurry up, we will be short of engineers."

The world today was passing through an age of cold war. How could this be justified? It was based on hatred and violence. It was amazing that men of learning should deliberately lay down the ideal of violence and hatred. Leaders of one nation were criticizing leaders of other nations.

Undreamt of power had come in the possession of man. Yet, at the same time, one saw the amazing fact that, while in some respects man had grown so great, in others he was so limited. The danger in this world was that great power was concentrated in the hands of little men. "But it is not for us to presume to tell others what to do. It is not for us to carry the burden of the world. It is difficult enough to carry our own burdens."

What Gurudev had said in founding this institution and on other occasions was absolutely relevant today. "I have no doubt that the trouble will be got over by compromise and

agreement if the hearts on both sides give up hatred. Otherwise there is a possibility of disaster. The ideal should be peaceful co-existence even though peoples and countries differ."

Recalling his association with Gurudev, he said he often felt sorry that he could not discharge adequately what he should have done about Santiniketan. Three years hence the birth centenary of Rabindranath would be celebrated. The Government would do something in the matter but it was not entirely a matter for the Government. What was necessary was that it should be celebrated in a popular way and subscriptions raised for the purpose from the people.

The first use of funds raised for the occasion should be for setting up a Rabindra-Bharati museum. It was not proper that Uttarayan should be used to house offices. It should be dedicated to a nobler purpose. A trust should be created which should be closely associated with the University. He had no doubt that the people would gladly subscribe funds so that Gurudev's ideals could be propagated adequately. The Prime Minister would be pleased to help in starting such a fund.

Certain things happening at Visva-Bharati had pained him. Mr. Nehru did not clarify what he was referring to in particular, but said these were good neither for teachers nor for students. Such unfortunate incidents only vitiated the atmosphere of the University, and disturbed the communion between teachers and students which was Visva-Bharati's tradition. Both teachers and students should give serious attention to this, he said.

Crime Wave in Greater Calcutta

Law and Order, the twin supports of democracy, seem to be collapsing in some parts of West Bengal. Corruption in the higher regions of the Congress Party has been mentioned as being the principal factor in this retrogression. It was so in the U.P., when a great area near Agra became the happy hunting ground of criminals.

We reproduce below a report from *The Statesman* (December 27):

"Thirty-four persons alleged to have been associated with crimes in Howrah were arrested

on Wednesday and Thursday. The arrests are part of the firm measures the police have taken under orders of Mr. H. N. Sircar, Inspector-General of Police, West Bengal, as the result of a recent disturbing increase in crime in some areas of the town.

"Mr. Sircar told me on Thursday that he was personally supervising the Howrah affair and had assured his officers of protection against any possible interference by 'influential' people in the discharge of their duties. There had been instances of such interference, it is alleged.

"After a visit to the affected areas in Howrah and discussion with senior police officials, the Inspector-General was sure that lawlessness in Howrah could be prevented if the key members of six criminal gangs could be apprehended. These members numbered nearly 60. He had ordered their immediate arrest.

"An analysis of the criminal gangs' activities suggested that there were influential people behind them. Many of the criminals are stated to have worked during the elections, when they were organized and criminal organisations became powerful with financial and other support.

"There were cases where people, believed to have been associated with these gangs, were arrested with immediate reactions in 'influential' circles. Demonstrations were organized outside police-stations after suspected lawless elements had been apprehended in anti-rowdy campaigns. In many cases, criminals immediately after release by the court or from jails again committed a series of crimes.

"The Inspector-General cited a particular case in which an influential person was arrested on charges of theft and other crimes. There had been immediate complaints against the police from interested quarters who also tried to move Dr. Roy.

"It was not unlikely, Mr. Sircar admitted, that efforts were made to influence police officers. Proper scrutiny was being made to weed out 'influenced' officers, if any.

"Among the measures ordered by the Inspector-General were intensive police patrolling of the affected localities, rounding up of all suspected elements and preparation of material

so that known criminals could be arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. A daily police operation report was also being submitted to the I.-G.

"Referring to recent incidents, Mr. Sircar said that the criminals took advantage of the depletion of the district police staff because of engagements outside in connexion with important visitors."

Street Accidents

We are glad to find that the Police in West Bengal are at last getting apprehensive about the increase in street accidents, as the following report would show.

But why blame the police? A thoroughly incompetent and useless Minister, who never had any record of efficiency or action in his life being at the helm, the whole problem has become intensely complicated. Taxis and lorries in West Bengal are mostly driven by ruffians from other provinces. They only respond to very firm measures which our old women are unable to initiate:

No fewer than 576 people have died in street accidents in West Bengal so far this year. The figure which includes 245 deaths in Calcutta, will be higher when the number of fatal accidents in the districts since October is available.

Speaking at a seminar at the Automobile Association of Bengal, Mr. P. K. Sen, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Traffic, said that vehicular traffic had become such a problem that "we can no longer be complacent about it." He pointed out that the number of deaths in traffic accidents was increasing and a greater number of people were inconvenienced by traffic congestion every day.

Problems were different in Calcutta and the districts. Limited road mileage, concentration of people in industrial areas, speeding by truck drivers, rash and negligent driving, overloading, blinding headlights, driving vehicles with mechanical defects and disobeying traffic signals were the main causes of accidents in the districts.

Mr. Sen said that although there had been an appreciable increase in road mileage in West Bengal, it still had less than 0.41 mile per sq. mile while the figures for the U.K., France

and the U.S.A. were 2.0, 1.9 and 1.0 respectively. It was no wonder that, with the expansion of industries which had resulted in increased vehicular traffic, this limited road mileage created many traffic difficulties.

Some people feared that these difficulties would increase manifold with the progress of the Second Plan. It would be wrong to think that the Railway's development scheme under the Plan would minimize pressure on road transport. There should, therefore, be rapid development of road transport to the fullest extent. Roads had been built in a haphazard way, except those built in recent years. Road bridges and culverts were narrow and weak. Big diesel trucks with 10 to 12 tons of load were often too much for them to carry.

The increase in population in distant industrial areas in Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Habra and Bongaon had created traffic problems there which defied solution. Large numbers of people from Bihar and Orissa and East Pakistan refugees had come to live in these places.

Mr. Sen said the authorities wanted to relieve the pressure on the Grand Trunk Road running through a number of congested municipal towns. For this purpose they were constructing a diversion road from Bally to Sapta-gram. Barrackpore Trunk Road was being widened. Twenty-four traffic police check posts set up in the districts had checked over 38,000 vehicles last year. In over 5,500 of these cases irregularities in regard to tax tokens, licences, registration certificates, permits and speed governors and mechanical defects were detected. Over 6,000 such cases had been detected up to October this year.

"I am constrained to remark that our motorists, particularly truck drivers, have no fear of the police. Truck drivers have become so bold that they do not even produce the licence on demand by a police officer even when stopped for violation of traffic rules." When the offending driver and the police officer argue, other truck drivers arrive and take the driver's side. If the police officer insists these truck drivers block the road by deliberately parking their vehicles haphazardly on the road. Mr. Sen admitted that there might be a few dishonest police officers who demanded bribes

from drivers. "But the offer comes mostly from the driver who has violated the traffic rules."

Speaking about Calcutta, he referred to the increase in population, increase in the number of vehicles, bad state of road repairs, poor lighting, projection of shops on busy streets, excavation of roads by public utility concerns, hawkers, wandering cattle, slow-moving vehicles and inadequate parking space in office areas.

He completed the list of traffic problems in the city by adding one more—daily numerous marriage, religious and political processions. Almost each of the political processions was a demonstration against the Government and it could not be regulated except by force.

The number of registered vehicles in the city had risen from 38,000 in 1947 to 62,000 in 1956. While both population and vehicular traffic had rapidly increased, there had been no appreciable increase in the area or road mileage, 134,000 cases of minor violation of traffic rules had been registered up to October this year against last year's 115,000. Orders had been issued for prosecution under heavy penal sections in cases of rash and dangerous driving. "I would frankly admit," the D.I.G. said, "that there is still a lot of scope for improvement in the work of the Traffic Department. We are conscious of it and are doing our best."

The N A T O Meeting

The North Atlantic Treaty powers met in Paris about the middle of December last. President Eisenhower was personally present. The results have not been quite as successful as was hoped by the Dulles group. The following extract from the *New York Times* of Dec. 22 is illuminative:

The date was April 4, 1949: the scene, an auditorium in Washington. On a raised dais stood a table bearing a document printed in English and French and headed: "North Atlantic Treaty—*Traite de L'Atlantique Nord*." President Truman made a speech, and one by one twelve foreign ministers affixed their signatures to the document. The largest peacetime alliance in history was fact.

Last week the alliance—now comprising fifteen nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—held the most crucial conference in its history. The heads of its member governments gathered in Paris to deal with the

alliance's "crisis of confidence"—a crisis brought on by the new threat of Russian rocketry and a congeries of frictions among the allies themselves.

Thursday, as the conference closed, the NATO chieftains in a communique said:

We have taken decisions to promote greater unity, greater strength and greater security not only for our own nations but also, we believe, for the world at large.

Specifically NATO had reached accommodations on two major questions before them. They were:

First, the question of placing U.S. intermediate range ballistic missiles in Europe. This the U.S. had proposed as the main answer to the new danger from the East. The decision was to accept it in principle, but to leave its application to individual states concerned.

Second, the question of responding to the Russians' new "peace offensive." The U.S. had opposed a response as fruitless, but some European partners had favored it as offering the hope of ending the arms race. The decision was to "promote" negotiations with Moscow on the deadlocked issue of disarmament.

On the whole the consensus was that the conference had proved at least a limited success. Nevertheless the talks had underscored some fundamental differences of approach within NATO. And yesterday, Russia raised a new obstacle to negotiations.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military alliance whose fifteen members have a combined population of 150,000,000. Its essential purpose is to defend Europe against the threat of Soviet aggression. Its military nucleus is the Supreme Allied Command, Europe, headed by Gen. Lauris Norstad who commands an international force of roughly forty-six divisions. In addition, there are two other NATO commands, covering the North American continent and the Atlantic area. The total armed forces of the NATO members are 5,500,000. They are pledged to regard an armed attack against one as an attack against them all.

NATO is normally governed by the North Atlantic Council consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the member nations. Last October, however, President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan asked that the

NATO Council meeting scheduled for last week be converted into a "Summit" conference of the NATO heads of Government—the first in the history of the organization.

The mood in NATO capitals in the weeks preceding the Paris conference was one of anxiety and uncertainty. Dominating the international scene was a triumphant Nikita Khrushchev, hurling satellites into space and warning the world that military supremacy had passed to Russia. In contrast, the NATO alliance was in a state of disarray. There were policy conflicts between NATO members over issues such as Algeria, Cyprus, and the Middle East. There were misgivings about American leadership of NATO—misgivings that deepened after President Eisenhower's illness. Throughout the West, an insistent refrain was: NATO must be strengthened and revitalized to cope with the Soviet challenge. But the question was: How and along what lines?

The United States saw the problem primarily in military terms. Washington's plans for the Paris conference centered mainly on proposals to establish nuclear stockpiles and intermediate range missile bases in Europe.

The strategic reasoning behind the proposals was this: Russia's missile and satellite progress meant that continental North America—and the arsenal of the Western alliance—might soon be within push-button range of Moscow. It was by no means certain that the United States could catch up quickly enough in the intercontinental missile race to deter Russia with the threat of retaliation from North American bases. A better gamble seemed to be intermediate range missiles zeroed in on Russian targets from bases close by in Europe.

China's Efforts for Scientific Progress

China is making every effort to achieve scientific progress at an early date. As in the Soviet Union, in China also scientific progress has been planned as part of the general Five-Year Plans. On her part China has decided upon a Twelve-Year Plan for the advancement of science with the object of bringing China up to the present-day world-level. The seriousness with which the Chinese have set themselves upon the task can be gauged from the fact that the programme document made up of fifty lakh words took six hundred scientists' six months'

systematic work. Among the major tasks laid in the programme are the peaceful uses of atomic energy, development of radio electronics and jet propulsion, the electrification and mechanization of agriculture, utilization of the energy of the Yellow Yangtzi and other rivers, and development of all the leading branches of science.

In this gigantic effort the Chinese are apparently getting substantial help from the Soviet Union. Otherwise the Chinese would not have sent their blueprint for scrutiny of the Soviet scientists as they did in May last. The Soviet Government on its part appointed 26 consultation groups consisting of 640 scientists to examine the blueprint. The Soviet scientists completed their scrutiny by October 20, 1957.

When Chairman Mao Tse-tung went to Moscow on the occasion of the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, many experts (numbering nearly 140) accompanied him there. Extensive talks were held between the two sides and the Chinese suggested over 100 joint (Sino-Soviet) research projects in natural science, technology, philosophy and other branches. Preliminary talks have been completed and the agreements are expected to be signed this month.

Those who would be inclined to be sceptical about the prospects of Chinese success in this gigantic venture would do well to recall that on the face of a great many hurdles the Chinese have achieved basic success in the fulfilment of their First Five-Year Plan and also the fact that similar scepticism had not affected Soviet progress in science and technology. It is to be remembered in this context that China has to make up a tremendous amount of leeway, far in excess of what Russia had to do, as she is even behind India at the present day. Besides she has no groups of "East German" scientists at her beck and call.

Indian and Chinese Foreign Policies

Much is heard about the success of Indian foreign policy—though characteristically enough, the success is never reflected in any gain where India's vital interests are concerned—e.g., in Goa, Kashmir and economic and scientific aid. No doubt India is receiving aid, but that would at any rate have been coming to her—whatever

her foreign policy was. And this failure in safeguarding India's vital interests has occurred while India has officially been in a favourable international situation being in good terms with both the West (USA) and the East (USSR).

This should lead us to a self-analysis of our policies so far and the reasons for their failure. That would obviously be a task beyond the scope of an editorial article. In this connection however the example of China is very relevant. For the past eight years China has been isolated in the international field, her field of manoeuvre being very much restricted. For all material help—vital developmental aid—she had absolutely to depend upon the USSR, and yet she managed to get the mighty Soviet Government to agree to abandon usurpations of Chinese sovereign rights. This has been brilliantly summed up by the noted Russian writer, David J. Dallin, by no means a sympathiser to the present Government of China, in the paper which he read at the *Symposium* organised by the *Institute for the Study of the USSR*, Munich, on the occasion of the completion of forty years of the Soviet revolution in Russia.

Tracing Chinese indignation at the Russian attitude on many matters Dr. Dallin writes that from the very beginning the Chinese Communists were bent upon undoing the wrongs committed by Russia upon China. "And this they (Chinese) began to do, although exclusively behind the scenes. Publicly, overt propaganda was directed against the West and supported Soviet policy in everything. But covertly the Chinese were demanding, more insistently each month, that Soviet troops be withdrawn from Manchuria, that Soviet engineers behave politely and decently toward the Chinese people, that the joint companies be dissolved which were, in fact, created as a citadel of Soviet political influence in China. The Chinese demanded access to Mongolia which . . . was formerly a Chinese province, but which was completely closed to the Chinese under Stalin. They demanded influence in the Korean People's Republic (North Korea) which their troops had saved from being destroyed, and in which even now they maintain an army of two hundred thousand . . ."

"Pressure on the part of China was constant, although behind the scenes. In the sum-

mer of 1954, Khrushchev and Bulganin made their journey to China. These leaders, now without the prestige and strength which only Stalin had possessed, had to make a great number of concessions to China and accept a whole series of Chinese demands. This process of (Soviet) withdrawal in face of Chinese Communist pressure continues to the present day and is the most important event in the current history of the Far East.

"During the last few years the Soviet Government has had to withdraw its military forces from Manchuria, hand over the Manchurian railways to the Chinese, dissolve the Sino-Soviet joint companies. Access has been opened into Outer Mongolia for Chinese specialists, workers and engineers, and the Chinese Government, once again copying Soviet patterns, although itself with no surplus of scientists and technicians, has hastened to send hundreds of its specialists into Outer Mongolia in order to advertise publicly to equality . . .," Dr. Dallin writes.

The Press in India . . .

The *Vigil*, an opposition paper, writes:

"The Press, we all know, is a 'mighty engine.' But what kind of fuel keeps it running and mightily roaring? News, by all means and lots of it. Also views, fresh and fearless. This brings us straight to the question how the Indian Press is feeding itself with the essential fuel of news and views. And this is a question which must have during the last fortnight agitated the minds of many newspaper readers bored stiff with the kind of stuff distributed by the Indian Press. No, the Indian Press does no longer give the impression of being a mighty engine. It is running down; it is getting choked with piles of dead matter—speeches, speeches and still speeches and mostly of Shri Nehru. Nobody grudges the unrivalled position Shri Nehru holds as national leader nor is there anything to be done if he is determined to establish an all-time record as the world's greatest speechmaker. But the Press as a mighty engine, as one of the principal channels of mass-information, should know that a surfeit of Nehru here, there, everywhere kills the lively interest in human affairs, which is the life-blood of newspapers." We are inclined to agree.

A CHAPTER OF MY LIFE

How My Library Grew Up

By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S., Eng.

READERS of Shakespeare's *Henry V* will remember the Scots captain Jamy, who was "of great knowledge in the ancient wars, and by Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans."

That was quite in the fitness of things; European captains in all ages have fitted themselves for their duty by the patient study and discussion of military history and military problems. In modern times Henry Havelock and Garnet Wolseley have been notable British examples. The German officers vary billiards and cards with *kriegspegel* (war-game) in their clubs.

Captain Jamy might legitimately make himself a military bore. But how incongruous it is for a native in the civil line during the British period, such as I was, to play the same role and talk of tactics and strategy. Would not Rudyard Kipling have been delighted to find this new material for his mockery of the Bengalee Baboo?

In my case it happened in this way. When I was a schoolboy in the 5th class (now called the Seventh Standard), we had to read a little Greek history. Our text-book was a charmingly written American work, Peter Parley's *Universal History*, as simple and pleasant as *Little Arthur's History of England*. The style and the stories lured us to read it through, and we had to give our answers in Bengali, so that we understood the contents. In the next higher class we read the chapters on Roman history from the same volume. Thus I came to know of the battles of Epaminondas and Alexander, Hannibal and Cæsar.

How I longed to visualise those battles! Just then came my opportunity. In the days before the Suez Canal, the British officers who came to serve in India, often passed fifteen or even twenty years here before taking furlough Home. Most of them, therefore, brought with themselves a collection of good books to beguile the time during their Indian exile. Wellington, when he came to India as a Colonel (1798)

brought a fairly large library in his ship. So also did Elphinstone and others. At the time of their retirement they used to sell their furniture and libraries, and the Indian grandees of their last stations used to buy them. My father as a zamindar in Rajshahi (North Bengal) used to buy the books of the retiring Magistrates and Judges of that district. His passion was for History,—fiction and poetry being his aversion. I found among his books a copy of the *History of the Art of War*, by Baron de Jomini (a former General of Napoleon), which was a standard text-book in the military colleges of England.

Here were the battles of Epaminondas illustrated by plans. I could now visualise this antique hero's famous oblique attack and marching *en echelon*, or Hannibal's encircling tactics at Cannæ. In the Fourth Class, geometry was introduced into our course, and I began to draw oblongs and semi-circles to illustrate the military movements I had read of in dear old Peter Parley. Thus the microbe of military historiography entered into my brain and I was doomed to become a military bore (civil division) when I grew up.

Then, after passing the Matric examination (in 1887) I first read Tennyson's *Ode on the Burial of the Duke of Wellington*, where I came upon this passage:

"This is he that far away

Against the myriads of Assaye

Clash'd with his fiery few and won."

Ever since then I have been intrigued by the question—How did it happen that a fiery few could defeat myriads who were not cowards or weaklings, when both sides fought with fire-arms?

From that time it became my passion to buy rare books on Indian history,—at first those written in English and relating to the British period only. My educational expenses were paid by my father and I was free to spend all my own money from the first grade scholarships which I enjoyed throughout my college life, on these "India books." The second-hand book-

sellers of Calcutta found in me their most liberal (and gullible) patron, and thus the rare books on Indian history discarded by the European clubs, barracks and private owners (like Prince Ghulam Husain, the last grandson of Tipu Sultan, who died in Calcutta) were first offered to me.

I thus laid the foundation of my historical library, but when I passed the Premchand Examination (1897) and undertook *original* research, my library grew and branched like the proverbial banyan tree. I discarded my Calcutta suppliers and began to give large orders, year after year, to the famous second-hand book sellers of England,—Luzac and Trubner, Francis Edwards and Blackwell. George's Sons of Bristol were my first and most copious agent in England (from 1898 onwards). After thirty years this stream stopped through fulness of collection and also the demands of my new love,—original research with the help of Persian, Marathi and English MSS. and records. The saturation point in printed English books had now been reached.

My first "baptism of ink" in the field of Indian history was a study of the Fall of Tipu Sultan, which I printed in my College Magazine just after graduation (1891). It was based entirely on English books and despatches, all available in print. But after 1897 when I set myself to making truly original researches in Indo-Muslim history, I devoted my resources mainly to acquiring Persian, Marathi and French manuscripts and printed volumes of State-papers (despatches). The result is that today my collection of Persian MSS. and Marathi printed sources is indispensable to the students of our mediaeval history, as it has brought together *in one place* the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and the famous public libraries of Europe (India Office, British Museum, the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and the then Royal Library of Berlin, besides Kazvini's metrical history of Nadir Shah of which there is only one MS in the world, in Leningrad). Of these last I have secured photographs. In India, the Rampur (Rohilkhand), Hyderabad and Khuda Bakhsh (Patna) Libraries have been thoroughly ran-

sacked by me after repeated visits. From the first I equipped myself with the very necessary Survey of India maps regardless of cost,—the old *India Atlas* sheets on a scale of four miles to the inch, and in the case of certain battlefields and cities on a still more detailed scale, one mile to the inch or even three inches,—such as Lalsot, Talekota, Delhi, etc. This old series has now been discarded by the Survey Department and replaced by the *Degree Sheets* (or still more recent international scale), but the oldest scientifically drawn map of British India is of priceless worth to me, as it gives the result of the survey before the Sepoy Mutiny and the Railways changed the face of India; the historic but now discarded routes and village names are to be found here only.

At first I approached military history as a lover of romance. I then belonged to the "drum and trumpet school" of history. My favourite collections in the earlier years related to the Sikh, Nepal, Anglo-Maratha and Burmese wars. Soon after, I took to the Sepoy Mutiny with such zeal that I ended by collecting over 150 volumes on this branch,—or 200 if we include the memoirs of every British officer who took the least part in even one of its campaigns. Naturally, post-Mutiny British-Indian history is poorly represented here, except for the Afghan wars.

In European history, my love of the picturesque drove me to the French Revolution and Napoleonic periods. I bought every book on the Peninsular War and Waterloo that came within my reach, and the memoirs of the statesmen and warriors of that period (available in English translations), including even the gossip of Napoleon's valet (in three volumes !!!). They read like romances of absorbing interest.

It was only late in my literary career that I turned from the romance of war to its technical or educative side; I set myself to exploring the old strategy and tactics of battles fought in India, so long as there was an Indian State to oppose the foreigners. This limited my range to Alexander as the upper time-limit and Wellington as the lower, 323 B.C.—1803 A.D., because of these wars only we possess accurate descriptions, and I had to relegate to dreamers and

Hindu-superiority patriots the fables of our General Fuller and Evelyn Wood. Jomini had epics and Puranas and even Kautilya's *Artha* one now become a back number.
Shastra.

But if I am to correctly assess the tactics and strategy of the mediaeval Indian wars, and deduce the lessons that they can teach to a modern soldier, I must first equip myself with a knowledge of the evolution of the art of war in Europe, its modern technicalities and practical illustrations (on which subjects the books relating exclusively to Indian history are silent). Those who attempt to study the Indian wars of historic times without such a background of European military history, will only plough the sand, they cannot reach the base-rock of reality. A comic example has been supplied by a Bengali graduate whose doctorate thesis has come under my eyes, and who proves that there was a Red Cross in ancient India, because the Hindu kings went to battle followed by cooks, physicians and coolies who used to take care of their wounded!

I digested Oman's *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, Denison's *History of Cavalry*, Lloyd's *History of Infantry*, Cole and Priestly's *Outlines of British Military History*, and the works of Liddell Hart and Cyril Falls,

My last work, the *Military History of India*, began publication serially, but fitfully in the *Hindusthan Standard* newspaper, Sunday issues, in 1952. Several of the battles had been written earlier for my other works, such as *Aurangzib* (5 Vols.), *Shivaji* and *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* (4 Vols.), but they were now collected together in one place and edited for integration in this new body. Ten chapters more will bring this book to its end (1803).

There is no end to this quest, this search for buried truth, which we call research. Even now fresh reflections and newly-discovered materials have forced on me a revision of my earlier descriptions and opinions. One example is the Battle of Assaye, where my first account (printed in my *Fall*, Vol. IV in 1950) and based on Wellington's despatches, has been entirely recast and made credible, by an intensive study (and reading between the lines) of the Regimental records of the 78th Highlanders who bore the brunt of that battle, (quoted in Macveigh's *Historical Records of the 78th Highlanders*). Truly has the ancient Sanskrit poet said:

Time has no end and the world is vast.

—:O:—

DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL—HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
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THE 19th century of the Christian era witnessed the advent of a galaxy of Bengali saints and savants who, by virtue of their wonderful genius and invaluable contributions, raised Bengal in the estimation of the world. Dr. Brajendranath Seal, of revered memory, was one of them. One is simply struck with wonder and admiration when one gazes at and tries to gauge the height of his genius and depth of his learning. He was a versatile genius who could move freely and confidently in very varied and vast spheres like Indian and Western literature, science, religion and philosophy. He combined in himself

profundity of learning with simplicity of life, and depth of knowledge with breadth of the heart in a way, all his own.

Brajendranath was born in Calcutta on the 3rd of September, 1864 A.D. He was the second son of his father, the late Mahendranath Seal. His father was a noted advocate of the Calcutta High Court and was well versed in Mathematics, Philosophy and English literature. In philosophy and life he was a follower of August Comte's Positivism and Humanism.

Brajendranath passed the Entrance

Examination of the Calcutta University at the early age of fourteen in the year 1878, and took admission into the F.A. (now I.A.) class of the General Assembly's Institution which is now known as the Scottish Church College. He was a college-mate and friend of Sri Narendranath Datta, the world-renowned heroic Sannyasi, Swami Vivekananda of a later age. He was a favourite student of Principal William Hastie of the College. While a student of the F.A. class, he read and mastered the books on Logic, recommended for the M.A. Examination. He took first class Honours Degree in the B.A. Examination in 1882. In 1884 he appeared at the M.A. Examination in Philosophy, but was equally prepared for, and could do equally well in, the M.A. Examinations in English, Mathematics and Biology. In every day of his examination in Philosophy, he exhausted almost the full time in answering only one question. But that one answer was so full, comprehensive and brilliant that on the recommendation of the Board of Examiners he was placed first in the first class.

On being admitted to the B.A. Degree, Brajendranath was appointed Professor at the General Assembly's Institution, and was elected a Fellow of the Institution. Just after passing the M.A. Examination he was appointed Professor of English at the City College, Calcutta, and from the very beginning taught the Honours Course in that subject. From 1885-87 he served in the Morris College at Nagpur, first as a Professor and then as its Principal. Subsequently he joined the Krishnanath College of Berhampur as its Principal and served there till 1897. He was then appointed Principal of the Cooch-Bihar College and worked there from 1897 to 1913. During this time his reputation as an eminent and versatile scholar spread far and wide, and in 1899 he was invited by the organizers of the International Congress of Orientalists at Rome to deliver the inaugural address. The then Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar made arrangements for his visit to Rome. At this Congress he delivered four lectures on "The Test of Truth," "Vaisnavism and Christianity—An Essay in the Study of Comparative Religion," "Foundation of a Science of Mythology in Yaska and the Niruktas with Greek Parallels," and "Origin of Law and Hindus as Founders

of Social Science." These lectures bear unmistakable testimony to the width and depth of his erudition. In 1903 appeared his previously written "New Essays in Criticism," and "The Neo-Romantic Movement in Literature,"—two masterpieces of literary work. In 1902-3, he served as a member of the Simla Committee which was appointed to frame the New Regulations of the Calcutta University.

Brajendranath was admitted to the Ph.D. Degree of the Calcutta University in 1910. The next year he was invited to attend the International Race Congress in England and there he delivered a learned inaugural address on "Race Origin." He visited Europe several times during the years 1905-14. During this time he wrote two chapters in "Life of Raja Rammohun Roy" by Nagendranath Chattopadhyay, and at the request of Sister Nivedita, contributed to the biography of Swami Vivekananda "An Early Chapter in the History of Vivekananda's Mental Development."

At the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he joined the Post-Graduate Department of the University in 1913 as George V. Professor of Mental and Moral Science. For seven years he rendered inestimable service to the Calcutta University in various capacities—as Professor of Philosophy and member of Raleigh and Asutosh Committees, and of the Sadler Commission. In fact, the University wanted his help and guidance in all the important spheres of its reformatory and creative activities, and he, in his turn, never spared himself to render the best possible service to his *Alma Mater*. While in this University he guided and supervised the research work of students and teachers alike in diverse subjects like English, History, Mathematics, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy etc., and initiated them into the new method of comparative study of Indian and Western science and philosophy. As a result of this new line of study, there appeared in the year 1915 his well-known and widely-appreciated work, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, which was intended by him to serve as a preliminary to his "Studies in Comparative Philosophy." Of this book, the chapter on 'The Mechanical, Physical, and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus' and that on 'Hindu Doctrine of Scientific

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XIV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

WE propose to deal in this and in our next article or two, with the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Property as it is today. We have purposely stated "as it is today" because the provisions of our Constitution relating to this particular right have, if we leave alone what is provided for in Clauses (1), (5) and (6)¹ of Article 19, been, as we shall see hereinafter, materially changed twice—once in 1951² and again in 1955³—since the commencement of the constitution on 26th January, 1950. We shall begin with the consideration of Article 31 of the Constitution as it stands today.

II

Article 31 now lays down as follows:-

"31.(1) No person shall be deprived of his property* save by authority of law.

"(2) No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose and save by authority of a law which provides for compensation for the property so acquired or requisitioned and either fixes the

1. In its amended form.

2. See the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. This Act also materially changed Clause (6) of Article 19 of the Constitution.

3. See the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955.

* As Ghulam Hasan J. of our Supreme Court observed on 18th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *Dwarkanadas Shrinivas of Bombay vs. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd. and Others*, the word "property" has not been defined in our Constitution.

Patanjali Sastri, C.J., of the Supreme Court, however, had stated on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal vs. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others*:

"Now, the word 'property' in the context of Article 31 which is designed to protect private property in all its forms, must be understood both in a corporeal sense as having reference to all those specific things that are susceptible of private appropriation and enjoyment as well as in its juridical or legal sense of a bundle of rights which the owner can exercise under the municipal law with respect to the user and enjoyment of those things to the exclusion of all others."

—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI and VII, June and July, 1954, pp. 737 and 617; also see *ibid*, 1950, Vol. I Parts IX and X, December 1950, pp. 920-21, for the view of Justice Das on the question.

amount of the compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given; and no such law shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate.

"(2A) Where a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a Corporation owned or controlled by the State, it shall not be deemed to provide for the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property, notwithstanding that it deprives any person of his property.

"(3) No such law as is referred to in Clause (2) made by the Legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

"(4) If any Bill pending at the commencement of this Constitution in the Legislature of a State has, after it has been passed by such Legislature, been reserved for the consideration of the President and has received his assent, then, notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any Court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2).

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

- (a) the provisions of any existing law other than a law to which the provisions of Clause (6) apply, or
- (b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—
 - (i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty, or
 - (ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, or
 - (iii) in pursuance of any agreement entered into between the Government of the Dominion of India or the Government of India and the Government of any other country, or otherwise, with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

"(6) Any law of the State enacted not more than eighteen months before the commencement of this Constitution may within three months from such commencement be submitted to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2) of this Article or has contravened the provisions of Sub-section (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935."⁴

It may be noted here that Clause (2A) was inserted in Article 31 by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, and that Clause (2) in its present form was substituted by the same Act for the original Clause (2) which had run as follows—

"(2) No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given."

Clauses (1), (3), (4), (5), and (6) of Article 31 have remained, however, as they were originally.

It may also be noted here that the original Article 31 which corresponded to Article 24 of the Draft Constitution of India, and Clauses (1) and (2) of which were largely modelled upon Sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935, appears to have been based upon a compromise between conflicting points of view in the Constituent Assem-

bly of India. This is evident from the following extract from the speech which Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who had previously been the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, delivered on 19th March, 1955, in our Rajya Sabha in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954. "Article 31, with which we are dealing now in this amending Bill," said Dr. Ambedkar,⁵ "is an article for which I, and the Drafting Committee, can take no responsibility whatsoever. We do not take any responsibility for that. That is not our draft. The result was that the Congress Party, at the time when Article 31 was being framed, was so divided within itself that we did not know what to do, what to put and what not to put. There were three sections in the Congress Party. One section was led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who stood for full compensation, full compensation in the sense in which full compensation is enacted in our Land Acquisition Act, namely, market price plus 15 per cent solatium. That was his point of view. Our Prime Minister⁶ was against compensation. Our friend, Mr. Pant,⁷ who is here now—and I am glad to see him here—had conceived his Zamindari Abolition Bill before the Constitution was being actually framed. He wanted a very safe delivery for his baby. So he had his own proposition. There was thus this tripartite struggle, and we left the matter to them to decide in any way they liked. And they merely embodied what their decision was in Article 31. This Article 31, in my judgment, is a very ugly thing, something which I do not like to look at . . . Even then we have made that article as elastic as we possibly could in the matter of compensation."

III

We shall now explain what led to the amendment of the original Clause (2) of Article 31. The chief reason for this amendment appears to have been a certain judicial decision, namely,

4. So far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, Clauses (3), (4) and (6) will not apply and for Clause (5) the following Clause is to be substituted, namely:

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

(a) the provisions of any existing law; or
(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—
(i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty; or
(ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property; or
(iii) with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property."

5. *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha, Official Report*, Vol. IX, No. 19, 19th March, 1955, columns 2450-2452.

6. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

7. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India; previously Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

the judgment⁸ of our Supreme Court in *The State of West Bengal V. Mrs. Bela Banerjee and Others*, to be referred to hereinafter as the *Bela Banerjee* case.

Briefly speaking,⁹ it appears from the facts of the case that the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948 (West Bengal Act XXI of 1948), which had been passed on October 1st, 1948, "primarily for the settlement of immigrants who had migrated into West Bengal due to communal disturbances in East Bengal," had provided "for the acquisition and development of land for public purposes including the purpose aforesaid." The constitutional validity of this Act had been challenged by the respondents when an attempt had been made to enforce it in respect of certain lands owned by them. A Division Bench of the Calcutta High Court, had, however, held on 22nd March, 1951, that the "Act as a whole was not unconstitutional or void save as regards two of the provisions contained in Section 8" thereof. On an appeal by the State of West Bengal against this judgment, the Supreme Court unanimously held¹⁰ on 11th December, 1953, "that the provisions of Section 8 of the West Bengal Act XXI of 1948¹¹ making the declaration of the Government conclusive as to the public nature of the purpose of the acquisition," and limiting "the amount of compensation so as not to exceed the market value of the land (to be acquired) on December 31, 1946," were *ultra vires* the Constitution and void; that "inasmuch as Article 31(2) of the Constitution made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition, the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively;" that the impugned Act¹² was not saved by Article 31(5) of the Constitution from the operation of Article 31(2) thereof as it had not been "certified by the President (of India) as provided for by Article 31(6)"; that "while it is true that the legislature is given the discretionary power of laying down

the principles which should govern the determination of the amount to be given to the owner for the property appropriated, such principles must ensure that what is determined as payable must be compensation, that is, a just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of;" that "within the limits of this basic requirement of full indemnification of the expropriated owner, the Constitution allows free play to the legislative judgment as to what principles should guide the determination of the amount payable;" but that "whether such principles take into account all the elements which make up the true value of the property appropriated and exclude matters which are to be neglected, is a judicial issue to be adjudicated by the Court."

The Supreme Court added:¹³

"Turning now to the provisions relating to compensation under the impugned Act, it will be seen that the latter part of the proviso to Section 8 (thereof) limits the amount of compensation so as not to exceed the market value of the land on December 31, 1946, no matter when the land is acquired. Considering that the impugned Act is a permanent enactment, and lands may be acquired under it many years after it came into force, the fixing of the market value on December 31, 1946, as the ceiling on compensation, without reference to the value of the land at the time of the acquisition is arbitrary and cannot be regarded as due compliance in letter and spirit with the requirement of Article 31(2). The fixing of an anterior date for the ascertainment of value may not, in certain circumstances, be a violation of the constitutional requirement as, for instance, when the proposed scheme of acquisition becomes known before it is launched and prices rise sharply in anticipation of the benefits to be derived under it, but the fixing of an anterior date, which might have no relation to the value of the land when it is acquired, may be, many years later, cannot but be regarded as arbitrary. The learned Judges below observe that it is common knowledge that since the end of the War, land, particularly around Calcutta, has increased enormously in value and might still further increase very considerably in value when the pace of industrialisation increases. Any principle for determining compensation which

8. In Civil Appeal No. 123 of 1952. Appeal against the judgment, dated 22nd March, 1951, of the High Court of Calcutta (Harries C. J. and Banerjee, J.).—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. V, Part V, May, 1954, pp. 558-65.

9. For details, see *ibid*, pp. 558-65.

10. *Ibid*, pp. 558-65.

11. I.e., the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948.

12. I.e., the West Bengal Act XXI of 1948 under consideration.

13. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, May, 1954, pp. 564-65.

denies to the owner this increment in value cannot result in the ascertainment of the true equivalent of the land appropriated.

"We accordingly hold that the latter part of proviso (b) to section 8 of the impugned Act which fixes the market value on December 31, 1946, as the maximum compensation¹⁴ for lands acquired under it offends against the provisions of Article 31(2) and is unconstitutional and void. The appeal is dismissed with costs."

This decision of the Supreme Court had a far-reaching effect and was one of the main causes¹⁵ that led to the replacement, under the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955, of the original Clause (2) in Article 31 of the Constitution by the new Clause (2) which we have quoted before. It may be noticed that under the new Clause (2) the quantum of compensation payable for any property acquired or requisitioned under it, is not justiciable. That is to say, the adequacy or the inadequacy of such compensation is not open to review by any court of law. We find an official defence of this non-justiciability of the quantum of compensation payable, in the speeches delivered in our Parliament¹⁶ by the Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru), by the Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Hari Vinayak Pataskar), by the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari), and by the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Govind Ballabh Pant),

14. The relevant provision in the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, ran as follows:

"Provided that—

* * * *

(b) in determining the amount of compensation to be awarded for land acquired in pursuance of this Act the market value referred to in Clause first (sic) of Subsection (1) of Section 23 of the said Act shall be deemed to be the market value of the land on the date of publication of the notification under Subsection (1) of Section 4 for the notified area in which the land is included subject to the following condition, that is to say—

if such market value exceeds by any amount the market value of the land on the 31st day of December, 1946, on the assumption that the land had been at that date in the State in which it, in fact, was on the date of publication of the said notification, the amount of such excess shall not be taken into consideration."

15. See the *Lok Sabha Debate* of 12th April, 1955, column 4977.

16. See the *Lok Sabha Debates*, New Delhi, of 14th and 15th March and of 11th and 12th April, 1955; also the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, New Delhi, of 17th and 19th March and of 19th and 20th April, 1955.

in connexion with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. The sum and substance of these speeches was that this particular amendment of our Constitution as well as some others to which we shall refer later on, was urgently necessary if we wanted to create in India a "socialist pattern of society" and to realise the ideal of a "Welfare State" in the country. Besides, this amendment was in accordance with the real wishes of the authors of the Constitution in respect of the particular matter with which it dealt, although, unfortunately, these wishes had not been properly reflected in the language of the Constitution on account of a defective draftsmanship. Moreover, the amendment would remove "an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy." Finally, it should, it had been argued, be borne in mind that the concept of private property itself must change in a dynamic and progressive society. Thus, for instance, Prime Minister Nehru observed in the Lok Sabha, on 14th March, 1955, in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill:¹⁷

"This Constitution is now about five years old, and in the making of it, undoubtedly, there was a good deal of effort and labour on the part of many of the leading persons in this country We are entitled to treat this Constitution, therefore, with all the respect that it deserves. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that however good a Constitution might be at any time, after working it for some little time, flaws appear. Nothing is perfect, and then it becomes necessary to make changes to remove those flaws After all, the Constitution is meant to facilitate the working of the Government and the administrative and other structures of this country. It is meant to be not something that is static and which has a static form in a changing world, but something which has something dynamic in it, which takes cognizance of the dynamic nature of modern conditions, modern society, and at the same time has checks which prevent hasty action which might happen to be wrong. There are plenty of checks in this Constitution. Now, therefore, the fact that an

17. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955.

amendment is proposed to this Constitution now or later should not and cannot be challenged except on the merits Now, what basically do these amendments deal with? Basically, they deal with the power and authority of this Parliament, that is to say, how far that power and authority of this Parliament can be exercised without review or check or other decision against it by the Courts, by the judiciary. Now, one of the fundamental bases of this Constitution and our general practice in this country is to have an independent and powerful judiciary. We have respected that, and I hope we will continue to respect it. There is no question of challenging, modifying, limiting or minimising the authority of the judiciary in this country. That should be understood, and therefore, what the judiciary, the High Courts, or the Supreme Court, decide we inevitably accept, and we act upon it. That is one thing. On the other side, if I may say so with all respect to the judiciary, they do not decide about high political, social, or economic or other questions. It is for Parliament to decide the ultimate authority to lay down what political or social or economic law we should have is Parliament and Parliament alone; it is not the function of the judiciary to do that. Now, the mere fact that I come up before this House with these amendments to the Constitution shows our respect for the judiciary. We accept the interpretation by the judiciary of the Constitution. Having accepted that, we feel it is not in consonance with the social or economic policy that we think the country should pursue. Therefore, we do not by-pass the Supreme Court; we come for a change in the Constitution, accepting their interpretation of it."

"It was my privilege in fact," the Prime Minister continued,¹⁸ "to move this Article,¹⁹ or the corresponding one,²⁰ before the Constituent Assembly, and I gave expression to my views as to what it meant fairly clearly then; but I am a layman. A very high constitutional and legal authority, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, also spoke; my colleague here sitting to the right of me also spoke; and they gave expression to a certain viewpoint in interpreting

the very articles that we are putting forward. One might presume therefore what the intention of the movers of those articles was when they placed them forward, and therefore what the intention of the Constituent Assembly was at the time. But we need not trouble ourselves about that. If the Supreme Court or the High Courts of this country have interpreted those articles in a different way, contrary to the intentions as expressed by the very movers of these articles in the Constituent Assembly, they have every right to do so. We cannot say, they should go back to refer to the speeches made and the rest. It simply means that we who put forward these articles were in error in drafting them. We did not put forward, we did not define precisely, what we meant. And therefore, we have to come to this House, to Parliament, now to change the drafting, the wording, to give effect to what was clearly meant then Now, the object of the amendments I am placing before this House is to clarify this matter, to make it in precise language perfectly clear, so that the decisions of this Parliament might not be challenged in regard to these matters in the court of law. Now, what are these amendments? In the main, as I said, they merely state what the authority of Parliament is The question really has resolved itself as to the manner and the quantum of compensation. Now, I had thought, when we passed this Article in the Constituent Assembly, that we had made it perfectly clear that Parliament would fix either quantum of, or the rules governing, compensation, and after that, there would be no challenge at all. Well, in spite of that, it has been challenged—and in fact, challenged effectively. The question, therefore, is not one of expropriating without compensation, but the quantum of compensation to be given and who is to fix it. In fact, what we are doing, so far as Article 31 is concerned, is that we are merely repeating, but in more precise and clear language, what we had said before. That is, previously it had been said—I need not read it, the House knows it—that there would be compensation but Parliament would determine the quantum of it or fix the rules governing it."

Further, The Prime Minister stated :²¹

21. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March, 1955.

18. See *ibid.*

19. I.e., Article 31 of the Constitution.

20. I.e., Article 24 of the *Draft Constitution of India*.

"In the case of normal land acquisition, the normal laws prevail and the normal full compensation is given, but where all this affects a much larger sphere, the social sphere, then we have provided differently. If we are aiming as, I hope, we are aiming—and we repeatedly say we are aiming—at changes in the social structure, then, inevitably, you cannot think in terms of giving what is called full compensation. Why? Well, firstly, because you cannot do it. Secondly, because it would be improper to do it, unjust to do it, and it should not be done even if you can do it, for the simple reason that all these social matters, laws, etc., are aiming to bring about a certain structure of society different from what it is at present. In that different structure, among the other things that will change is this—the big difference between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' Now, if we are giving full compensation, well, the 'haves' remain the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' 'have-nots'; it does not change in shape or form if compensation takes place. Therefore, in any scheme of social engineering, if I may say so, you cannot give full compensation, apart from the other patent fact that you are not in a position—nobody has the resources—to give it We do want to give compensation and we intend to, as we have been doing. But it is patent that the compensation that has to be paid is not a kind of rule of thumb, that the compensation that you give should be the market value of the property. It cannot be done, if you have to think in terms of India as a whole State; you have to think not only of the type of property but the history behind it, the social consequences behind it and all that kind of thing in determining the compensation. The object is not to expropriate, the object is not to injure anybody; the object is a positive object, to bring about a social change for the benefit of the largest number of people doing the least injury to any group or class. Now, in a matter of this kind, therefore, where you have to consider all these factors, political, social, economic, I submit that the judiciary is not the competent authority. The judiciary is a competent authority to judge—is this the market value or not? They are better competent than Parliament to decide that, but when you have to consider social and economic policies, obviously it would be unfair to cast the

burden on the judiciary and it is only Parliament or the State that can do it."

In conclusion, the Prime Minister remarked:²²

"I would like to draw the attention of the House to something that is not adequately stressed either in Parliament or in the country. We stress greatly and argue in courts of law about the fundamental rights. Rightly so, but there is such a thing also as the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Even at the cost of repeating them, I wish to read them out. (The Prime Minister referred here to Articles 37, 38 and 39 of the Constitution). These are, as the Constitution says, the fundamentals in the governance of the country. Now, I should like the House to consider how you can give effect to these principles if the argument which is often being used even, if I may say so with all respect, by the Supreme Court, is adhered to. You can't. You may say you must accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution. They are wiser than we are in interpreting things. But I say, then if that is correct, there is an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. Therefore, again, it is up to this Parliament to remove that contradiction and make the fundamental rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy. Therefore, without going into further details of these matters, I would like to commend this Bill²³ to the House The main purpose is to remove this apparent contradiction that has arisen owing to the decisions of the Supreme Court between certain parts of the Constitution, between certain Articles on the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution: and to make the Constitution more harmonious."

Again, while moving for the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as reported by the Joint (Select) Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, the Prime Minister observed²⁴ on 11th April, 1955, in the Lok Sabha, in connexion with the question of alleged "sanctity of private property":

"The view in regard to property which Shri

22. See *ibid.*

23. I.e., the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill.

24. See the Lok Sabha Debates of 11th April, 1955.

Chatterjee²⁵ has put forward in his Minute of Dissent and in which he is supported by some high legal authorities, is one with which I cannot agree. Repeatedly, Shri N. C. Chatterjee refers to the use of the phrase 'the sanctity of private property', as though there was something divine or semi-divine about it. It is a right-property. The possession of property is a thing which we recognise, which we protect, and it is defined here how compensation is to be given if a man is deprived of it. There it is. But to talk in these terms, if I may say so, of sanctity, divinity, etc., being attached to property is very much out of date. It has no relation, not only to present days but to present-day facts. I am not referring to what may be called socialistic or communistic countries, but to countries which are presumed to be capitalistic and the like. The whole conception, the whole approach, is changing. If Shri Chatterjee quotes something from the judges of the middle of the 19th century, that may have been the way of thinking then. It is not so now. The whole idea and approach to this question is changing Again, Shri Chatterjee quotes—rather, he quotes someone who quotes an eminent English jurist as having said that 'the public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property.' I would like the House to consider these words: 'Public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of private property.' That is what I call an astounding and amazing statement—that the highest public good is the protection of private property, more than everything else. I do submit that not only we should not agree to it but we should reject it summarily and absolutely—such a statement—whoever might have made it The whole thing changes, everything. The idea of property changes with the coming of the technological revolution atomic energy is releasing enormous forces which are bound to change and which are changing human life. In this tremendous age, to think in a static way and to imagine that property has exactly the same place in human life as it used to, means that you have stopped thinking at all."

25. Shri N. C. Chatterjee, Hooghly, West Bengal. As a member of the Joint (Select) Committee of Parliament, Shri Chatterjee had submitted a Minute of Dissent on the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill.

The Prime Minister added, however²⁶:

"I think the proposition that some hon. Members on the other side advanced about acquisition or confiscation without compensation seems to me a basically wrong proposition from the point of view of the public good—not from love of property or anything like that. It is basically a wrong proposition. In a particular case if a person misbehaves that is a different matter. I am talking in the broad sense: I do not want anything to be acquired except—normally speaking—on payment of just compensation if we have to acquire property I think we should pay just and equitable compensation. I am talking about individual properties."

Finally, in connexion with the motion for the passing of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as amended, the Prime Minister stated²⁷ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"The object of this Bill, in fact, is not to give, in the normal cases, any illusory or unjust compensation. There may be such cases, I can concede, when dealing with large schemes where compensation may be calculated in a special way. But, even there, it won't be, I hope, unjust this amendment removes certain difficulties in our way; it makes it easier for us in future to proceed with our social plans, and at the same time, it does not injure really any interest; and certainly it does not injure the interest of the small producer or small owner."

Views more or less similar to those of the Prime Minister as quoted above, were expressed in our Parliament²⁸ by the Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Pataskar), by the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Krishnamachari), and by the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Pant), in connection with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. For reasons of space we cannot quote these views here. We may, however, refer here to one or two such views. For instance, Shri Pataskar said²⁹ in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, that it was "not a correct proce-

26. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 11th April, 1955.

27. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 12th April, 1955, columns 5116 and 5124.

28. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th and 15th March and 11th and 12th April, 1955; also the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th and 19th March and of 19th and 20th April, 1957.

29. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955.

ture to try to construe (as, according to him, the Supreme Court of India had done) the Indian Constitution on the basis of the words and phrases which occur" in the Constitutions of Australia, Canada, or the United States of America, as these Constitutions "were meant for being useful to different countries for the solution of their own different problems." The provisions of our Constitution should, he held, be interpreted in the light of Clause 5³⁰ of the Objectives Resolution unanimously adopted by our Constituent Assembly³¹ (on 22nd January, 1947), the Preamble³² to our Constitution, and the Directive Principles of State Policy as embodied in Part IV of the Constitution. "The most important provision in this connexion," observed³³ Shri Pataskar, "is Article 38 (of the Constitution) which lays down that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by establishing a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life. Whatever is laid down in Articles 19, 31 and similar provisions (of the Constitution) have to be interpreted in view of this policy of a welfare state. If you do not take any account of this thing and try to interpret the Constitution, the interpretation is bound to be incorrect Our Constitution is an independent piece of work not based on any particular Constitution, but is framed on the historical background of our constitutional development and the particular needs of our country in view of the goal which has been set before us. That must be taken into account for its proper interpretation There is no point in arguing about the sanctity of property. If there is any interpretation by which the progress of the country is going to be held up, such an amendment³⁴ is the only solution To argue that by this amendment we are trying to take away the authority of the courts is not correct.

30. Reference was to the following provision in it: "Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India, justice, social, economic, and political."

31. See our article in *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, in this connexion.

32. Reference was made to the following provision in it: "We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: justice social, economic and political. . . ."

33. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955.

34. I.e., as proposed by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill.

We are trying to restore what the Constitution-makers really intended In our opinion the present Articles (of the Constitution) are enough for the purpose for which they are intended. But on account of the interpretation of the Courts it has become necessary to bring forward this legislation. It should be more appropriate to hold that our Constitution-makers trusted the legislatures to protect the rights of citizens, as the people of Great Britain trust their Parliament to protect (the) people's property The intention of the framers of the Constitution cannot be allowed to be negated or hampered by incorrect interpretation" (by the court of law).

And Shri G. B. Pant said³⁵ in the Rajya Sabha on 17th March, 1955:

"Our Constitution enshrines the main purpose and objective of our national policy. Our society is to be based on the twin pillars of social and economic justice. The Preamble embodies the main objective for which the Parliament is designed and intended to function. It has, besides the Preamble, the Directive Principles (of State Policy) which in a way chalk out the road which will lead to the goal which has been defined in the Constitution. Still in greater detail we have also certain Fundamental Rights which are equally entitled to every consideration and regard. Besides, the Constitution provides for an independent judiciary and the Supreme Court. The function of the Parliament is the most important. It has an unlimited scope and it can, if it so chooses and if circumstances so require, make far-reaching changes in the Constitution But when there is a conflict between the main central objective of our social reconstruction policy, the Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles and Parliamentary legislation on the one hand and the decisions of the Supreme Court on the other, some way has to be found out to establish harmony between all these, especially between the Legislature and the Supreme Court. It is with a view to resolving that conflict (an) amendment of the Constitution has to be made. While in every way upholding the dignity and respect that is due to the Supreme Court, it becomes the duty of the executive to devise suitable means in order to bring the two together,

35. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th March, 1955.

so that the main purpose for which the two exist, may be fulfilled. The course of legislation during the last few years has revealed defects in Article 31 of our Constitution. It is with a view to curing that defect that this Bill has been placed before this House."

Further³⁶:

"Article 31 is concerned with a vital matter. The original clause in the Draft Constitution was, I think, Clause 24. That by itself was the subject of a prolonged controversy and some of us happened to be concerned with that controversy even then. Some basic fundamentals were accepted and are accepted even today. We have no desire to indulge in the game of expropriation wantonly. We do not want to deprive anyone of his property unnecessarily or to acquire any property except on the payment of such compensation as may be appropriate. There are different purposes for which properties have to be acquired. Sometimes, we have to acquire a piece of land for an isolated administrative purpose, such as the building of a post office or a railway station. In such cases we pay adequate compensation, the market value and something in addition. That law is not in any way varied Social legislation affecting the community in general or large sections of it stands on a different footing and it has to be viewed from a different angle. It is here that Article 31 comes in It was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article. That Article, however, laid down that compensation would be paid for acquisition, but the quantum of it or the principles and the manner in which, or in accordance with which, such compensation was to be given, should be determined by Parliament. It was then the view of very eminent jurists like Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar* and also others, that the Parliament would be the final authority in the matter. Only when a fraud on the Constitution was conclusively and demonstrably established, would the courts intervene. And we thought that it would not be otherwise, for when principles are laid down and the methods also are prescribed, the court can ordinarily only act according to the principles, interpret the principles that are prescribed and also see if the method laid down by the Legis-

lature has been complied with faithfully. But the hopes have been belied. It has been found that the courts did not agree with the interpretation which the authors of the Constitution thought it bore and it would convey. They have construed the Article differently."

"Many things have happened," added³⁷ Shri Pant, "which were altogether beyond the range of imagination of the authors of the Constitution. It has been found that the guarantees that they had given has been interpreted in a manner which comes in the way of social legislation, and which does not allow even very modest steps to be taken in the direction of social welfare. We have decided to work for a welfare state of a socialistic pattern in our country; well, that may call for big changes We regard the community as the supreme arbiter of all things. In a democratic State it is the people who are the masters. But, as I said, we do recognise private rights even in property. But it should not be forgotten that all private rights in property are the creatures of society. Such rights exist because the State is able to maintain order and to follow certain policies. Even if one were to say that compensation should be determined by the market value, the State could always order things in such a way that the value might almost be diminished and reduced to zero. The State could impose taxation to the extent of 99.5 per cent on the income from the property. There is nothing to prevent it from doing so. There is no constitutional bar. It could say that the rent to be paid would be such as would be even less than the cost of repair of the property. So various devices could be adopted which would altogether nullify even a provision about the payment of a price on the basis of the market rate."

Again, on 19th April, 1955, Shri Pant stated³⁸ in the *Rajya Sabha*:

"There is a change at the end of Article 31 (2) (of the Constitution) in order that it may be in accord with the spirit and the intentions of the Constitution. The amendments do not make any real change in the Constitution as such but they bring the Constitution in conformity with what the authors of the Constitution intended and expected it to be. The occasion

³⁶ See *ibid.*

* Also spelt in our Parliamentary Proceedings as "Iyer".

³⁷ See *ibid.*

³⁸ See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th April, 1955.

for these changes has arisen out of certain decisions and pronouncements by the Supreme Court and by some of the High Courts. The Constitution gave the supreme authority to Parliament and the State Legislatures for determining the quantum of the compensation that would be payable for the acquisition of property for public social purposes. That was the intention of the framers of the Constitution That was the intention, but the language (of the Constitution) did not fully convey it. The courts were in the circumstances unable to carry out the intentions of the authors (of the Constitution). It became necessary therefore to amend the language so that the courts might be relieved of the embarrassing necessity of having to interpret the clause in a manner which did not quite conform to the wishes, intentions or objects of the authors of the Constitution. This Bill³⁹ was introduced in order to get over the hurdles which had been thus created When the Select Committee⁴⁰ examined it, it felt that the room for misunderstanding should be completely eliminated and the language should be made precise and clear so that there may be no occasion for any misinterpretation or misunderstanding in the future. With that object in view these words were introduced, that is, the compensation that may be fixed by the Parliament or the principles that may be evolved by it for the determination of compensation will not be questioned on the ground that the compensation so provided is not adequate. Adequacy or inadequacy will not come within the field of justiciability. Still the jurisdiction of the courts has not been removed. The courts will have authority to determine whether the compensation in any case is illusory or amounts to a fraud on the Constitution. I personally am confident that no such occasion will ever arise. I may just state that there is no suggestion or indication in the clause⁴¹ itself about any intentions regarding expropriation of property. The clause in fact makes a provision the other way.

39. The title of the Bill was originally the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1954. Later on it was changed into the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, 1955.—See *ibid.*, column 5097-5098.

40. Reference here is to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament to which the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill had been referred.

41. I.e., the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution.

It says that no property will be acquired or requisitioned except on payment of compensation The question however that has to be considered in connection with this proposition is one relating to the quantum of compensation. It is to be frankly admitted that where property is acquired for a colossal scheme of social reform we cannot pay compensation according to the market rate. It is impossible; no State can do it."

Finally, Shri G. B. Pant observed⁴² in the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955:

"It has been said that we should not tamper with the Constitution lightly. That principle has been accepted and it is not denied. But what we are doing by means of this amending Bill today is to rehabilitate the Constitution and not to tamper with it. The spirit of the Constitution, the intentions of the authors should prevail and where the language had been found defective or ambiguous it should be adjusted and revised so that the actual purpose for which the Constitution was framed and the intentions of the authors and the motives which actuated them may be fully borne out. There is no intention of tampering with the Constitution. The instrument that was framed for the purpose has been found defective and we are trying to remove the deficiencies I should like to mention that the concept of private property is not a static one; it has been changing from time to time. In the good or bad old days, slaves were regarded as private property. Some time ago even women were treated as such. But the concept of private property has been changing One can easily say that private property is a creature of the State Whatever rights there are, they are creatures of the State We have no desire to interfere with the rights of private property. I personally do not think that it will be consistent with our accepted canons of non-violence and democracy to wipe out the right of private property. We may regulate it; we may control it or we may deal with it in a manner which will just conduce to the welfare of the community but we need not efface it completely. That has never been the intention What we have to do is that our resources should be expended in the just manner possible so that the establishment of the

42. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 20th April, 1955.

welfare state of our dreams may be speeded up and expedited. That is the only purpose which this Bill has before it. Some Members have suggested that it will interfere with the jurisdiction of the courts. Well, in so far as the ambiguous language of the former Clause (2) of Article 31 compelled the courts to exercise the jurisdiction which the authors of the Constitution never imagined the courts possessed, that power the courts will cease to have but to the extent the courts were actually given any jurisdiction by the authors of the Constitution, the courts will continue to exercise. The need for this amendment arose out of the interpretations placed on this clause by the highest tribunal in this land in a series of cases which arose on this particular clause. . . . in *Bela Banerjee's* case . . . it was unequivocally held that the compensation that will be paid under this clause should be the full equivalent of the property. It is impossible to carry out any measure of social legislation if the market value for the property acquired is to be paid especially when large schemes of social reforms are to be launched, which we hope to, in the course of the next few years. No State can afford to pay the money equivalent of the property that will be acquired for the benefit of the poorer sections of the community in this land It has, therefore, to be accepted that an amendment of Article 31 (2) had become unavoidable. That being conceded and it also being accepted that full market value cannot possibly be paid, I think the least intelligent will concede that no other formula could have been devised than the one which has found place in this amending Bill."

IV

We have given above, in view of the importance of the question, sufficient extracts from official views to indicate why the original Clause (2) of Article 31 was replaced in 1955 by the new Clause (2) which we have quoted before. The object of this change was, to quote Shri G. B. Pant⁴³ again, "to bring about (a) complete harmony between the Directive Principles (of State Policy), Fundamental Rights, Preamble (to the Constitution) and the laws that are designed to carry the country forward

on the road chalked out for it, towards the central objective which has been solemnly prescribed for it," namely, the establishment of a Welfare State in India on a socialistic pattern.

The Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill was passed, practically as it emerged from the Joint Select Committee of Parliament by the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955, by 302 votes against 5, and by the Rajya Sabha on 20th April, 1955, by 139 votes against nil. It became law and a part of our Constitution on 27th April, 1955.

We shall now see the other side of the picture so far as the new Clause (2) of Article 31 is concerned. As we have seen before, reading the original Clause (2) of Article 31 in the light of its own sober and conscientious judgment and with due regard to the judicial oath (or affirmation), the Supreme Court held in essence in the *Bela Banerjee* case that the quantum of compensation payable under this clause was "a justiciable issue to be adjudicated (upon) by the court" of law. That element of justiciability has now been repealed by the new Clause (2) of Article 31. Thus the jurisdiction of the court of law has been ousted by the new Clause in respect of the quantum of compensation payable under it. It was argued on the official side that this change was really in accordance with the intention of the authors of the Constitution. We do not know. As, however, shown before, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, on the other hand, revealed⁴⁴ in the course of his speech in the Rajya Sabha on 19th March, 1955, that he and his Drafting Committee (of the Constituent Assembly) could "take no responsibility whatsoever" for Article 31 of the Constitution; that it had not been drafted by them; that, "at the time when Article 31 was being framed," the Congress Party (in the Constituent Assembly) "was so divided within itself" that they "did not know what to do, what to put and what not to put;" that there were three sections in the Congress Party; and that one section had been "led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who stood for full compensation, full compensation in the sense in which full compensation is enacted in our Land Acquisition Act, namely, market price plus 15

43. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th March, 1955, column 2510.

44. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 19th March, 1955, columns 2450-2451.

per cent solatium." What Dr. Ambedkar revealed on 19th March was not contradicted by any Member of the Rajya Sabha, including Shri G. B. Pant who was present there when he spoke. Moreover, Sri Pant had also previously admitted himself, in the course of his speech in the Rajya Sabha on 17th March, 1955, that the original Clause 24 of the Draft Constitution which later on became Article 31 of the Constitution, had been "the subject of a prolonged controversy", and that Article 31 "was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article."⁴⁵ In view of this previous record of a sharp difference of opinion, it is difficult to agree fully with the contention that the change made by the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution was in accordance with *the intention of the authors* of the Constitution, since under the new clause compensation offered in accordance with a duly enacted law might sometimes, as we shall see later on, be nominal or illusory and there would be no remedy against it in any court of law. In view of the revelation made by Dr. Ambedkar, it does not seem that Sardar Patel and his group would agree to this.

Secondly, the Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Pant) stated⁴⁶ on 12th April, 1955, in the Lok Sabha—and he repeated this view in essence on several occasions later on—that the amendments proposed did "not abrogate any of the Fundamental Rights." Further, he observed:⁴⁷

"The right of private property has not been abolished by this amended Bill⁴⁸ nor have the courts been completely deprived of jurisdiction justiciability remains and in suitable cases relief can be obtained While compensation should be paid wherever property is acquired, the courts can be approached only when the compensation is almost illusory or when there has been a fraud on the Constitution."

It is really difficult to agree with this view also. Apart from the difficulty of defining the expressions "almost illusory" and "a fraud on the Constitution," we should like to submit that a law may be duly made by a Legislature,

Central or State,—and this is quite conceivable in these days of party discipline in the Legislature—, which may provide for the payment of only a nominal compensation for a very valuable piece of property acquired for a public purpose. For instance, the law in question may provide for the payment of Rs. 5,000 only for a property which is worth, at least, Rs. 50,000. If this happens, there will be no remedy in any court of law. The new Clause (2) of Article 31 will stand in the way. Legally speaking, we submit that the offer, by way of compensation, of any positive quantity of money above zero, will satisfy the requirements of the Constitution, and that it will be non-justiciable. Therefore, the Fundamental Right to Property as originally guaranteed by the Constitution and as expounded by our Supreme Court, has been, in effect, largely abrogated by the new Clause (2). There can be no reasonable doubt about this.*

Again, the Minister of Home Affairs stated⁴⁹ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"We must clearly understand the scope of this clause.⁵⁰ It does not apply to the acquisition of a small bit of property for administrative purposes. It would not apply to the acquisition of any piece of land in Delhi, say, for building an office for the Speaker. It would apply only to cases which come within the compass of what the Prime Minister has called 'social engineering'."

This argument appears to us to be rather specious and misleading as the distinction made by the Minister of Home Affairs is not warranted by the language of the Clause (2) of Article 31. There is no reference to such a distinction in the Clause.

We may refer in this connexion to another point. Many verbal assurances were given by the Prime Minister and other official spokesmen on the floor of either Chamber of Parliament in connexion with the enactment of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment), Act, 1955. The sum and substance of these assurances was that no injustice would be done to any person under the Act, and particularly to any owner of a small property. Whatever moral value these assurances might have had, they have, it

45. See the *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th March, 1955, columns 2229-2230.

46. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *I.e.*, the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill as amended by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament.

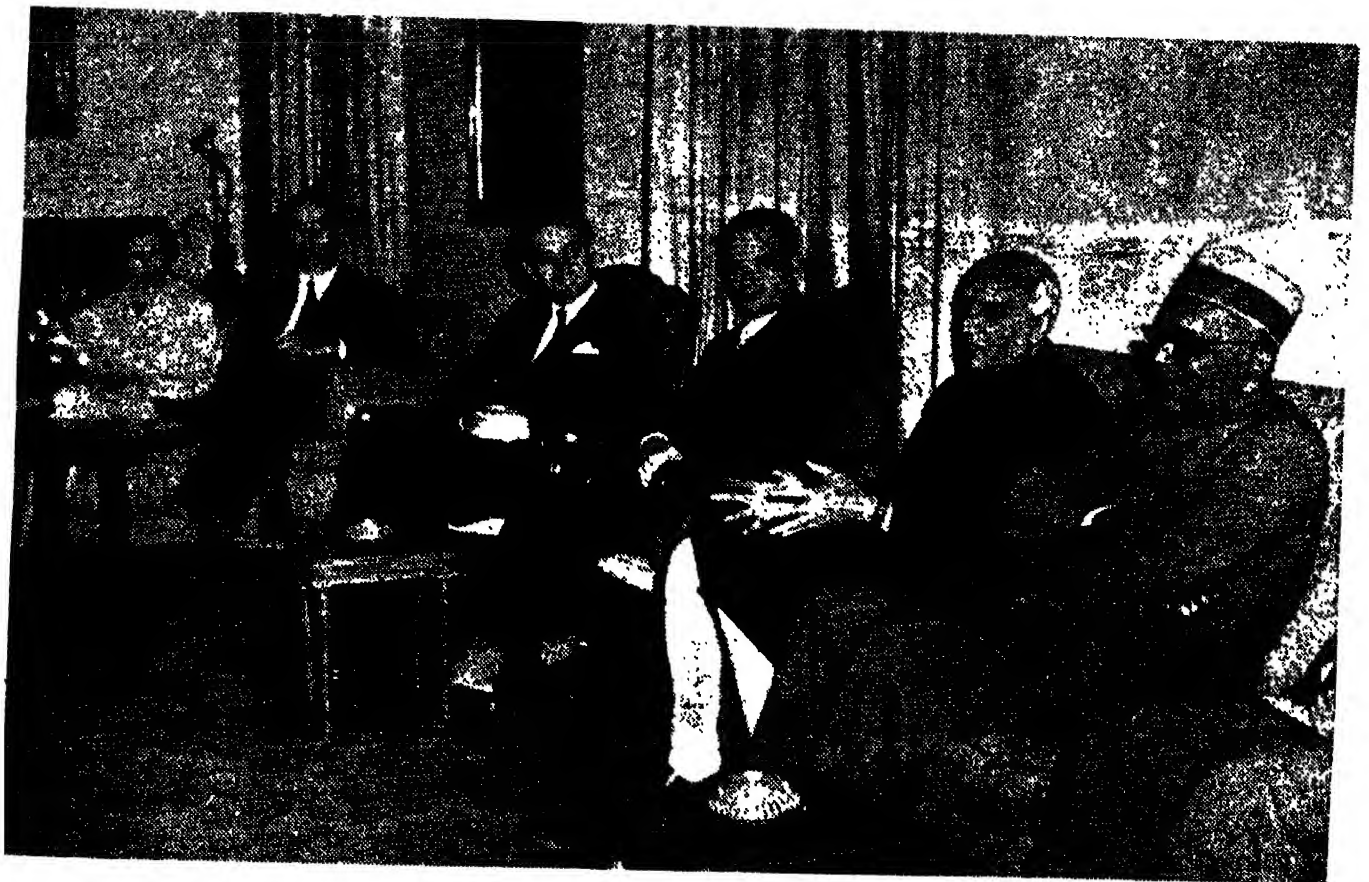
* See in this connexion foot-note 56 *post*.

49. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955.

50. The Home Minister obviously meant by this word the new Clause (2) of Article 31.



Members of the Rumanian Cultural Delegation cheering the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, after he had witnessed the show put up by the Delegation in New Delhi



Sri Nehru in conversation with members of the International Press Institute Delegation in New Delhi



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greeting Mr. A. Bucean, Leader of the Rumanian Cultural Delegation in New Delhi



Sri G. B. Pant, Union Home Minister, being conducted round the exhibition of scientific and technical literature in Hindi held in New Delhi

is submitted, no value in law. In case of any dispute, the court of law will be guided by the language of the relevant law. "If the words of the statute," says Maxwell,⁵¹ "are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary than to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such cases best declaring the intention of the legislature." "If there is one rule of construction for statutes and other documents, it is that you must not imply anything in them which is inconsistent with the words expressly used." "Further," where, by the use of clear and unequivocal language capable of only one meaning, anything is enacted by the legislature, it must be enforced, even though it be absurd or mischievous . . . However unjust, arbitrary or inconvenient the meaning conveyed may be, it must receive its full effect. When the meaning is plain, it is not the province of a court to scan its wisdom or its policy. Its duty is not to make the law reasonable, but to expound it as it stands, according to the real sense of the words" (used).⁵² This is the accepted rule of construction of statutes, and the language of our new Clause (2) of Article 31 is clear and unequivocal. We, therefore, feel that, notwithstanding any official assurances to the contrary the power conferred by the new Clause may be misused and the clause has grave potentialities for mischief. Today, a political party with a balanced outlook on life and a moderate ideology may be in power in the country. Tomorrow, another political party with a less balanced outlook on life and with a less moderate ideology may come into power. And then there may be a danger of abuse of the power conferred by the new Clause, by such a political party. Indeed, the new Clause has provided for a potential tyranny in the name of a Welfare State.

In the third place, it has to be borne in mind that Part III of the Constitution in which Article 31 occurs, is headed "Fundamental Rights," and that Article 31 itself is preceded by the heading "Right to Property." Therefore, Right to Property is a Fundamental Right and, as a matter of fact, constitutes one of the seven divisions in which our Fundamental Rights are

divided. Now, "a right," says a great jurist,⁵³ "is an interest *recognised and protected by a rule of right*."⁵⁴ It is any interest, respect for which is a duty, and the disregard of which is a wrong." Further,⁵⁵ "a legal right . . . is an interest recognised and protected by a rule of legal justice—an interest the violation of which would be a legal wrong done to him whose interest it is, and respect for which is a legal duty. 'Rights,' says Ihering, 'are legally protected interests'." A right, therefore, implies a legal remedy to enforce it. But if there is a constitutional bar to the judicial enforcement of a right, that is to say, its enforcement or vindication by an aggrieved party through the medium of a court of law, then the right in question has really no meaning and has, in fact, ceased to be a right. As Lord Chief Justice Holt of England observed in the course of his judgment in *Ashby V. White and Others* (2 Anne, 1704), "It is a vain thing to imagine there should be Right without a Remedy, for Want of Right and Want of Remedy are convertibles."* The new Clause (2) of Article 31 is such a constitutional bar and implies in effect a great erosion of our Fundamental Right to Property as originally guaranteed by our Constitution.⁵⁶ And as it provided for the curbing of the jurisdiction of the court of law in a very important matter, it is difficult to say that it satisfies the requirements of the rule of law which is a fundamental principle of democracy.

It may be argued in this connexion—and, as a matter of fact, it was so argued by several Members of our Parliament during the consideration of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill—, that we must trust our legislatures. Well, our reply to this is that if we could always trust our legislatures, then there would have

53. Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, 10th Edition, p. 229.

54. The italics are ours.

55. Salmond, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

* Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases and Documents*, 1947, p. 410.

56. Acharya Kripalani was more forthright when he declared in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955:

"To say that these amendments are not tampering with private property rights as conceived by the orthodox, is absolutely incorrect. Let us say frankly that we are doing it—abrogating property rights. We are doing this deliberately and let there be no misconception about this."—*Lok Sabha Debates*, 12th April, 1955, columns 4988. This is a very honest and straightforward view.

51. *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, 10th Edition, p. 2.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

been no necessity of the Chapter of Fundamental Rights in our Constitution. We have previously⁵⁷ discussed the question of the utility of a bill of rights in the Constitution of a country governed democratically. We need not repeat here what we have already said except that "the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution acts as a great safeguard, not only against any 'misconstruction or abuse of power' on the part of a department of a Government, but also against any 'excesses of party spirit' and what is known in political speculation as 'the tyranny of the majority' which is now generally included, as John Stuart Mill has rightly said, 'among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard'." And we must not forget here that, thanks to the requirements of party discipline in a parliamentary form of government, "Legislature practically means," as Acharya Kripalani rightly observed⁵⁸ in the Lok Sabha on 12th April, 1955, "the executive."⁵⁹

Fourthly, as shown before, the Prime Minister raised an important question of constitutional principle when he stated⁶⁰ in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, that, if the view that we must accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution was correct, then there was "an inherent contradiction in the Constitution between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy." Therefore, he declared:⁶¹ "It is up to this Parliament to remove that contradiction and make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy."

This view of the Prime Minister was later on echoed in our Parliament by some other members of it. It, however, appears to us that to declare that the Parliament should "make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy," is to say something which is against the whole scheme of our Constitution to which the Prime Minister him-

self had been a party. As Shri N. C. Chatterjee rightly pointed out⁶² in the Lok Sabha on 11th April, 1955 :

"The purpose of this Fundamental Rights Chapter was that no matter what majority you have, there are certain forbidden sectors on which you will never trespass. The purpose of Fundamental Rights is that certain legal principles should be established, beyond the reach of the Parliament and the executive, to be applied by Courts of law You cannot enforce Directive Principles. Our Constitution says⁶³ expressly that they are non-justiciable There lies the main difference between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles these Fundamental Rights were made to withdraw certain items from the reach of political controversy, and to provide certain essential safeguards which are regarded as sacred."

Shri Chatterjee quoted⁶⁴ in this connexion Justice Sutherland of the United States to say:

"The very purpose of a Bill of Rights was to withdraw certain subjects from the vicissitudes of political controversy."

We may also mention here that as early as 9th April, 1951, the Supreme Court had, as we have seen before,⁶⁵ declared unanimously and in unequivocal terms, in the course of its judgment in *The State of Madras V. Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan* and *The State of Madras V. C.R. Srinivasan*:⁶⁶

"The learned Advocate-General of Madras even contends that the provisions of Article 46 override the provisions of Article 29(2). We reject the above-noted contentions completely. The directive principles of the State policy, which by Article 37 are expressly made unenforceable by a Court, cannot override the provisions found in Part III (of the Constitution) which, notwithstanding other provisions, are expressly made enforceable by appropriate Writs, Orders or directions under Article 32. The chapter of Fundamental Rights is sacrosanct

57. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 374-76.

58. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 12th April, 1955, column 4989.

59. Acharya Kripalani added: "It is absurd to say that the legislature is a free body of persons. . . . The executive is the legislature in a party system democracy."—See *ibid.*

60. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 14th March, 1955, column 1956.

61. See *ibid.*

62. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 11th April, 1955, column 4890-4892.

63. Reference here is to Article 37 of the Constitution.

64. *Lok Sabha Debates*, 11th April, 1955, column 4891.

65. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 199.

66. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. 11, Part V, May, 1951, pp. 530-31.

and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive Act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate Article in Part III. The directive principles of State policy *have to conform to and run as subsidiary*⁶⁷ to the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. In our opinion, that is the correct way in which the provisions found in Parts III and IV (of the Constitution) have to be understood. However, so long as there is no infringement of any Fundamental Right, to the extent conferred by the provisions in Part III, there can be no objection to the State acting in accordance with the directive principles set out in Part IV, but subject again to the Legislative and Executive powers and limitations conferred on the State under different provisions of the Constitution."

This is the constitutional position of the Fundamental Rights *vis-a-vis* the Directive Principles of State Policy as envisaged by the authors of the Constitution. In the course of his speech on the Draft Constitution of India as prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Committee, observed⁶⁸ in the Constituent Assembly on 14th November, 1948, with reference to the Directive Principle of State Policy :

"In the Draft Constitution the Fundamental Rights are followed by what are called 'Directive Principles' These Directive Principles have also come up for criticism. It is said that they are only pious declarations. They have no binding force. This criticism is of course superfluous. The Constitution itself says so in so many words. If it is said that the Directive Principles have no legal force behind them, I am prepared to admit it. But I am not prepared to admit that they have no sort of binding force at all. Nor am I prepared to concede that they are useless because they have no binding force in law they are really Instruments of Instructions to the Executive and the Legislatures as to how they should exercise their powers."

We, therefore, certainly recognize the importance of the Directive Principles in our Con-

stitution. But at the same time, we should not exaggerate this importance. To declare solemnly, as the Prime Minister did on 14th March, 1955, within a little over five years of the commencement of the Constitution, that it is up to our Parliament to "make the Fundamental Rights subserve the Directive Principles of State Policy," is to go, we repeat, against the whole scheme of the Constitution. If the view of the Prime Minister is generally to prevail and if, therefore, the requirements of the Directive Principles of State Policy are to have a prior importance over those of our Fundamental Rights, then it would be much better and more straightforward to delete the Chapter on Fundamental Rights from the Constitution, and thus to do away with a camouflage. Nor should we ignore in this connexion the fact that, although there are really many fine declarations as well as expressions of noble sentiments in our Directive Principles, yet many of them, are, speaking administratively, incapable of translation into practice. This is probably the reason why the Directive Principles have been declared by Article 37 of our Constitution as unenforceable by any court of law.

Finally, we should like to make one more observation. It was argued in our Parliament by more than one speaker in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill that the proposed new Clause (2) of Article 31 would materially help to promote the economic well-being of our country. We are afraid that it may act otherwise. Regard being had to what economists consider to be the "fundamental principles of human nature," we feel that in the long run the new Clause (2) may, as a great damper, adversely affect the incentive to hard work on the part of our people, and in particular the inducement to invest money in productive enterprises on the part of our entrepreneurs. Moreover, it may even scare away foreign investment from our country. Thus on the whole, the productiveness of the country and its economic well-being may be seriously affected as a result of the new Clause (2), and it would be both unwise and unrealistic to ignore this psychological effect.

For considerations of space, we propose to continue our discussion of Article 31 in our next articles in the series we have been publishing.

67. The italics are ours.

68. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 4th November, 1948, pp. 41-42.

KASHMIR PROBLEM AND THE UNITED NATIONS

BY PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A., W.B.E.S.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

IN his Report to the Security Council, dated April 29, 1957, on the Kashmir question, officially known as the India-Pakistan Question, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, Swedish Representative at the United Nations, who visited the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for nearly a month from March 14. to April 11, 1957, observed: "While I feel unable to report to the Council any concrete proposals which in my opinion *at this time* are likely to contribute toward a settlement of the dispute, as I was requested to do under the terms of reference of the Council's resolution of February 21, 1957 (S/3793), my examination of the situation as it obtains *at present* would indicate that, despite the *present* deadlock, both parties are still desirous of finding a solution to the problem. In this connection the Council may wish to take note of expressions of sincere willingness to co-operate with the United Nations in the finding of a peaceful solution, which I received from both governments."¹

It is not understood if Mr. Jarring is waiting for a more suitable moment to suggest any concrete proposals for the solution of the Kashmir question. When the Security Council debated the question on September 24, 1957, and there were conflicting interpretations of the Jarring Report regarding the practicability of a plebiscite *at present* in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the issue of its accession to India or Pakistan, Mr. Jarring steadfastly refused to abandon his silence, though Mr. Krishna Menon, India's delegate, insisted on the author's own interpretation of the Report.

As it is, Mr. Jarring's unwillingness or inability to suggest a concrete solution even at this late stage is an illustration of political bankruptcy not only on the part of statesmen in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but also in the whole world. Yet the consequences of allowing this highly charged problem of Kashmir to drift on aimlessly in a world so full of tensions, specially great power tensions, may be tragic. For it endangers or threatens not only the peace of the Indo-Pakistan area, but

also the peace of many other nations,—indeed the peace of the whole world.

The dispute or situation centres round an area which is on the frontiers of as many as five states,—India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and Russia, and is thus geographically tempting to all world incendiaries. Moreover, in the name of self-defence, Pakistan is now, bilaterally or multilaterally, associated with some thirteen states directly and thirty-two states indirectly,² so that once Pakistan can persuade her allies that she is taking action in self-defence in Kashmir, she could bring almost half the world in her support. It is important in this context that "The Kashmir question is the most significant example in Asia today of the pressure tactics by which certain European Powers still hope to retain their grip on former colonial territories which have emerged into sovereign nationhood."³ Mr. Jarring also in his Report "could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."⁴

ACCESSION OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The international aspect of the problem in Kashmir today may be analysed into four basic and connected parts: (1) Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, or shortly, Kashmir, (2) Pakistan's aggression, (3) Rights of the people in Kashmir, and (4) Ways of solving the problem.

2. The relevant treaties or agreements are: Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement between the Governments of the U.S.A. and Pakistan, May 19 1951; South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty, September 8, 1954; Bagdad Pact, 1955; North Atlantic Treaty, April 4, 1949; and Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, September 2 1947. Pakistan's association with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Organization of American States is indirect, because she is not a party to the North Atlantic Treaty or the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, but some who are parties to these treaties are also parties to the South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty or the Bagdad Pact with which Pakistan is directly connected.

3. *International Affairs*, Moscow, July, 1957 p. 64.

4. *Jarring Report*, April 29, 1957, paragraph 20.

1. *United Nations Weekly Newsletter*. Vol V, No. 19, May 10 1957. Published by the U.N. Information Centre, Delhi. Italics mine.

India strongly holds that legally and constitutionally the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a permanent and irrevocable part of the Indian Union. The reasons suggested are various. First, accession of Kashmir was final and irrevocable under Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1955 as amended by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, for the Maharaja of Kashmir set no conditions in laying down his terms of accession in October, 1947. Secondly, the Maharaja's Proclamation, dated November 25, 1949, made the Indian constitution also applicable to Kashmir, thus making the latter an integral part of the Indian Union. Thirdly, Article 370 of the Indian Constitution is a temporary and transitional provision, not cancelling Article 1 which makes Kashmir a constituent unit of the Indian Union. Fourthly, Article 370 (3) of the Indian Constitution does not authorise the President of India to amend Article 1, but only "this Article," i.e., Article 370. Fifthly, Article 370 (1) specifically states that the provisions of Articles 1 and 370 shall apply "in relation to that State," i.e., Kashmir, and it could be legitimately inferred that these Articles in respect of their application to the whole of India as distinct from their application simply in relation to Kashmir comes under the protection of Article 368 relating to the amendment of the Indian Constitution. Sixthly, under the Constitution of India there is no authority or functionary to allow secession of any part of India. Seventhly, the new Constitution of Kashmir which came into force on January 26, 1957 also endorses the accession.

Confronted by such unassailable legal arguments, Sir Ivor Jennings, the great constitutional expert, who was also a constitutional advisor to Pakistan in 1954 and 1955, suggested a novel line of approach. In a letter to the *Times*, London, dated March 5, 1957, he wrote: "The question whether the Maharaja's accession in October 1947 was final and irrevocable is not . . . the fundamental question. It would not allow Pakistan to argue that there never was an accession within the meaning of Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935; nor would it enable India to secure a decision on the complaint which it submitted to the Security Council in December 1957. The fundamental question is whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir was *lawfully included*⁵ among the

territories of the Union of India by Section 1 and the first Schedule of the Constitution of India. If the answer is in the negative, Kashmir is an independent State and all troops should be withdrawn. If it is in the affirmative, Pakistan would no doubt argue that the *incorporation*⁶ is temporary and conditional on the decision of the people after troops had been withdrawn. This question . . . could be decided by the International Court"

A REPLY TO SIR IVOR JENNINGS

Sir Ivor Jennings is unintelligible here unless we take into consideration the fact that he is trying to play on words like "accession," "inclusion," "incorporation," "administration," and is also thinking of law from two different points of view, viz., international law and constitutional law, and making the latter subordinate to the former. When he says that a settlement of the question of accession "would not enable India to secure a decision on the complaint which it submitted to the Security Council in December 1957," he has in mind the fact that under the new Constitution of Pakistan which has been in force since March 23, 1956 and which was drafted on his advice, the territory which after the evacuation of the Pakistani troops was to "be administered by the local authorities" under the surveillance of the United Nations Representative in accordance with the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and March 11, 1950, is actually being "administered" by Pakistan.

But how is "administration" here by Pakistan different from annexation, incorporation or inclusion by Pakistan? According to Mr. Nehru, "So far as Azad Kashmir is concerned, . . . it has been incorporated into Pakistan."⁷ On February 4, 1957, Pakistan's Law Minister, Sadar Amir Azam Khan, said in an official statement that Mr. Nehru was completely wrong in saying that Azad Kashmir has been incorporated into Pakistan. The Law Minister said: "Our Constitution contains no provision of the kind mentioned by Mr. Nehru. 'Azad Kashmir' has never been incorporated by Pakistan. It is, as has always been, an independent entity with its own government. Our Constitution makes it clear beyond a shadow

5. Italics mine.

6. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, February 2, 1957.

of doubt that the question of accession remains to be decided." The Minister quoted from Article 203 of the Pakistani Constitution which says: "When the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir decide to accede to Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and the said State shall be determined in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State." To this Mr. Nehru gave an effective reply in the Indian Lok Sabha on March 25, 1957. "Even by their Constitution," said Mr. Nehru, "they have stated that all the administered area is part of Pakistan, and undoubtedly this is one of their administered areas, so that they have for a long time past and later even constitutionally treated this as an area which is part of Pakistan. It has been surprising that little reference has been made to this annexation of nearly half of the Jammu and Kashmir State area, while a great deal of discussion is taking place about what is called the annexation of Kashmir by India. There has been no annexation by us."

TWO OPPOSING CONSTITUTIONS

Thus under the Constitutional Law of India and of Pakistan, Kashmir today belongs to the Indian Union through legal accession, while a part of it is under the administration of Pakistan through annexation though Pakistan denies that there has been any annexation by her. The question then that must arise according to Sir Ivor Jennings' analysis is: Which country's Constitution is illegal under International Law in this respect? Pakistan seems to think that her signing of the Standstill Agreement with the State of Jammu and Kashmir on August 15, 1947 meant that the latter State must necessarily accede to Pakistan, though there is no basis for such thinking either in law or in fact. For the Standstill Agreement was merely devised to ensure continuity of administrative agreements relating to communications, post, telegraphs, telephones, Central excise, salt, etc. The Standstill Agreement, as the very words imply, was meant to maintain the *status quo*, and could not create rights and obligations arising from an act of accession.

Sir Ivor suggests that the law on this point, *i.e.*, the legality of the Constitutions of India and Pakistan regarding the territory of Jammu

and Kashmir, and not simply the legality of the accession of the State be decided by a reference to the International Court of Justice. But this suggestion is based on the unfounded assumption that the Constitution of a country is necessarily subordinate to International Law to the extent of requiring the Constitution to be interpreted by the International Court of Justice. The Charter of the United Nations does not recognise any such assumption. For the United Nations is "based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members."⁹ Indeed, nothing in the United Nations Charter authorises the United Nations to interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or requires the Members of the United Nations to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter, unless these matters are in connexion with enforcement measures taken by the Security Council.

The real question, therefore, is to persuade India and Pakistan to agree, as *The Times*, London, suggested in an editorial on March 2, 1957, "to pluck this one question of the accession out of the ring and submit its legality to the International Court." But perhaps this is unnecessary. For the answer is very clear, as Sir Ivor Jennings also suggests. In the words of Sir Ivor Jennings himself, "It would not allow Pakistan to argue that there never was an accession within the meaning of Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935."¹⁰

It is not understood how Sir Ivor comes to the conclusion that if it is not lawful to include the Jammu and Kashmir State in this or that Article of the Indian Constitution, that State is at once "an independent state and all troops should be withdrawn." India's right to station her forces in Kashmir is based for purposes of International Law upon Kashmir's accession to India, but for purposes of municipal law upon the Indian Constitution drawn up after the accession of Kashmir was complete under International Law. The primary question here for International Law is not the legality of this or that Constitution of states which are independent, but the legality of the Instrument of Accession of the *then* independent state of Kashmir which became independent like India and Pakis-

10. 17. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, February 6, 1957

18. 8. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, March 26, 1957.

9. *The U. N. Charter*, Art. 2.

10. *The Times*, London, March 5, 1957. Also *The Statesman*, Calcutta, March 7, 1957.

tan under the Indian Independence Act, 1947 and merged itself into India by that accession.

PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSION

If Kashmir's accession to India is unchallengeable, it would enable India to secure a decision on the original complaint which it submitted to the Security Council. For once it is accepted that accession was legal, International Law requires that Pakistan should be proclaimed an aggressor for sending her armed forces into Kashmir and continuing to maintain them there, and penal action also should be taken against the aggressor. Pakistan, of course, claimed that she sent her armed forces into Kashmir in self-defence. But that claim is evidently spurious. For when and how did Kashmir become a part of Pakistan, so that the latter could legally make this claim? In any case, as Oppenheim says: "The legality of recourse to force is in each particular case a proper subject for impartial determination by Judicial or other bodies."¹¹

RIGHTS OF THE KASHMIRIS

The fundamental question in relation to Kashmir is the rights of the Kashmiris. India proposed of her own accord from the very beginning that "the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."¹² India agrees even now that, in accordance with the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 accepted by both India and Pakistan, a plebiscite in Kashmir under the auspices of the United Nations should be held to decide the accession issue when (1) Azad Kashmir forces are disarmed and disbanded,¹³ (2) United States military aid to Pakistan is discontinued,¹⁴ (3) Pakistan withdraws her forces from Kashmir,¹⁵ cuts off her connexions with the Baghdad Pact, 1955 and the South East Asian Collective Defence Treaty, 1954,¹⁶ maintains an atmosphere favourable to negotiations,¹⁷ gives up her religious fanaticism¹⁸ and enters into a truce agreement or 'No War'

declaration with India.¹⁹ In recent times India has been repeatedly reminded by Pakistan, her Western friends and even the Security Council about her obligations regarding this plebiscite in Kashmir. But they forget that this plebiscite was to be held when certain conditions were realised. In that part of Kashmir where law and order have been restored and the soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession has already been settled by a reference to the people. The plebiscite in the remaining part of Kashmir will also be held as soon as the proper conditions are obtained.

PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF THE SITUATION

The next question that immediately arises is: How can these conditions be obtained? Can they be achieved through (1) recommendations of the Security Council or the General Assembly, (2) mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement under the United Nations' auspices, (3) military action by the Security Council or the General Assembly, or (4) direct negotiations between India and Pakistan?

Once we have a proper idea of the great imperfections from which the United Nations suffers today in respect of purposes, principles, structures and procedures, we may realise that the United Nations Organization as it stands today can help us very little in realising democratic ideals in Kashmir or in many other parts of the World. The moving forces in the United Nations today are not the idealistic purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter: peace, law, justice, friendship, good faith, co-operation and fundamental human rights. The United Nations is united only in name; it is more disunited than united. It is precariously trying to establish an uneasy balance of power among nations led on the one side by the U.S.A. and the U.K. and on the other by the U.S.S.R.

Justice through the Security Council as it is organized today is very unsatisfactory. The Security Council is often packed with the supporters of the Anglo-American Powers who like to use Pakistan as a tool against India because of the latter's independent and neutral foreign policy directed towards peaceful co-existence among nations. For 1957, the Security Coun-

11. *International Law*, Lauterpacht, Vol. II, 7th Edition, 1952, p. 188.

12. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, November, 1947, p. 340.

13. *UNCIP Second Interim Report*, Annex 4.

14. *UNCIP Resolution*, August 13, 1948, Part I.B.

15. *Ibid.*, Part II, A.1.

16. *Ibid.*, Part I.B.

17. *Ibid.*, Part I.E.

18. *UNCIP Second Interim Report*, Annex 4.

19. *UNCIP Resolution*, August 13, 1948 Part II.

cil consists of the five permanent members: the U.S.A., the U.K., the U.S.S.R., France and China, and the six non-permanent members: the Philippines, Australia, Iraq, Sweden, Cuba and Colombia. China is not represented by her Communist Government which since 1949 has been both the *de jure* and the *de facto* government in the Chinese mainland where some 464 million Chinese live; it is being represented by a remnant of China under the protection of the forces of the U.S.A. in Formosa where less than 8 million Chinese live. Of the six non-permanent members, only Sweden is somewhat neutral; the Philippines, Australia and Iraq are Pakistan's friends in a partisan spirit, being associated with her under the South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty or the Bagdad Pact; and Cuba and Colombia are under the beck and call of the U.S.A., which since 1954 has been giving active military aid to Pakistan. The world-wide balance of power easily projects itself into the Security Council chamber with the U.S.A. and the U.K. having in their pocket as many as 9 votes, and the U.S.S.R. being supported by none except neutral Sweden.

In the Security Council Veto was in the beginning an effective instrument for protecting the rights of the U.S.S.R. and her supporters. But since the Korean war in 1950, especially after the General Assembly adopted the Uniting for Peace Resolution of doubtful legal validity²⁰ in November, 1950, that effectiveness has been greatly lost.

In the General Assembly the Anglo-Americans have a sure majority. For the eighty-two votes in the General Assembly are distributed in a most undemocratic manner. Europe today with a population of some 600 million has 27 votes in the General Assembly, America with some 300 million 22 votes, Asia with some 1200 million also 22 votes, Africa with some 200 million 9 votes, and Australasia with some 10 million 2 votes²¹. How is it possible to expect full demo-

cratic justice from this undemocratic General Assembly of the United Nations?

Mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement of the Kashmir issue under the United Nations auspices has, of course, greater possibilities than direct recommendations of the General Assembly or the Security Council. But due to the incidence of the power politics of the United Nations on these methods, these are also not dependable for discovering the balance of truth involved in any issue. These methods under the United Nations as it is organized today operate too little at the level of peace-politics, but too much at the level of power-politics based on the traditional theories of balance of power among nations or balance of profits among them. A democratic solution of the Kashmir question is, therefore, impossible through the undemocratic United Nations. From this point of view it was a mistake to refer the Kashmir question to the United Nations, and there is much to be said for the withdrawal of the issue from the United Nations till the United Nations itself is more democratically organized.

UNITED NATIONS FORCE

The next move of Pakistan and her supporters will perhaps be to send a United Nations Force into Kashmir under the illegal Uniting for Peace Resolution of November, 1950 after a show of paralysis of the Security Council through a veto of the U.S.S.R. which has been supporting India's cause in Kashmir. The history over the Suez Canal since 1956 before the United Nations Emergency Force was sent there will perhaps be repeated over Kashmir *mutatis mutandis*, and there will also be much show of sympathy for India, as for Egypt, along with much shedding of crocodile tears from the Western Powers. Pakistan under her Constitutional Law, but in breach of Inter-

Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Malay; Nepal; Pakistan; Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand and Yemen.
Australasia: Australia and New Zealand.

America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile; Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras; Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay; Peru; U.S.A.; Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Europe: Belgium, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands; Norway, Poland, Turkey; Ukraine; U.S.S.R.; U.K.; Yugoslavia, Albania; Austria; Bulgaria; Eire; Finland; Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Portugal; Rumania; Spain; and Sweden.

20. My paper on "Revision of the U.N. Charter." Published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XV, No. 4, October-December 1954.

21. Members of the United Nations and hence of the General Assembly from different continents are as follows:

Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, and Tunis.

Asia: Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq; Israel; Japan;

national Law, may allow the so-called United Nations Forces to be stationed in her part of Kashmir. India certainly will not allow these United Nations Forces to be stationed anywhere in India. But it is not clear what immediately effective steps can be taken, if Pakistan in her part of Kashmir allows these United Nations Forces in clear breach not only of International Law, but also of India's Constitutional Law.

It is significant in this connexion that Pakistan today wants not only a temporary United Nations Force for Kashmir, but also a permanent United Nations Force without reorganizing the United Nations on a more democratic basis along the principles of a World-state. In a broadcast over the United Nations Radio on July 25, 1957, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy said: "In order to be able to reach a position where the decisions of the United Nations will be respected and carried out by all concerned, it seems necessary that there should be constituted a permanent United Nations Force. The duties of such a Force should include preventive policing as well as enforcement of measures considered necessary by the United Nations to maintain peace. Unless this is done, justice will remain impotent and international security remain in jeopardy. Once such a force has been effectively created, it would be possible for nations to make rapid progress with disarmament measures including the abandonment of nuclear weapons."²²

Unfortunately Mr. Suhrawardy does not realise that this is arming an organization, some leading Members in which sometimes in some cases, as in Korea, China and the Middle East, behaved somewhat like partners in a conspiracy to rob or deceive the peoples of Asia and Africa, though inherent resilience of a sense of justice in man showed enough strength to foil, to some extent at least, the attempts of the conspirators. This is not to suggest that the United Nations should not have an armed force. But it should have that force when it approaches after some reorganization the ideal of a democratic, federal, and perhaps socialist World-state.

AN IDEAL SOLUTION THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC UNITED NATIONS

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the scope for direct negotiations between India and Pakistan for the solution of the Kashmir issue. Direct negotiations were tried at the very beginning of the dispute from October, 1947 to December, 1947 and at a later stage from June, 1953 to September, 1954. But they failed and this failure was due to the fact that behind this Kashmir question, there is a bigger question, that of Pakistan inheriting the mentality of the Muslim League in undivided India—the mentality of creating difficulties, of organizing fights and feuds and intimidation. The Muslim League led by Mr. Jinnah got Pakistan, because the Muslims in Greater India including Pakistan were somehow led to believe through the British policy of divide and rule that they were a separate nation with their "own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions"²³.

It is difficult to understand this theory of two nations for India and Pakistan and thus look upon two parts of a same population living together for centuries in a geographically compact area not simply as distinct groups, but also as possibly hostile ones for purposes of international politics. If the Muslims in Greater India really belonged to a separate nation, the Hindus in Pakistan today must be supposed to constitute a separate nation. But this, it is feared, might lead to a disintegration of the State of Pakistan itself. Not prepared to face this consequence, leaders of Pakistan sometimes say that, not the Muslims separately, but the Hindus, Muslims and all others of Pakistan together constitute the nation of Pakistan. But then why should it be supposed that the nationalism of Pakistan is different from that of the Indian Union?

In an attempt to avoid the difficulty, Mr. Suhrawardy, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, once said that the two-nation theory is dead. But unfortunately Pakistan has not yet been able to put an end to this theory of two nations. Indeed, in clear violation

22. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, July 27, 1957.

23. Mr. Jinnah's letter to Mahatma Gandhi, dated September 17, 1944.

of Article 1 (3) of the United Nations Charter²⁴ and of Articles like 2 and 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²⁵ proclaimed by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, Pakistani Constitution gave a new lease of life to this theory by proclaiming that Pakistan is based on the Islamic principles of social justice. Under ideal conditions Pakistan should have been based, as in the case of India and most of the civilised world, on the secular principles of democracy, *i.e.*, the principles common to all the religions of the world, or rather the principles of the Universal religion of mankind, and not on those of a single denominational religion like Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.

The real difficulty arises from the fact that "nationality is a subjective conception that eludes definition in scientific terms" and is a "psychological phenomenon rather than a juridical principle."²⁶ If it is demanded that the Muslims are a nation, then it must be also admitted that the Hindus are a nation. In a sense it might indeed be claimed that Bengalis, Punjabis, Biharis, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains, etc., are all nations from different points of view in the same way as Scotland and Wales are sometimes spoken of as nations, though evidently any one of them does not and indeed cannot possess the full panoply of a sovereign state.²⁷ India and Pakistan each could then legitimately be spoken of as a nation of nations, or briefly, a United Nations where no distinction is made or should be made on grounds of race, religion, caste, creed, or language, etc. Is not loyalty to

a single small nation a narrower idea than loyalty to a nation of nations or a United Nations where all differences are forgotten and the unity of the whole human race is realised? If so, let the idea of the United Nations, *i.e.* unity of the whole humanity, capture the imagination of both India and Pakistan and indeed of all Nations.

It would be of lasting benefit to the politics of India and Pakistan and of all nations in the world today, if they reject the theory of two nations or more nations claiming exclusive loyalties, and accept this theory of the United Nations claiming inclusive loyalties of all persons who should be treated as equal citizens of the whole world and not simply of this or that nation in the narrow sense. Let India and Pakistan surrender the vague and harmful principle of narrow nationalism and come to an agreement, call it United Nations Agreement, on the basis of this theory of the United Nations. If we cannot unite today on the basis of such a noble purpose, then in spite of freedom from the United Kingdom we will be no better than the slaves of the present United Nations Organization where Europeans and Americans predominate and where Asians and Africans are greatly under-represented. If Indians and Pakistanis unite—not necessarily under a single constitution—and give a lead to the Asians and Africans and other under-represented parts of the world to unite for reorganizing the United Nations Organization on a more democratic basis with individual as the unit of representation, then problems like Kashmir, Viet Nam, Formosa, Korea, Israel, Germany, Cyprus, etc., will fade into insignificance and may even wither away under pressure from the new ideal of the Democratic United Nations replacing the old undemocratic "Disunited Nations." A first step to give shape to this theory would be to incorporate into the Constitutions of all countries accepting this ideal the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to implement those rights in all possible ways of municipal laws and International Law.²⁸

Vera Anstey in a letter to *The Economist*, dated May, 25, 1957 suggested a challenging

24. A purpose of the United Nations according to Art. 4 (3) of the *U.N. Charter* is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

25. Article 2(1): "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

26. Laski: *Liberty in the Modern State*, Pelican Edition, p. 194.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

28. My article in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October, 1949, entitled "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

idea that Kashmir should federate with both India and Pakistan.²⁹ The details of this suggestion are not clear. If it be suggested that in joining both India and Pakistan, the two parts of Kashmir have to be united and thus form some sort of a United Nations in Kashmir with a Constitution based perhaps on a political G. C.M. of the ideals of the Indian and Pakistani Constitutions, the suggestion deserves careful examination. Kashmir then will be a great centre radiating the new idea of the United Nations,—an idea leading ultimately not only to the unity of India and Pakistan, but also of the whole world along the road to a Democratic, Federal and perhaps Socialist United Nations or World-state.

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION

But perhaps we are thinking of very high ideals which have no chance of being accepted in the immediate future. If so, we have no other alternative but to wait till we are persuaded to accept this high ideal of unity of humanity. The immediate solution then can be only a compromise solution. One such solution was announced by Sri Nehru himself in 1956. Addressing a

29. *Public Administration Abstracts And Index of Articles*, Vol. I, No. 4, July 1957; published by Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

meeting in Delhi on April 13, 1956, Sri Nehru disclosed that he had suggested to the Pakistani leaders to hold discussions to settle the Kashmir issue by demarcating the borders of the State on the basis of the present cease-fire line. In a special Article to *The Statesman*, Calcutta, dated September 17, 1957 Mr. Prem Bhatia also supported this idea of the partition of Kashmir. "Assuming that we fail to get a satisfactory response from the Security Council to our insistence that Pakistan vacate her aggression," asks Mr. Bhatia, "why should we not take steps to sponsor a proposal that past efforts for demilitarization having failed and the next stage for the fulfilment of commitments by the two countries having been rendered impracticable thereby, the two areas of Kashmir, as separated at present by the cease-fire line, with necessary adjustments, be finally regarded as the inviolable territories of India and Pakistan?" The Partition of Kashmir has thus to be accepted as a consequence of the partition of Greater India into the Indian Union and Pakistan, the latter partition itself being a consequence of the partition of the world through our failure to recognize the unity of humanity, i.e., a consequence of the abandonment of the true United Nations idea which ought to have been a living force in all countries of the world.

—:O:

THE PUNJAB TANGLE

By A NATIONALIST

THE Sikhs, the followers of Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A.D.) of hallowed memory, were originally an inoffensive and peaceful religious sect. Oppression goaded them to armed resistance to Muslim tyranny. Guru Govind Singh, the last and tenth Guru of the Sikhs (1666-1708 A.D.), gave an altogether new direction to Sikhism and organised the Sikhs into a military fraternity after the execution of his father Teg Bahadur at Delhi in 1675 under the orders of Aurungzeb. Guru Govind Singh breathed new life into the Sikhs and they were poised for action to pull down the Muslim tyrants from their pedestal of power. Guru Govind Singh was verily the harbinger of a new era in the Punjab, the "land of five rivers."

The next chapter of the history of the Punjab is, by and large, a story of Sikh-Muslim conflicts. The story of Sikh resistance to Muslim rulers and aggressors constitutes one of the never-to-be-forgotten chapters of Indian history. The liquidation of Muslim rule in the Punjab is to be attributed to the valiant Sikhs.

The fall of the Muslim power in the Punjab was followed by a long period of internecine feuds amongst the Sikhs themselves. The martial ardour unleashed by wars against the Muslims found vent in fratricidal strife after the discomfiture of the common enemy. The Punjab presented a sad spectacle till the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839 A.D.) in the closing years of the 19th century and the open-

ing years of the 20th. He united almost the whole of Sikhdom under him. The Cis-Sutlej Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala and Faridkote, however, placed themselves under the protection of the English East India Company. But for them the subsequent history of the Punjab—may be, of India—might have been different.

The Hindus and the Sikhs lived as peaceful and friendly neighbours till the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. Hindu-Sikh differences were unknown. There is, in fact, no fundamental difference between Hinduism and Guru Nanak's religion of humanism based on the lofty idealism of the Upanishads and nourished by the medieval '*Bhakti*' cult. Hindus and Sikhs looked upon each other—and they are, in reality—as different branches of the same stem.

The annexation of the Punjab to the dominions of the East India Company in 1849 brought a change and a change for the worse it has proved to be. Revivalist Sikh movements with a narrow and puritanical outlook, such as the Nirankari movement, the Namdhari movement and the Singh Sabha movement taught the Sikhs that they were different from the Hindus. The Akali movement in the earlier years of the current century widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Mr. M. A. Macauliffe's six-volume monumental work on Sikh religion and philosophy emphasized that the Hindus and the Sikhs are two wholly different religious sects. Lesser men took their cue from Macauliffe's thesis and Sardar Bahadur Bhai Kahan Singh elaborated Macauliffe's proposition in his *Ham Hindu Naheen* (We are not Hindus). Emphatic repetitions made the lie a truth. The idea originated by the Sikh revivalist movements and advocated by Macauliffe struck deep roots. Many an orthodox Sikh would once say that Islam was closer to Sikhism than Hinduism.

India was convulsed by the Great Revolt of 1857 within eight years of the annexation of the Punjab by the East India Company. There was no love lost between the English and the Sikhs at the time. The English, however, told the Sikhs that help to the former would give the Sikhs an opportunity to avenge Guru Teg Bahadur, who, as noted above, had been put to

death by Aurungzeb in 1675. Had not Bahadur Shah, a descendant of Aurungzeb, assumed the leadership of the rebels? Was not Delhi the principal stronghold, the nerve-centre, of the uprising? English propaganda coupled with the inherent martial ardour of the Sikh, which not unoften finds expression in querulousness, the promise of *jagirs* and pensions after the war and the Sikh's bitter hatred for the *poorbeahs* (men from the east), the inhabitants of Uttar Pradesh, persuaded him to fight for the East India Company in the critical days of 1857-58. The *poorbeahs* hated by the Sikhs, it may be noted in passing, were the vanguard, nay, the very soul, of the Revolt of 1857. "It is no exaggeration to say," says a historian of the Punjab, "that but for their (the Sikhs') timely assistance the British Government would have found it very difficult to quell the Mutiny."—(*Transformation of Sikhism* by Dr. G. C. Narang, 4th Edition, p. 191).

The end of the Mutiny was followed by a long period of honeymooning between the Sikhs and the English. The English trusted the Sikhs. The latter, in their turn, sincerely believed that the English were their benefactors and well-wishers. The English sought to prove their *bona-fides* by simulating an active interest in the Sikhs and their affairs. The Golden Temple at Amritsar, the Mecca of Sikhdom, and the Khalsa College, Amritsar, the premier Sikh educational institution, were run under Governmental supervision for many years.

1913 witnessed the first ripples in the placid waters of Anglo-Sikh cordiality. The Sikh temple at Rekabganj in Delhi—Gurudwara Rekabganj—is among the historical Sikh shrines. One of its compound walls was pulled down for the construction of a new road. The sacrilege incensed the Sikhs. A controversy started. The Great War broke out in the following year (1914) and the controversy was shelved for the time being. The dispute was revived with the restoration of peace in 1918. A compromise was however effected after a time and the dismantled wall was re-built. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha and Sir Edward Maclagan, the then Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, played an important part in bringing about the settlement. The Rekabganj-Gurudwara controversy was followed not long after by the police firing at

Baj Baj in the suburbs of Calcutta on the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*. The firing resulted in a number of casualties, the victims being mostly Sikhs. Not a few Sikhs lost their lives in the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre shortly afterwards (April 13, 1919).

The incidents noted above drove a wedge between the English and the Sikhs and shook their confidence in the former and were followed by the Gurudwara movement. The Gurudwaras were at this time personal properties of the priests most of whom were Hindus by religion—if they had any religion at all. They ill-treated the pilgrims and extorted money from them on various pretexts. Not a few of the priests were addicted to vices of all sorts. The Gurudwara movement aimed at depriving them of the control of the Sikh shrines. Spearheaded by the Akali Dal, blessed by the Indian National Congress and supported by the Sikh community almost to a man, the movement was perfectly well-disciplined and absolutely non-violent. Many Sikhs courted imprisonment. A few laid down their lives for the cause. These sufferings and sacrifices did not go in vain. The Gurudwara Act of 1925 transferred the control of the principal Sikh shrines in the Punjab to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.), a body to be elected by the Sikhs themselves.

The Gurudwara movement was crowned with success. But the Sikhs forfeited the confidence and goodwill of the rulers to a great extent. The prestige and influence of the Akali Dal were enhanced. The provisions for separate electorate and communal safeguards for the Sikhs in the Government of India Act, 1935, drove deeper the roots of Sikh communalism.

The demand for a 'Khalistan' (Sikh State) began to crystallize before the partition of India in 1947. The Akali Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission, 1946, demanded a separate Sikh State, among others. "The Sikhs," the Memorandum emphasised, "have as good a claim for an Independent Sikh State as the Mussalmans." "The claim for the Muslim Pakistan," it contended, "should not be conceded to the Mussalmans without at the same time conceding the claim for an independent Sovereign State to (sic) the Sikhs." Master Tara Singh's statement published by *The Tribune* (Lahore) in its issue of April 4,

1946, said, *inter alia*, "We want a Sikh State in a United India." The demand was re-iterated in a mass rally of the Sikhs on the Indian New Year's Day a few days later (vide *The Tribune*, Lahore, dated April 16, 1946).

In a joint conference of the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders in January, 1947, Giani Kartar Singh, Secretary of the Akali Dal, demanded, "The Sikhs should be allowed to form an independent State of their own in Northern India." *The Tribune* (Lahore) in its issue of June 19, 1947, published the proceedings of a mass meeting of the Sikhs at Amritsar. The Akalis contended that "they should get East Punjab as a Sikh State. All areas that contain at least 85 per cent Sikh population should be included in such (a) State."

The Sikh minority, it is argued, are not prepared to accept "Hindu domination." The Hindus, by the way, are in a majority in the post-partition Punjab.

The accession of the native States to the Dominion of India after the attainment of independence in 1947, wiped princely India out of existence. The Sikh States of the Punjab—Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthala and Faridkote—together with the Hindu State of Nalagarh were integrated into one administrative unit and came to be known as the PEPSU (the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union). The ruling chiefs lost their political and administrative powers.

Loss of independence a hundred years ago notwithstanding—the Punjab was annexed in 1849—the continuance of the Sikh principalities each with its own prince was anodyne to the wounded pride and ruffled feelings of the Sikhs. They too now ceased to be. There was an undercurrent of dejection and disappointment in the Sikh mass mind. The leadership sought to counter this sense of dejection and disappointment by enhancing the prestige and influence of the community as a whole. They demanded that the Punjabi language should be the medium of instruction in the schools of the Punjab. Punjabi, they further demanded, should be written in Gurumukhi script. The Hindus opposed. A controversy ensued. The controversy resulted in communal bitterness.

A solution was found at last by dividing the Punjab into two linguistic zones. Punjabi

was to be the medium of instruction in the schools of the Punjabi zone. Hindi was to have an identical status in the Hindi zone. Punjabi was to be written in the Gurumukhi script and Hindi in the Devanagari. The Sikhs, it should be noted, were in a majority in the former and the Hindus, in the latter. A rider was added at the instance of the Rashtrapati. If at least 40 students of any primary school in the Punjabi zone or at least 10 students in any class demanded instruction through the medium of Hindi (in the Devanagari script), the demand was to be accepted. A similar concession was to be made to Punjabi (in the Gurumukhi script) in the Hindi zone. Lala Bhimsen Sachar, the Governor of Andhra, was the Chief Minister of the Punjab at the time and the solution came to be known as the Sachar Formula. The reader will please note that neither Punjabi nor the Gurumukhi script enjoyed official recognition during the British rule. Urdu was the medium of instruction of schools.

The Sachar Formula fell short of the expectations of the Sikhs. The redoubtable Master Tara Singh appeared on the scene at the head of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Dal contended that independence had won Pakistan for the Muslims and Hindustan for the Hindus; but nothing for the Sikhs. The wrong must be undone by the creation of a 'Khalistan,' i.e., a Sikh State. The Akali leadership realised before long that such a communal demand would never be accepted by the rest of India. Clever strategists that they are, they gave up the demand for that of the Punjabi Suba, i.e., a Punjabi-speaking State. The Suba was to include the Sikh majority areas of the Punjab and the PEPSU and also the areas where the Sikhs constitute a substantial proportion of the population.

The Akalis further demanded that the special privileges guaranteed constitutionally to the Hindu Harijans must be so guaranteed to the Sikh untouchables as well.* They argued that Harijans do not feel encouraged to embrace Sikhism as conversion robs them of the privileged constitutional position they enjoy as Hindus. Two hundred thousand Sikhs in Uttar Pradesh were alleged to have gone back to the

Hindu fold for this reason. The Government of India accepted the demand. The Akalis scored a victory at the expense of one of the fundamental principles of Sikhism which recognises "no artificial barrier between man and man. Religion was sacrificed at the altar of politics. There is no dearth of similar sacrifices in the history of man."

The Akalis next complained that justice is not done to the Sikhs in the matter of recruitment to public services—central and provincial. The complaint was not however pressed for obvious reasons. The Sikhs in fact get more than a fair share of Government appointments in general and of the appointments in police and armed forces in particular.

The agitation for a Punjabi-speaking State gained momentum every day. The shouting of communal and pro-Punjabi Suba slogans became a regular feature of even purely religious processions. The present writer had the shocking experience of hearing such slogans in a procession taken out on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak. Meetings were held all over the country—in the Punjab and in the Western U.P. in particular—in support of the Punjabi Suba demand. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, left his lieutenants miles behind in intemperate and irresponsible speech-making. Anti-Hindu and anti-Nehru slogans were a common feature of the meetings and processions organised by the Akalis. Communal-minded Hindus too raised counter-slogans here and there. Minor Hindu-Sikh skirmishes took place at various places in the Punjab.

Chief Minister Mr. Sachar had made no attempt to put down the Akali agitation in the beginning. Not a few hold that he lacked the strength of mind and character to deal firmly with the Akali intransigence. But the increasing frequency of Hindu-Sikh clashes forced him to shake off his inertia early in 1956. He banned the shouting of slogans in processions. The

† One—and perhaps the most popular for the time being—was "Raj Kare Khalsa," i.e., the Sikhs are destined to reign.

‡ i. "Dhoti topi Yamuna par"—the dhoti (cloth) and topi (cap) wearing folk, i.e., the Hindus will be driven across the Yamuna. The Hindus in other words, will be forced to quit the Punjab.

ii. *Khanda kharku, Nehru bhajhu*—Nehru will run away when the Sikh swords will rattle. In other words, a Sikh revolt will bring about the downfall of the Nehru Government.

* Sikhism does not recognise the caste system. But casteism prevails in the Sikh society.

Akalis defied the ban. The law-breakers were arrested and jailed. It is estimated that nearly 10,000 Akalis and Akali-sympathisers courted incarceration on the occasion. Prime Minister Nehru went abroad to Europe during the agitation. Rumour has it that he was politely reminded at places that the principle of co-existence based on Pancha Shila—the burden of his message to Europe—was being ignored in his own country where a minority community was being ill-treated and a large number of their (the minority community's) members were being gaoled by a Congress Government. Nehru is said to have instructed Sachar to stop arrests. On the day of Nehru's return home two days before the ban was due to expire, the Sachar Government lifted the ban on slogans in processions. The Punjab Government explained in a statement that the ban was lifted to mark the Prime Minister's home-coming after a successful tour abroad.

A number of Akalis had, during the agitation against the ban, taken shelter in some houses on the Golden Temple premises. These houses are, however, not a part of the Temple. The police entered a few of these houses in search of the potential law-breakers. The Akalis and practically the whole Sikh community condemned the action of the police as sacrilegious and demanded an enquiry. Mr. Sachar was unnerved. In a public meeting of the Sikhs, he expressed regret for the conduct of the police and tendered an unqualified apology. The Akalis were jubilant. Mr. Sachar lost his Chief Ministership within a few days and was succeeded by Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, the present Chief Minister of the Punjab.

The States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India in December, 1953, had in the meanwhile begun its work. The Akali Memorandum to the Commission demanded the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State on the following grounds, among others. For one thing, a Punjabi-speaking State was essential in the interest of communal amity in the Punjab. For another, the formation of a Punjabi-speaking State and that alone could guarantee the preservation of the cultural traditions of the Punjab.

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, on the other hand, demanded the formation of

a Maha Punjab (Greater Punjab) by the amalgamation of the Punjab, the PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh. The Maha Sabha Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission pointed out, among others, that the demand for the Punjabi Suba of Akali conception was inspired by purely communal considerations. The Punjabi Suba as envisaged by the Akalis would be a State dominated by the Sikhs and the Sikhs themselves were not united on issue. It was further pointed out that the preservation of the cultural traditions of the Punjab was a hoax; because religious differences notwithstanding, all Punjabis—Hindus and Sikhs—are heirs to the same cultural heritage.

The States Reorganisation Commission rejected the Punjabi-Suba demand with the following remarks:

"The case for a Punjabi-speaking State falls firstly, because it lacks the general support of the people inhabiting the area, and secondly, because it will not eliminate any of the causes of friction from which the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State emanates. The proposed State will solve neither the language problem nor the communal problem, and far from relieving internal tension, which exists between communal and not linguistic and religious groups, it might further exacerbate the existing feelings."—(*Report of the States Reorganisation Commission*, p. 146).

The Commission recommended instead the integration of the Punjab, the PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh into one administrative unit. This was exactly what the anti-Akali Hindus had put forward as their demand. The chairman of the Commission Sir Fazl Ali, sign as he did the *Report*, submitted also an individual report recommending that the Himachal Pradesh should not be merged in the bigger Punjab.

The Akalis, needless to say, were infuriated. They denounced the Commission's recommendation regarding the Punjab and began to agitate against it. At last, towards the end of 1955, negotiations for a settlement were begun between the Akalis on the one hand and the Central Government and the Congress High Command on the other. Mr. Ram Narayan Chaudhury, the Secretary of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, took

the initiative in the matter of bringing the parties together.

The Akali-controlled Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee gave a grand ovation to Mr. Nehru during his visit to Amritsar in November, 1956, while the Akali agitation against the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission regarding the Punjab was in full swing. The reception, there are reasons to believe, deeply impressed the Prime Minister. The Congress held its annual session at Amritsar in February, 1956. The Akalis too called a Sikh conference at the same time. The conference met at Amritsar. Instructed by leaders, the Sikhs in their thousands armed with sticks, spears, swords and axes marched in procession to the conference ground. Master Tara Singh, the president-designate, led the procession seated on a richly caparisoned elephant. Fate Singh Nagar, the venue of the Akali conference, was within two furlongs away from the Congress venue Saheed Nagar. The Congress High Command was befooled into the belief that the Punjabi Suba demand was the demand of the whole Sikh community. They thought it imprudent to reject the demand outright.*

Not a few acts and utterances of the Akalis lay them open to the charge of anti-Indian sentiments. Master Tara Singh told Chief Minister Sachar during an interview on June 21, 1955: "What we want is *Azadi* (independence). *The Sikhs have not Azadi*. We will fight for our *Azadi* with full force. *Even if we have to revolt, we will revolt to win our Azadi*." The statement speaks for itself.

The same redoubtable Masterjee threw out what was in effect a challenge to the Government of India in February, 1955. He said in a signed article published in the *Prabhat*, his own Urdu daily, that he had been negotiating with

the Government of Pakistan for the establishment of a Sikh colony at Kartarpur Ravi in Pakistan and very close to the Indian border. Passport regulations for movements between India and Pakistan were not to be applied to trips between Kartarpur Ravi on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other. Even if the two States were ever at war, movements between the proposed colony and the warring States were not to be interfered with. The colony was to be owned and administered by the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. Master Tara Singh promised at the same time to back the setting up of a Muslim zone in Sarhind, if the Pakistan Government cared to have one in that area. Giani Kartar Singh knocked at the doors of Pakistan bosses at Lahore and Karachi with the proposal but in vain. The plan did not materialise.

An Akali delegation paid a visit to Pakistan about the same time under the leadership of Giani Kartar Singh. Lahore gave a civic reception to the delegation. Indian and Pakistani flags were displayed in the place where the function took place. The Indian national flag was later replaced at the request of the guests, it is alleged, by the Akali flag.

Negotiations between the Akali Dal on the one hand and the Government of India on the other, as we have seen, had begun towards the end of 1955. The negotiations resulted in a compromise over the Punjabi Suba demand. The Government of India brushed aside the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission and accepted the principle of the Punjabi Suba, which, as noted above, is a Sikh State under another name. A Sikh friend of the present writer told him that if the Punjabi Suba ever becomes a reality, the name of Fate Singh Nagar, the venue of the Sikh conference in February, 1956, would be written in letters of gold in Sikh history.

The Hindus are not happy over the Akali-Government compromise. They cannot be. For one thing, the Punjabi Hindu is no less communal-minded than the Sikh. For another, and this is more important, the compromise is undemocratic. The Hindus, who are in a majority in the Punjab—they constitute more than 65% of the population—were not consulted in the matter. The negotiations were carried on and

* They did not know—nor do they perhaps even today and they may never—the secret of success of the 1956 Akali conference at Amritsar. A large number of free kitchens were opened to feed the thousands who collected at the conference. Free beds were provided to those who came from remote villages. The more fortunates were given new turbans or had their travelling expenses paid by the organisers. The Akali propaganda told the unsophisticated village folk that unless they attended the conference, their Gurudwaras would pass under Hindu control. Little wonder that the conference was a grand success so far as attendance was concerned.

the compromise was arrived at behind their back. The terms of the compromise were a closely guarded secret to the people at large.

An important leader of the Maha Punjab Front had to go on hunger-strike—he had threatened a fast unto death—to get a copy of the Akali-Government agreement. Why this hush hush? Why this solicitude for the Akali Dal, which represents only a section of the Sikhs, who are not very much more than 30 per cent of the total population of the Punjab? The Government are, perhaps, not unconscious that in their efforts to appease an intransigent communal minority by accepting the demand for Khalistan in principle they have been guilty of an act of betrayal.

The Akali Dal joined the Congress after the above agreement. But there is a fly in the ointment. The Akali Chief Master Tara Singh has stubbornly refused to join the Congress. The Akali Dal has been allowed to retain its separate identity and has promised not to indulge in political activities.

The atmosphere in the Punjab is surcharged with communal passion and animosity today. It stinks. The current "Save Hindi" campaign has made the confusion worse confounded. The agitation has been rightly interpreted as symptomatic of Hindi chauvinism, a formidable foe of national solidarity.

The Punjabi Hindus in general and the promoters of the "Save Hindi" agitation in particular have set up a unique all-time record by disowning Punjabi, their own mother-tongue, the language they learn with their mother's milk. Almost every Punjabi Hindu speaks Punjabi. Not many know Hindi. Still fewer can read or write the Devanagari script. It should be noted, however, that not a negli-

gible proportion of the Sikhs is absolutely ignorant of the Gurumukhi script.

The Punjabi Hindus should bear in mind that the majority in a plural society has to disarm the fear and suspicion of a minority or minorities by gestures of sincere generosity even at a sacrifice, if necessary. The minority or minorities, on the other hand, must repose faith in the majority. But as luck would have it, generosity on the part of the Hindus and faith on the part of the Sikhs are both conspicuous by their absence in contemporary Punjab.

Communal organisations like the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangha have already gained considerable ground at the expense of a weak Congress, which, in the Punjab, has failed to provide the much-needed disinterested and inspiring leadership to the masses. To make matters worse, the Punjab State Congress is torn by internal dissensions and group rivalries. On top of it all, the Punjab has no leader of calibre today.

Petty minds work in narrow grooves. Communal organisations and leaders are, therefore, active in the Punjab. They have achieved a fair measure of success in their nefarious objectives and seem to be poised for a show-down. Communal leaders swear by their respective communities. Hardly anyone speaks for the Punjab, the common motherland of the Sikhs and the Punjabi Hindus. Enthusiasts cry themselves hoarse by shouting "Hindi-Russi Bhai Bhai," "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" and the whole gamut of them but the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab are not prepared to be "Bhai Bhai." This unpreparedness is one of the many paradoxes of contemporary Indian history.



DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL—HIS LIFE AND WORKS

(Continued from page 24)

Method' appeared in Sir P. C. Ray's *History of Hindu Chemistry* (Vol. II).

In 1920 Brajendranath retired from the service of the Calcutta University and accepted the post of the Vice-Chancellor of Mysore University. In 1921 the University of Calcutta conferred on him the Degree of D.Sc. (*Honoris Causa*) in recognition of his attainments in the field of scientific knowledge. From the year 1920 to 1930 he served both the University and the State of Mysore with uncommon ability and unremitted zeal. Impressed by his greatness and goodness, the then Maharaja of Mysore made him the Chairman of Mysore Constitutional Reforms Committee, Mysore State Aid to Industries Committee, and also appointed him an additional member of the Executive Council of the Mysore Government. He was also honoured by the Maharaja with the title of *Rajatantrapravina*. The British Government also knighted him in appreciation of his life-long services to the cause of education and culture, and also of constitutional reforms. During these years he delivered the inaugural address at the foundation day of Visva-Bharati, then a new international centre of learning founded by Rabindranath Tagore, the philosopher-poet of India. He also delivered very learned convocation addresses at the Universities of Mysore and Bombay. In 1924 the Registrar of the University of Mysore published his wonderful *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy* a syllabus to write a volume or volumes adapted to which, or even to study the subject in accordance with which, one life-time may be found all too short. The addresses that he delivered at the death anniversary and the centenary celebrations of Rammohun Roy in 1921 and 1933 respectively, are as remarkable and magnificent as the personage whom they are meant to adore and honour. The members of the Indian Philosophical Congress, which celebrated its Silver

Jubilee in Calcutta in 1950, held a reception in his honour under the presidentship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and paid glowing tributes to Sir Brajendranath in appreciation of his eminent service to the cause of philosophical studies in India. In 1936 he presided over the Parliament of Religions which met in Calcutta in connection with the centenary celebration of Sri Ramakrishna, and delivered an illuminating and inspiring address on the latter's divine life and universal message for the modern world. The same year was published his previously composed philosophical poems under the title of "The Quest Eternal" and they were highly appreciated and applauded by philosophers and literatures alike. On the 3rd of December, 1938, Brajendranath's soul left this world non-eternal, and entered the realm of the Eternal. His death caused a void in the world of philosophy and literature which could not be filled so far, and might not be filled in future.

It is a matter of deep regret for us that proper and adequate arrangements have not yet been made to commemorate the life and work of Sir Brajendranath in a way worthy of him. We are, of course, grateful to the authorities of the Calcutta University for having recently changed the designation of its Professor of Mental and Moral Science after him into 'Acharyya Brajendranath Seal Professor of Mental and Moral Science.' The contribution made by the Reception Committee of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress in Calcutta in 1950, is not adequate for a worthy memorial for him. The publication of all his works with his auto-biography, which is by far the best memorial for a great philosopher like him, still remains an unrealized end and unfulfilled promise for the Memorial Committee. The sooner it is realized, the better for his countrymen and their honour and good name.



DANCE IN THE PAINTINGS OF KHASTGIR

By BIDHU DHAR JAYAL, I.A.S.

WHAT is most typical of the art of Sudhir Khastgir is the emphasis on dance and rhythm.

There is a balance in the compositions, the rhythm con-



Kavathi (oils)

veys a sense of repose even in its movements, the appropriate sense of colour heightening the pleasant effect. Looking at these paintings one does not have the feeling which some sculptures and paintings on this theme unfortunately often give, of the dancer in a precarious, uncomfortable pose as if the very next step or movement was going to make the figure topple over—the artist having caught it just before fall. The eyes can rest on these paintings of Khastgir. A technical understanding of the subject of dance by the artist seems to be evident from Khastgir's works. The *mudras* are not distorted to suit the artist's purpose and

On a visit to his studio at the Lucknow Art College recently I was amazed at the large number of pictures, some under preparation, most of them showing men and women, old and young, in the ecstasy of the dance. There was a rich variety of dancers and dances. There was the picture of the musician of the slums with the harmonica and the men behind him bent with poverty and age and yet so alive dancing to the tune of the *Kavathi*. In another picture was shown a Baul—the wandering minstrel of Bengal—with one hand upraised, playing his simple stringed instrument and dancing to the melody of the folk music that the *Bauls* have so helped to perpetuate. Then there was a picture that gave the impression of a warbling brook, going on and on and on—a dancing figure with graceful swirling movements. Another picture depicted three maidens entering the stage, their cautious, nervous steps being led forward by the sheer joy of dance. •

There is a great variety in these paintings. Khastgir has depicted a host of moods in dance, a variety of people engaged in this pleasant pursuit. Yet in the midst of this diversity there is an essential unity which makes these pic-



Baul couple (oils)



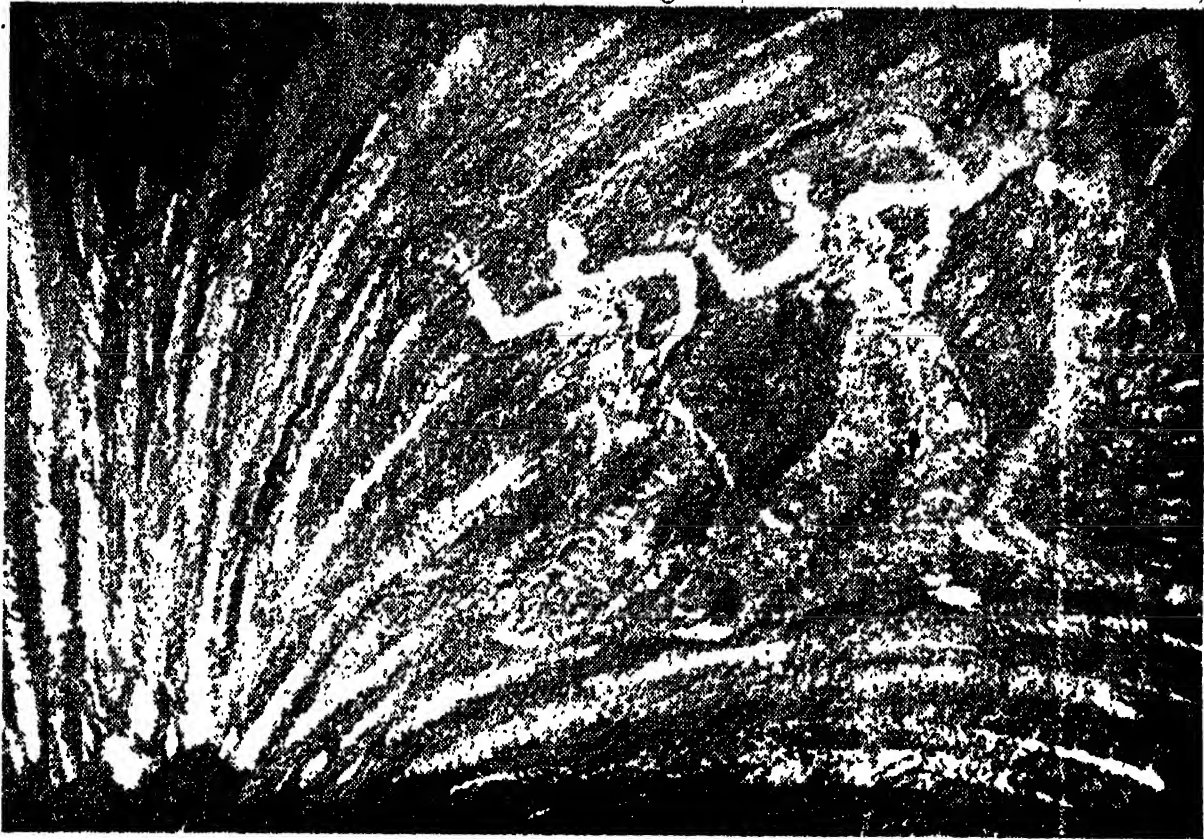
Dan (oils)



Dancer, 1956

yet imagination adds to the grace of the movements, and the suppleness, beauty and power of the classical Indian dance are well brought out in these pictures.

Khastgir was a student at Santiniketan between 1925 and 1930. It was during this period that Tagore had started dancing classes at Santiniketan and composed his dance-drama *Nati-ki-Puja*, the production of which at Calcutta had created at once a storm of appreciation and criticism. Tagore was then busy doing in Bengal what Krishna Iyer had begun doing somewhat earlier in South India, reviving the great Indian art of dancing and taking it out from the confines of the temples and the stigma of being the monopoly of *Dev Dasis* to respectability and a truer understanding of its grace and depth. It was round about this period that Tagore also wrote his dance and



Dance (cave)

music dramas *Tasher Desh* (The Kingdom of Cards), *Ritu Utso* and *Chandabika*. All this affected young Khastgir just as it affected his guru Nandalal Bose whose painting masterpiece of this period *Nati-ki Puja* now adorns Raja P. N. Tagore's collection.

In 1943 Khastgir spent a summer in Amora watching the performances of Uday Shankar and his pupils. In 1944 he came in contact with Ashoka Rupadita, the German ballet dancer

who had come to India to study Indian dancing firsthand and had just then been released from an internment camp.

These influences as well as a deep study of Indian sculpture, in which is captured the graceful movement of the ancient dance form of India have affected Khastgir's art style profoundly and given him that urge for the creation of dance and its ecstasy in his paintings which is so very characteristic of his art.



GWALIOR

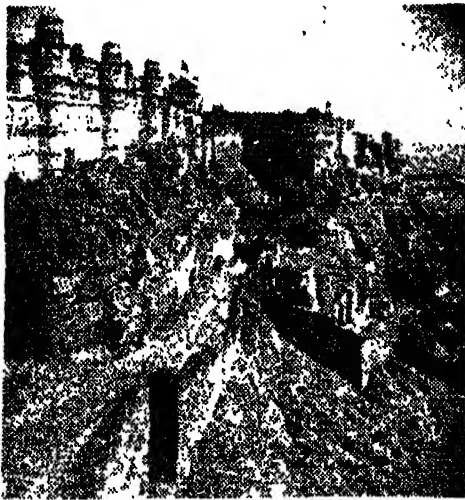
An Historic City of India

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

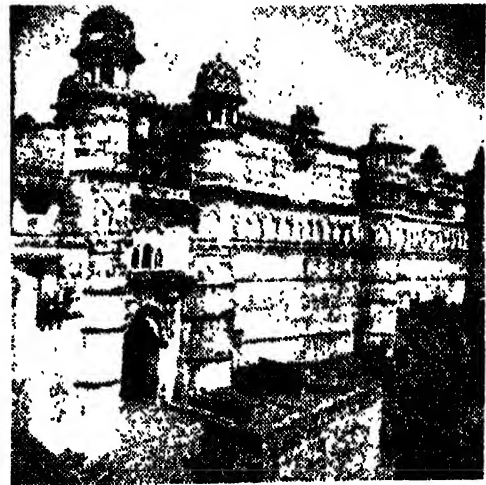
SITUATED in the heart of Central India Gwalior is a fine city with a network of nice motorable roadways and is full of historic interest which amply pays for the journey made. It is connected with all the Indian systems of railways from various sides of India. It is some 300 miles from

from Calcutta. The foreigner will find it suitable for him to travel from Delhi *via* Agra, Gwalior to Agra being a journey of some two hours or so.

Gwalior has left its indelible mark on the pages of Indian history and the massive stone



Gateway to Gwalior Fort



Inner view of Gwalior Fort



Statue at Chawk Bazar



Statue at Indraganj

Calcutta and the journey covers more than one system of Indian railways, *viz.*, the Eastern Railway, the Central Railways, etc. It takes some thirty to forty hours, inclusive of all stoppages, by Mail or Express to reach Gwalior

walls of the Gwalior Fort bear a testimony to same. The historic fort of Gwalior was built as early as the 11th century A.D.; early Jain temples and rock-cut images corroborate the story. Since 1410 A.D. the historic fort has been

GWALIOR

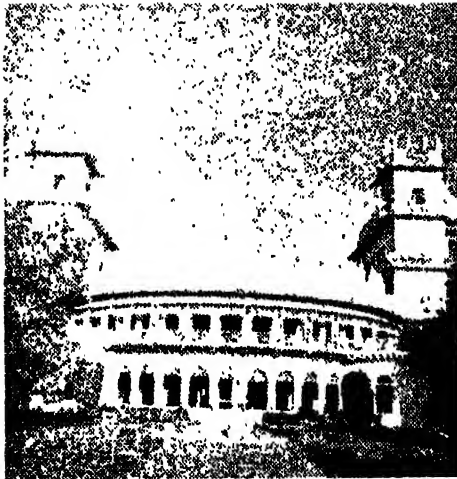
playing a heroic part in the annals of India. It reached the height of its glory during the reign of the Peshwas. Palace, Jhansi Rani Memorial, the tomb of Md. Gaus and Tansen-ka Mokbara amongst others. The decorated temples built by the Sanat



Ful Bag



Surya Kund (inside Fort)



Moti Mahal



Teh Temple

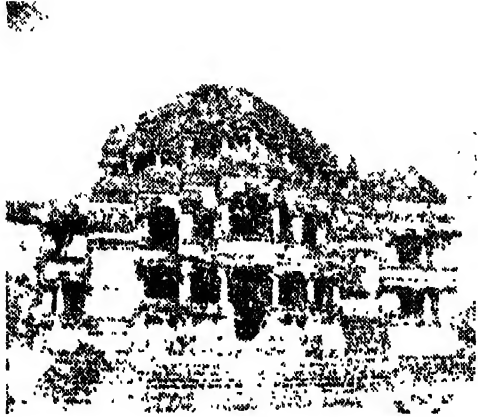
The Madhya Bharat roadways offer nice travel facilities to travellers on the well-built roads. The city of Gwalior is divided into three suburbs, namely, Gwalior, Morar and Laskar which combine to form a nice city indeed. The city boasts of a fine regulated water supply, electricity, the Gwalior High Court, Gajraja Medical College, Victoria College, Jiwaji Rao Intermediate College, Civil and Military Hospitals, the General Post Office at Chawk Bazar, the Central Bank of India with its branches in several parts of the city and the Madhya Bharat Chamber of Commerce and Industries.

Of the places of interest which the tourist must arrange to see are the Gwalior Fort, Ful Bag (Zoo Garden), Moti Mahal, Maharaja's

Dharma Mandal on Dharma Mandir Road and the Manrey-Mata-Mandir near the Gajraja Medical College on the Gwalior-Jhansi Road are really worth seeing. For conveyance the tourist can take a car, a tonga or an auto-rickshaw, the last being the cheapest, but the auto-rickshaws are not so numerous as in Delhi. The motorist will have really pleasant drives along the city highways.

To the eyes of the wondering tourist the massive Fort of Gwalior seems to lift up its head like a giant and stare at him wherever he finds himself. The Chawk Bazar looks very fine at candle-light with its central park where stands the statue of the late Maharaja Jiwaji Rao.

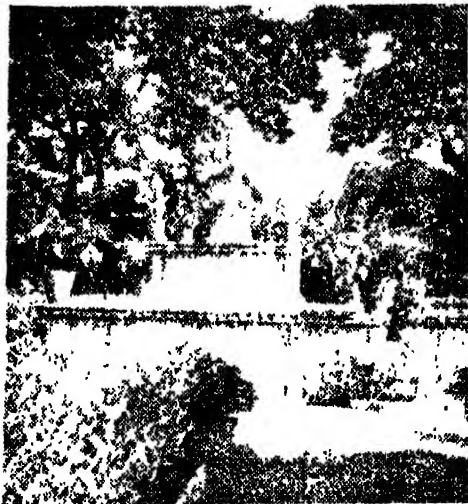
Scindia, ex-ruler of the native State of Gwalior. of parrots, *mainas* and other beautiful birds. The Gwalior High Court is a two-storied fine building in Laskar, three miles off the Railway Station. poured into my ears sweet melodious tunes in the shades of the evening. The fine statue standing near the Gwalior High Court with its



Sas Temple



Bahu Temple



Lachmi Bai Memorial



Tomb of Md. Gaus

As the tourist moves from the Railway Station towards the city he finds the Jhansi Rani Memorial, the Ful Bag with the Zoo, the Moti Mahal and the Secretariat with the Maharaja's Palace in the background.

Sitting on the marble bench in the Chattri adjacent to Moti Mahal, with the sight of the Gwalior Fort in front, I looked on, and the flights

inscription, "Every inch king erected in memory of its ex-ruler the late Madhorai Scindia is fine indeed,

For the snapshots I am grateful to Messrs Prakash Studio. The visit to Gwalior has left an indelible mark on my memory. The Gwalior Fort seems to say, "Kings may come and kings may go but I stand for ever."



THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

THE United States Government is improving one of its most beautiful natural show places for the recreation of all American and their millions of persons are expected to enjoy the park following the completion of an improvement program now under way.



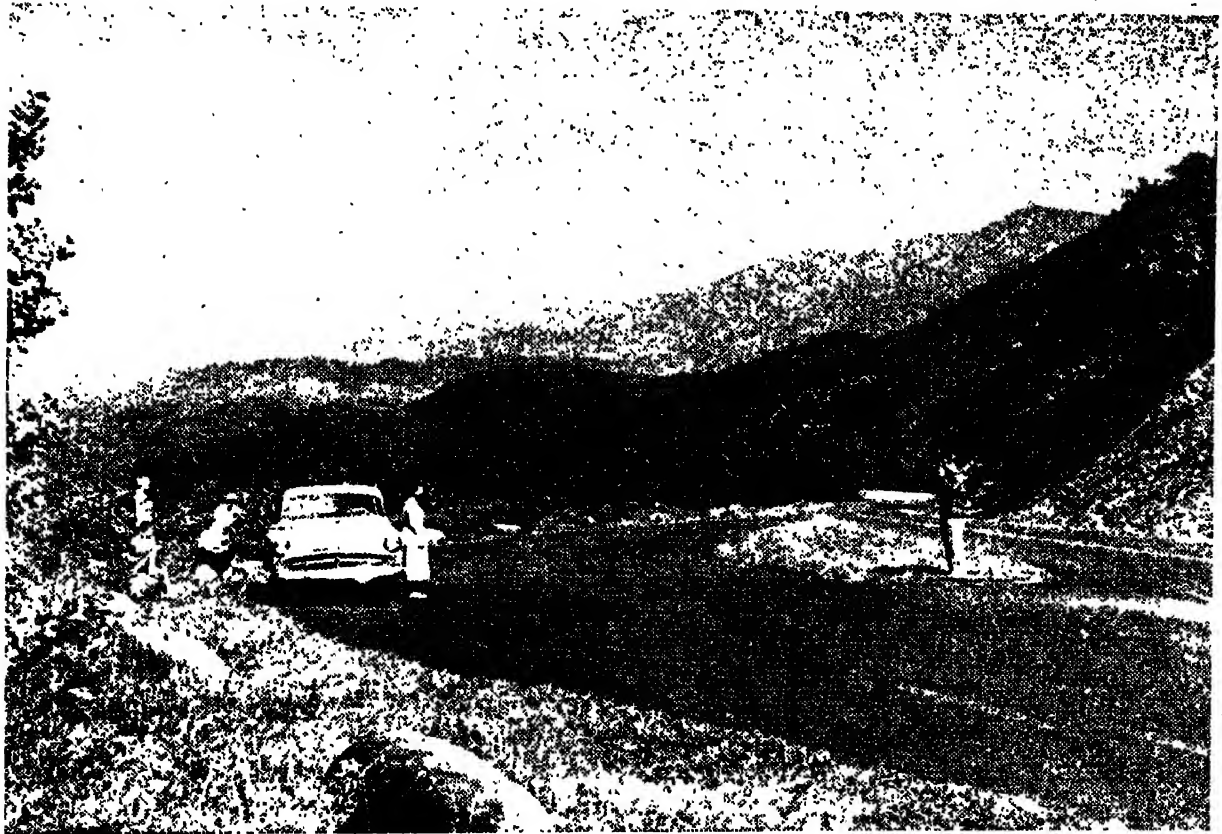
A Red Indian woman at Ocualuffee village here displays some of her beadwork for sale

The U.S. National Parks Service, an agency of the Department of the Interior, administers the nation's 23,924,223 acres (9,682,133 hectares) of national parks, monuments, historic sites and memorials.

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park is a vast area of misty mountain wilderness in North Carolina and Tennessee, centrally located in the U.S. East. As the most heavily visited of all the national parks, it attracted more than 2,500,000 persons in 1955. The park is scheduled for a comprehensive program of improvement and development costing more than \$10 million. In addition to the improvements within the park—approximately \$51.6 million will be spent on highways and roads.

This will include the scenic Foothills Parkway outside of but generally paralleling the park's northern boundary. Also included will be all but 25 miles (40 kilometers) of the Blue Ridge Parkway, which, with the immediately connecting "Skyline Drive" which runs the length of Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, reaches southwestward 548 miles (882 kilometers) into North Carolina and the Great Smokies. From Washington, the traveller enters the scenery-rich mountain parkway near Front Royal, Virginia, about

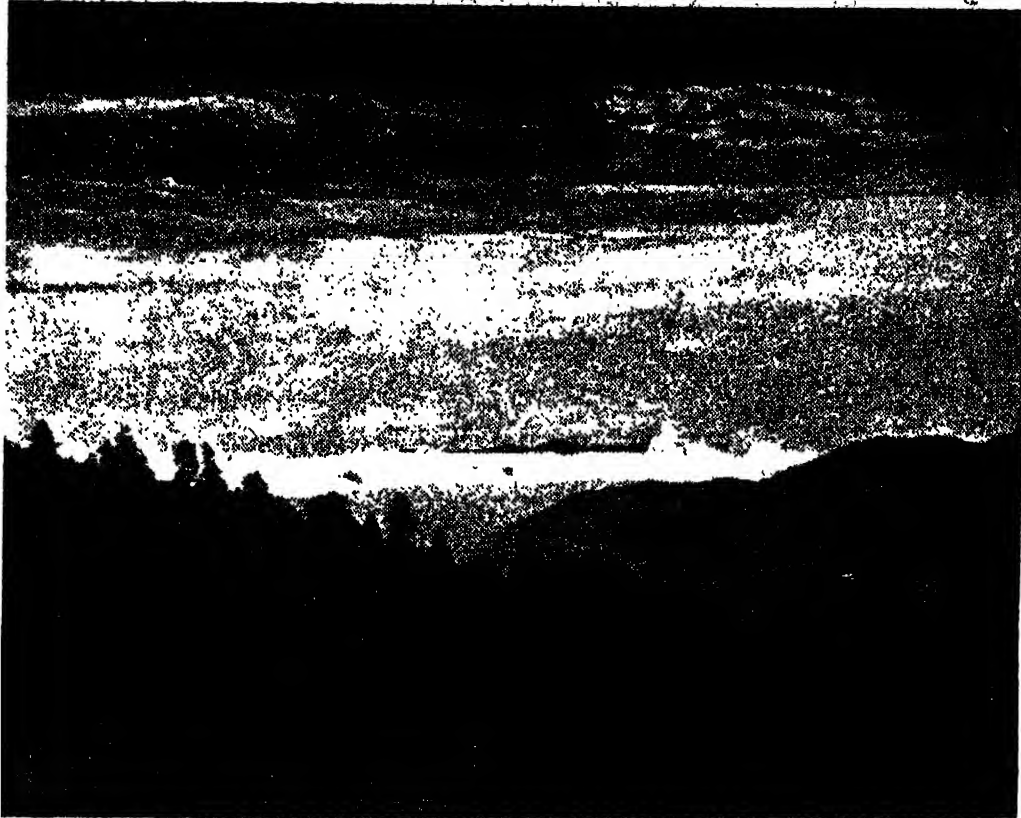
70 miles (113 kilometers) west of the national capital. The scenic road runs for the most part along or near the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountain chain with breath-taking guests—the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The park has drawn more visitors in recent years than any of the other parks in the nation's National Park System. Additional



A touring family pauses for a family picture amid mountain views in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park



This road is the principal traffic artery for tourists to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park



The heights of the mountain ridges tower above the Valley which is Newfound Gap

vistas for the motorist every few moments. Improvement projects in most of the National Park System units will be completed in 1966, as the result of Congressional action and with the approval of President Eisenhower. The fiftieth anniversary of the Park Service occurs in 1966. The Great Smokies project, however, will be ready before the full program is complete.

Virgin forests cover more than 200,000 acres (81,000 hectares) of the park's total of more than 500,000 acres (202,000 hectares). The new plans will afford greater protection for the wilderness character of the Great Smokies and provide facilities for the more than four million visitors annually.

There will be greatly expanded camp grounds, improved and extended water and sewer systems, new park museums and visitor centers where travellers can relax and learn the story of the park from Forest Service staff members.

Half the nation's population lives within 100 miles of the Great Smokies, a fact that has added the marvellous beauty of the park to

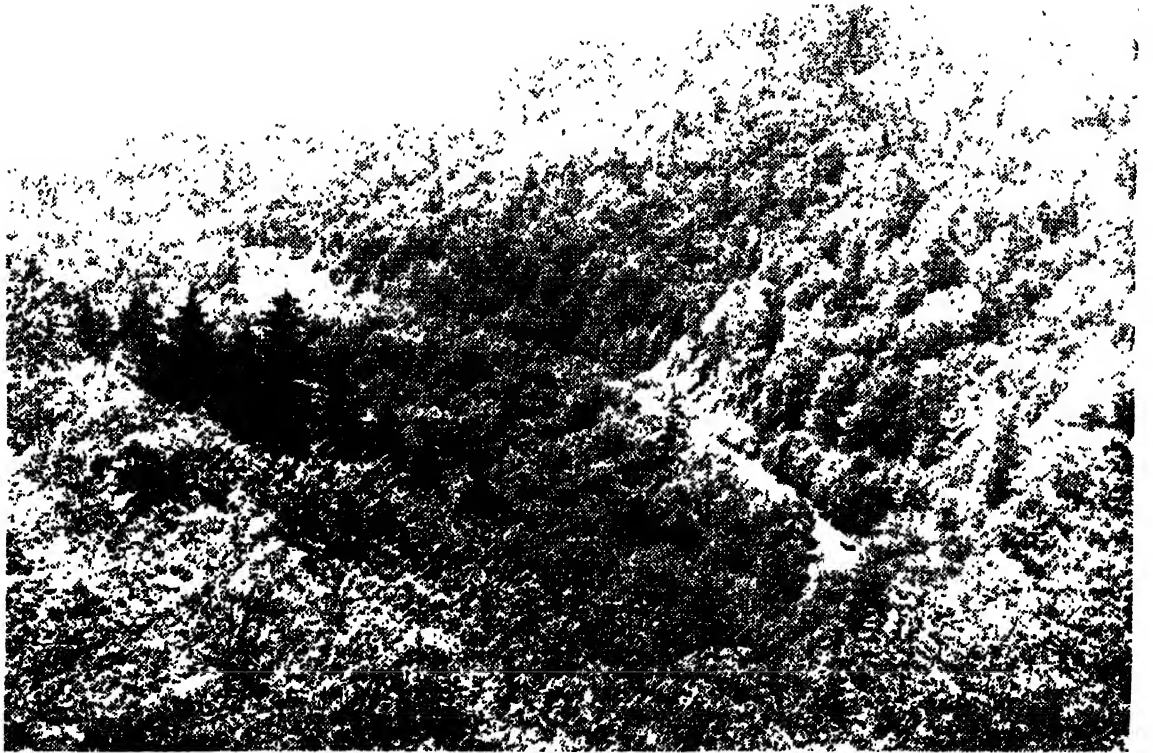
attract such great numbers of lovers of scenic beauty to the park. Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park System, says that these factors face the Park Service with a major challenge to keep the people from literally "loving the park to death" within the next generation.

This same danger was foreseen 25 years ago, when the park was established. The decision was then made to concentrate all hotels, privately-owned camps and lodges, restaurants and craft shops outside the boundaries of the park. The wisdom of that decision has been justified by the sustained preservation of the wilderness character of the park, despite the annual increases of visitors. Meanwhile private enterprise has demonstrated that it can provide adequately for the needs of visitors in the communities bordering the 54-mile (87-kilometer) long by 19-mile (31-kilometer) wide reservation that is the park.

According to Director Wirth the millions of new visitors to the park will require an enlarged staff of forest rangers, naturalists and other park personnel.



Tourists may have pleasant rustic cabins with all essential facilities, or motel tourist accommodations.



Mount Chungman's Dome, the highest peak in the Park

THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

Cherokee Indians were the first known residents of the park area and their descendants still live in a scenically and agriculturally rich area at the park's southeast edge.

Included among new projects at the park for early completion are the construction of two new visitor centers, one in North Carolina near the pioneer farmstead at Oconaluftee, and one near the park headquarters close to Gatlinburg. A feature of the Oconaluftee visitor center will be a pioneer museum in which the story of the self-sufficiency of the pioneer mountain settlers will be reconstructed. Another farmstead unit will be established in the Cable Mill area with the log houses, barns and other structures left behind when the mountain people moved to new homes after selling their properties to the government following establishment of the park.

Developing is planned of several hundred new campground sites to augment the three large and well-developed camps and the temporary campgrounds in each district of the park.

Clingmen's Dome, 6,642-foot (2,025-meter) high mountain that provides the highest point in the park, will be topped with an observation tower to permit visitors an unsurpassed view of the Smokies. Reconstruction of the North Carolina portion of the transmountain highway (U.S. 11) between Newfound Gap and Keppert Prong will be undertaken and improvements will be made to the unit between the Little River and Little Tennessee river, a thrillingly scenic area not now served by adequate roads. A new park road between Fontana and Hazel Creek will open to visitors one of the most beautiful areas of the park, now almost inaccessible.

Construction of the Foothills Parkway, outside the park, will give broad spectacular views of the park and the Great Smokies range.

Completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway between Soco Gap and Oconaluftee will open a new scenic entrance to the park from North Carolina. Much of this work is nearly completed and will provide access to a new area for many park visitors.

Inside the park, extensive relocation and

construction of minor roads and trails is to be undertaken to permit visitors to reach wilderness areas after "hiking" only short distances. Ranger stations, checking stations and utility structures, with residences for permanent personnel, will be placed on sites which will not intrude on the natural beauty.

The Great Smoky Mountains represent some of the oldest uplands in the world and are crowned by an unbroken forest unmatched in eastern North America. More than 130 native tree species are known to grow in the area. Many of them are giants of their species. The deep blue haze rising from the mountain valleys to the summits of the lofty peaks gives the mountains their name the Great Smokies.

The mountains, the most massive uplift in the U.S. East, run the entire length of the park. With the exception of Mount Mitchell, about 75 miles (121 kilometers) to the northeast along the Blue Ridge Parkway in North Carolina and 6,681 feet (2,038 meters) high, the highest peaks in eastern North America are included in the park. Sixteen peaks are over 6,000 feet (1,830 meters) in elevation and the main ridge does not drop below 5,000 feet (1,524 meters) for 36 miles (59 kilometers).

The mountain streams abounding in the area are bordered with rhododendron and laurel, flowering much of the year. In many areas the flame azalea grows profusely. Bold mountain summits and knife-like ridges have a dense covering of rhododendron and sand myrtle and in June the mountain laurel and rhododendron bloom in their natural state.

There are 600 miles (965 kilometers) of ideal trout streams in the park and persons desiring to fish need only secure North Carolina or Tennessee fishing licenses. A few of the streams, however, have been set aside for restocking and a fish hatchery is maintained in the park by the government. As in all national parks, hunting is prohibited. As a result bears, wildcats and many smaller animals and ruffed grouse and wild turkeys are comparatively tame.

The park is a paradise for hikers with many trails for both horseback parties and those on foot and is kept open the year around.—USIS



ON AILS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

THE word *A-il*, or *A-eel* has been thus explained in Wilson's Glossary. It means "a bank or mound of earth forming a division between fields, a boundary mark, an embankment."

Ail-Bater means "a narrow pathway sufficient for cattle especially on the top of a boundary ridge or mound, whence it denotes a boundary of such a description; a low road [perhaps, from *Ail*, a goat or stag (Hindi), *bat*, a road]." In settlement records *ail* means raised boundary marks between fields.

In Bengal, especially in West Bengal, each and every one of the cultivated fields is separated from the surrounding fields by *ails* or raised boundary marks. The practice is universal. In areas or tracts where the surface of the land is undulating or sloping, even the fields within one set of boundary and belonging to the same owner, are often found divided into two or more parts by *ails*. This is done to conserve rain-water, and to prevent soil-erosion by running water; and sometimes for facility of irrigation. *Ails* are used as passages to and from the fields for men, cattle and plough; and for carrying their produce.

Ails are now generally found to be a foot, or a foot and a half broad. This has been our experience extending over 100 villages in parts of the districts of 24-Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Nadia. In some areas it is even less broad. It is said that formerly they were broader. Such opinion is almost universal.

Between *maths* or groups of cultivated fields, and often within the same *maths*, there are *go-paths* (passages for cattle), also called *go-uals* (in Birbhum), higher and broader than ordinary *ails*—broad enough to allow passage of cattle. Traditionally they should be broad enough to allow passage for two heads of cattle passing up and down side by side; and for a man with a load of straw.

Now-a-days *ails* are less broad; and *go-reduced* in breadth to such an extent that is hardly possible for a single head of cattle, even a man with a load to pass along it in port. The cart-tracks noticed in the Survey

of India maps in the earlier edition cannot be found in the locality.

The population increased by some 50 per cent between 1872 and 1931; and the rate of increase is greater now. The pressure of population on agricultural lands is very great; and cultivators, agricultural share-croppers have tried to increase the area under his cultivation by encroachments upon *ails* and *go-paths*. The mischief began long ago; and no one has cared to check it. Defective legislation and cadastral survey and settlement operations have perhaps hastened the process.

The Hooghly District Gazetteer at p. 149 quotes a report of Mr. Carstairs (1883) on this point. It runs thus:

"The *ails* or boundary ridges of fields used to be wide and suitable for the ryots' walking along to his fields and very useful for grazing cattle on. They are now little mud threads. High rents and measurement have done this. No ryot can afford to leave so much land uncultivated. He cuts in on one side, and his neighbour has to resist or cut in on the other. I have seen cases where a man encroached on an *ail* and the ryot holding the field on the other side objected. But things like this are very difficult to check, for the mischief is done by inches.

"In all these matters it is the interest (possibly not real, but immediate) of the zamindar to let the mischief go on. If a man cultivates part of a grazing ground, rent is demanded. If he appropriates part of a road, this is assessed. If he encroaches on the *ail*, he cultivates all the more, and it is included in his *jot*. He will be all the more content to pay high rates. The zamindar does not usually live in the village. Want of roads or grazing grounds there does not put him to personal inconvenience. He may be as good a man as John Gilpin, but with him, too, 'loss of pence' is the main consideration."

It was usual for the zamindars to charge rent for the area of the field actually cultivated excluding the surrounding *ails*. The indigenous system of measurement with ropes or

leather thongs excluded the pegs at the two ends in calculating the distances. It was less accurate.

After the Great Famine of 1770, when one-third of the population perished, competition was for *ryots*, among the zamindars; and not for land among the *ryots*. This continued for more than half a century till 1831. The Nadia fever and the Burdwan fever decimated the population of Western Bengal. It has been estimated that there was no growth of population in the Burdwan Division between 1812 and 1872. All these helped in an under-measurement of the area cultivated for which rent was payable by the *ryot*.

Everything changed with the increase of population; and the operation of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885. Cadastral survey of fields are undertaken under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The scale used for the preparation of settlement maps is 16 inches to a mile. On such a scale anything less than 10 ft. broad cannot be easily shown; for 10 ft. on such a scale is $\frac{1}{33}$ rd of an inch.

The Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department say:

"Boundary ditches which do not exceed 15 links* in breadth will be treated as boundary lines and will not be plotted separately." and

"Small water channels not exceeding 15 links in diameter should not be surveyed separately, but the middle of the channel should be taken as if it were an 'ail'."

Half the breadth of the surrounding *ails* were taken in as part of the enclosed field in survey operations and in calculating its area.

The consequences are (1) that the fields appear land-locked in settlement maps; (2) there is no record-of-rights as to passage over *ails*, or to carry irrigation water along them; and (3) the area of the field (for which rent has to be paid to the zamindar) appeared to have increased.

The mischief done was so great that Rai Bahadur Bijay Bihari Mukharji, who conducted the settlement operations of the Bir-

bhum District, went out of his way and recorded rights to carry irrigation water along the boundaries of the fields in the settlement maps in certain areas. But this is exceptional.

The zamindar may claim additional rent for the additional area occupied by the tenant. Although the area occupied and cultivated the tenant remains the same, it appears inflated in the settlement records. To prevent injustice the Settlement Officers were instructed to follow the following rule in calculating the rent:

"The length of the pole being first settled, for the closeness of the cadastral measurement, 10 per cent, that is, 2 kattahs per bigha, will, as a rule, be a fair allowance. If the previous measurement appears to have been made with more than the usual accuracy, then 1 kattah may be considered generally fair, so as to reduce the survey area and the *jamabandi* area to a common standard for comparison.

"This deduction of 10 or 5 per cent is to be made from the present survey area. Care should be taken to refer to this deduction in the judgment and to assign reasons for it."

The Calcutta High Court in a case reported in the 40th volume of *Calcutta Weekly Notes* at p. 1022 noted that the contention is that the settlement officers measure every inch of the land including *ails* with absolute accuracy—whereas ordinary private measurement on behalf of zamindars usually omit the *ails*, and also the measurement is not accurate; and it held, "It is right in considering an additional area to reduce the settlement area by 10 per cent before comparing it with the previous area."

The question, we now propose to discuss, is, can we estimate the breadth of *ails* in former times, before slow encroachment by *ryots* reduced their breadth.

Colebrooke, following Cornwallis estimates, "one-third of Bengal and Bihar to be tilled, but this is exclusive of pasturage and lays or fallows."

He further states: "In Bengal, little more than 1 acre of tilled ground is available for every person."

"And now, after more than 150 years, with both the area under tillage, and population,

* 15 links=9.90 ft.

more than doubled, only .85 acre is available per head of agricultural population. The population in Bengal has increased more in proportion than the area under cultivation, with its increasing pressure on soil in consequence," writes the author of the note of Indian Land System, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern, appended to the *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. II (see p. 236).

The average area per raiyati interest is 1.89 acre; and that for an under-raiyati interest is 0.64 acre. A measure of fragmentation of land may be guessed from the following table:

Percentage of families holding the raiyati and under-raiyati interests					
1 interest	2 int.	3 int.	4 int.	5 int.	over 5 interests
37.1	18.7	11.8	8.1	5.8	15.2

Further, even if a family has several acres, they are not held in a compact mass. It is usual to find it divided into 3 or 4 or 5 or more fields. Partition between co-sharers, and anxiety against crop-failure have led one to possess low-lying land in one field, highland in another field, land liable to periodical floods in some other field and so on. Fragmentation of land into plots held in widely separated areas acts as some sort of insurance against total crop-failure and its terrible consequence to the family of the cultivator.

When there was no pressure of population on agricultural land, say a century and a half earlier, we assume that every holding of a cultivator to be divided into at least 2 plots on an average. From what we have been able to gather the number was certainly more than 2; it would now be nearer 3 on an average. From the *Survey and Settlement Reports of the Districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Midnapore*, we find the number of cadastral plots per square mile to be:

	No. per sq. mile
Hooghly	2,698
Howrah	2,248
24-Parganas	1,449
Midnapore	1,539

The average works out to 3.1 plots per acre.

Let us now make a little calculation. The

average area of a field surrounded by *ails* is (a) 0.5 acre, or (b) 0.33 acre. A perusal of cadastral survey maps shows the field to be of rectangular shapes generally. A visit to fields also shows them to be rectangles. The ratio of length to breadth for greater utility and convenience of ploughing is generally taken to be 2:1, though fields with greater proportions than that are often found. We shall make calculations for fields of length: breadth in the proportion of 2:1 and 3:1. Let 'B' be the breadth of the field.

	Ratio:	
	2:1	3:1
The perimeter is	66	86
Area	26 ²	36 ²
Ratio of perimeter/area	3/4	2.7/6
When the area of the field is:		
(a) 0.5 acres	26 ²	=36 ²
(b) 0.33 "	=26 ²	=36 ²
'B' is (a)	101ft.	85ft.
(b)	85ft.	52ft.

Taking 10 per cent to be the usual normal area (now added to the fields by the inclusion of *half* the area of surrounding *ails*), we get the area of the *ails* to be:

$$26^2 \quad 36^2$$

$$10 \quad 10$$

Let "h" be half the breadth of the *ails*; then the area of *ails* is:

$$a = 66h \quad 86h$$

$$\text{and } b = 30h \quad 40h$$

$$\text{and "h" is (a) } 3.5\text{ft.} \quad 2.1\text{ft.}$$

$$(b) 2.8\text{ft.} \quad 1.3\text{ft.}$$

And the breadth of the *ails* is between 2.6ft. and 7ft.

As the fields which are 3:1 in length and breadth are smaller in number, we prefer to give an weightage of 2 to fields which are 2:1 in length and breadth; and the weighted averages work out to:

$$(a) 3 \text{ ft.}$$

$$\text{and } (b) 2 \text{ ft. respectively.}$$

The *ails* in former times were between 4 and 6 ft. breadth. The actual breadths would be a little less as many *go-paths*, which are now either included into the contiguous fields, or developed into village pathways or cart-tracks, are included in our calculations for the average

breadths of *ails*. How much less it would be plots are consolidated into fields of 2 acres each, hazardous to make a guess. the loss would be reduced to 3.6 per cent.

The *ails* are and have become a social necessity in view of the development of ideas of individual property. Many of the village disputes begin with the passage of cattle and men over such *ails*. They are also agricultural necessities for the reasons mentioned earlier.

The breadth of *ails* will differ in different parts of the country, even of the same district depending upon the nature of the soil and local configuration. This has got to be investigated.

But it is disastrous to let quite 10 per cent of fine cultivable land to be wasted in this fashion. The remedy lies in preventing further fragmentation, and consolidating plots into bigger fields. If plots are consolidated into fields of one acre each surrounded by *ails* as broad as 5 ft.; the proportion of land lost would be reduced from 10 per cent to 5.1 per cent; if the

We think a further reduction in the area and length of the *ails* may be effected by suitable legislation defining the rights of the general public and of the owners of contiguous fields over the *ails*; if necessary, different rights in different seasons; and also in defining the purposes for which *ails* and *go-paths* may be used, such as grazing, temporarily cutting them to let the flood water pass, the duty to close breaches caused voluntarily or involuntarily.

—:O:—

SAGA OF INDIAN SCULPTURE: A REVIEW*

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

After Lord Ronaldsay, sometime Governor of Bengal, no other Governor of Indian Provinces has taken any live interest in the study of Indian Art and the author of this sumptuous volume, the ex-Governor of the Uttar Pradesh, has won a unique position in our national life by this erudite tribute to the values of Indian sculpture. It is notorious that there is nobody in the ruling hierarchy at New Delhi, who could claim any credit as a connoisseur, student, or patron of Indian Art. This is a tragedy for Free India, as there is no live and personal interest in the great heritage of Indian Art on the part of the great gods at the Olympia at New Delhi, even now ringing with the direct patronage and connoisseurship of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In England, in the world of politics, we had many connoisseurs and collectors of Art, and at least one practical practitioner of Art in Churchill who has published a volume of his own water-colours. In other parts of Asia, we have at least two instances of the heads of Government developing a personal interest in Art—in China, and in Indonesia. Dr. Soekarno, sometime President of the Republic of Indonesia, is a great connois-

seur and collector of Art, and his rich collection of paintings has been recently published in two sumptuous volumes from Peking. This appalling tragedy of the utter lack of personal passion for Indian Art on the part of the bureaucrats of Delhi drawing fat salaries (but refusing to buy any pictures in any of the many exhibitions there), has been sought to be palliated by a wise suggestion, a counsel of despair, by constituting a special Ministry of Fine Arts, as they have in France. And if an Indian Ministry of Fine Arts (now long overdue) is set up, we know of no better person to take charge of the portfolio than the distinguished ex-Governor of the Uttar Pradesh.

To turn to the pages of the volume before us, if it does not represent the "sparks from a Governor's anvil," it is the record of a distinguished Indian nationalist convinced of the

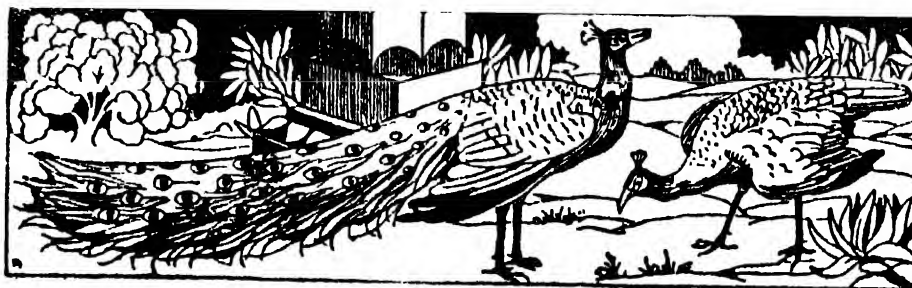
* *Saga of Indian Sculpture*: By K. M. Munshi. Illustrated with 185 half-tone blocks, mostly full-plates. Text 50 pp. First printed in May 1957. Published by the Bharatiya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 15.

high spiritual appeal of our greatest spiritual heritage, which is still very much neglected in our schools, colleges, and universities, and it is to be hoped that this volume will inspire our Vice-Chancellors to revise their syllabus of studies to find an important place for the study of Indian Fine Arts, now practically boycotted by our educational institutions. No one could pretend to know even of a fraction of India, the great continent of spiritual culture, without an intimate acquaintance with the strings of sculptural masterpieces, collected in the volume by Sri Munshi. The distinguished author is no mere superficial student of Indian philosophy, but an erudite exponent of the process by which Indian philosophy has found visual *applications* in Indian Art; which, the volume has skillfully demonstrated, is Applied Philosophy in a brilliant series of graphic forms, which make the abstruse principles of philosophy accessible to the common man. We have space only for one quotation from the author's brilliant opening essay on the 'Origin and Purpose of Indian Art':

"I only write about Indian Art as one who enjoys its beauty and senses its greatness. At the same time, I have found the genius of India reflected with greater power nowhere else than in its philosophy, literature and sculpture. And nowhere except in sculpture has it been expressed with such unbroken continuity to display the ageless spirit of the Indian culture. . . . India did not look at life in compartments, nor did it recognize the domains of art, religion, philosophy and mystic experience as separate. Our forefathers viewed existence as a whole: matter, life, mind and spirit, each involved in the other, each inte-

grated with the other in an harmonious pattern. . . . Both the literary and plastic arts of India, have for their aim, the fulfilment of one or other of the four fundamental values of *purusharthas*, so that it might be brought into a homogeneous pattern with the rest to secure the integration of the human personality. In the scheme of things, nothing is omitted. Even sin has a place as no more than an obstacle to be overcome in one's journey towards the goal. . . . Art is the creative expression of the fundamental values of a culture and should be viewed as one continuous process in the stream of time. If Indian sculptures are viewed in this way, it should not be difficult to learn the direction of the æsthetic urge as it is bodied forth from time to time. As I listen to the æsthetic harmony of Indian sculpture, I hear, in spite of varying conditions and changing factors, one eternal refrain: the search for a richness of the inner self seeking a co-ordinated fulfilment of our human urges."

A word about the illustrations: The large number of illustrations (186), practically covers all branches of the subject, except Nepal. Many of the blocks have turned out successful, though some are not satisfactorily reproduced. Many new illustrations have been published for the first time, e.g., specimens of the Kanauj School, Somnath School, and relief sculptures from Aihmeri. The specimens are not always dated, and the sources of the photographs are not always given. The Notes are not adequate and they could be made fuller in a second edition. There is no doubt that the author has made a valuable contribution to the study of Indian Art. The book is very cheaply priced and should find its way in every school and college in India.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STUDIES IN THE ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM: By Govind Chandra Pande. University of Allahabad. 1957. Pp. 600. Price not mentioned.

The problem of the original teachings of Buddhism has been pointedly set in recent years by Mrs. Rhys Davids who first drew the attention of scholars to the want of a uniform set of doctrines in the Pali canon. The discussion of this problem has been very far advanced in this present work. Although the book is admittedly confined for the most part to the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism, the author's claim (Preface, p. v) that it consists of "a group of organically connected historical studies relating to the origins" of this faith is fully justified by facts. The work consists of three Parts: Part I, after a preliminary discussion of the chronology of the Buddhist canon in its various versions (Ch. I), lays down (Ch. II) five criteria for tracing the stratification of the canonical works. This is followed (Chs. III-VII) by a detailed analysis of three works of the Pali Khuddaka Nikaya and the complete works of the four other Nikayas so as to distinguish between their early and late portions. Part II (Ch. VIII) begins with an able review of the whole development of Vedic religious ideas with special reference to the influence of the heterodox *munis* and *sramanas* upon their later phase as reflected in the *Upanishads*. Then comes (Ch. IX) a discussion of the influence of social change, of popular religion, and of Brahmanical asceticism upon the fortunes of Jainism and Buddhism. This leads to an examination of the various philosophical and religious currents of thought at the epoch of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism along with a reconstruction of the original doctrines of Jainism. A review of the Buddha's

career with a psychological interpretation of its leading incidents and a statement of its authentic facts forms the subject-matter of Ch. X. Part III is occupied (Chs. XI-XII) with a discussion of certain fundamental doctrines of Buddhism with a view to distinguish their original significance, as well as the examination (Chs. XIV-XV) of certain problems bearing on the relation between early Buddhism and its rivals and forerunners, and the subsequent rise of Buddhist schisms.

The work bears throughout the evidence of a thorough and exhaustive study of all the important sources (original as well as derivative), and what is more, of the combination of well-digested erudition with sound judgment. On a point of minor criticism we may mention that the author's summary (p. 312) misses the most characteristic political ideas of the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina thinkers at the epoch of the rise of Buddhism. These are fully set forth in the reviewer's work *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (now in course of publication by the Oxford University Press). On the whole, the present book, we think, will remain a standard work on the subject for a considerable time to come. Its value is enhanced by three important appendices, a full bibliography, and a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE AND TRADITION: By R. N. Bose. Published by the Research Division, All-India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

The author, who is the Professor of Industrial Law in the All-India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta, makes an attempt "not only to recall Gandhiji's great services in seeking to strike a mean be-

tween apparently conflicting interests, but also to co-relate the lessons he taught to the needs of the present. His intimate knowledge of the industrial relations of the problems of capital and labour no less than his considerable grasp of the Gandhian principles have materially contributed to the success he has achieved in his objective. The different aspects of the Gandhian technique and tradition in solving the problems of the modern industrial society have been presented in a simple language and will be read by many with profit and interest.

The Gandhian approach to social and economic problems is being steadily pushed to the background in Free India. The tempo of industrialisation is on the increase. Gandhian behest to the contrary notwithstanding, Free India seems to have abandoned the ideal of political and economic decentralisation. Time is not yet ripe to say who is or are in the wrong—the Father of the Nation or those on whom his mantle has fallen.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

THE ECONOMICS OF SIR JOHN STEUART: By Dr. S. R. Sen. Published on behalf of the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London) by G. Bell and Sons Ltd., London, W.C. 2. To be had of Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. Published in 1957. Pp. vii + 207. Price 25s.

Sir James Steuart (1712-1780) was the author of the first comprehensive treatise on economics in English. His work entitled *An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Economy* was published in 1767—about ten years before the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Though Smith heavily drew upon the work of Steuart, the latter was not given any credit either by Smith or by the later economists and economic historians. Referring to Smith's indebtedness to Steuart, Karl Marx wrote: "Adam Smith registered the results of Steuart's investigations as dead facts. Adam Smith applied the Scotch saying that 'mony mickles mak a muckle' even to his spiritual wealth, and therefore concealed with petty care the source to which he owed the little out of which he tried to make so much." This quotation notwithstanding its excessively critical tone about Smith, indicated in a way Steuart's greatness as an economic thinker. Steuart was, Dr. Sen notes, "one of the first to introduce a rigorous scientific methodology, deductive as well as inductive, into economic enquiries, and a pioneer

theoretician who not only made considerable original contributions in the fields of population, exchange, money, public finance and agricultural economics, but was also one of the first to develop the economics of planning and the evolutionist and institutional approach in social enquiry." Yet, strange as it may appear, Steuart was completely forgotten almost immediately upon the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. While he received some recognition from the continental economists none, with the sole exception of Karl Marx, was able to appreciate the true import of Steuart's chief contribution—his economics of social control.

Dr. Sen, who is now Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Government of India, in this scholarly contribution comes out with a fervent plea for restoring Steuart to his proper position in the history of economic thought. He discusses the various aspects of Steuart's economic thought and indicates their resemblance to some of the writings of modern economists, such as Keynes and Lerner. "Had not the brilliance of Adam Smith and the *laissez-faire* spirit of the nineteenth-century combined to cast him into oblivion, it is quite possible that the school of thought which Malthus, List and Keynes took so long to build up might have been more rapidly developed . . .," he says.

Dr. Sen's study is thorough, lucid and objective. He does not hesitate to point out the inadequacies of Steuart's theoretical formulations as well as the strong points. The picture of Steuart as an economist, as has been presented in the volume, is a very convincing one and one cannot but wonder how both economists and economic historians in general could overlook the contribution of Steuart. The indifference of his contemporaries might be explained by the fact that Steuart's philosophy led him to propound what may loosely be termed a planned economy in an age dominated by the spirit of "free enterprise". The historians' indifference, as Dr. Sen remarks, is not so easily explained.

Indians have an additional reason to be interested in Sir James Steuart, because he was in a way the first Economic Adviser to the Government of India. His paper entitled *The Principles of Money Applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal*, published in July, 1772, in response to a request from the East India Company for advice on the solution of the prevalent currency disturbances, was, in fact, the first authoritative study of Indian economic

problems ever made and was the source book for several subsequent studies. Dr. Sen devotes a separate chapter to a discussion of Steuart's writings on the currency situation in Bengal, and notes that while Steuart's advice had not been accepted at the time, the broad principles he had laid down in conjunction with Sir Phillip Francis had tended to guide the currency policy of India for the next one hundred years. The book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the literature on the history of economic thought.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

CREATURES OF DESTINY: *By Sachindra Muzumdar. Jaico Publishing House. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of short stories, sixteen in number, by Sachindra Muzumdar. The stories are well-written and grip the attention of the reader from the beginning. He has experimented with many forms of narration, that of Kipling, Tagore and Somerset Maugham; and has moderately succeeded in the attempt. The stories touch many points and foibles of our complex and sophisticated life; and are well worth a careful perusal.

J. M. DATTA

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN ECONOMICS. Vol. I: *By Subrata Gupta, M.A. Published by Subrata Gupta of Gupta Brothers, 52-A, Kalabagan Lane, Calcutta-33. Pages 314. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a study of the current economic problems of India including the problems of planning and economic growth. The subjects dealt in this volume are divided into twenty-one chapters, viz., Natural Resources, the Social System, Population Problem, National Income and Problems of Agriculture, Irrigation, Community Development Projects and National Extension Service, Agricultural Finance, Co-operative Movement, Land Reforms, Food Policy, Economic Planning—its Tools and Techniques, Reviews of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, Unemployment, Industrial Policy and Nationalisation of Industries, Foreign Capital, Industrial Finance and Small-Scale and Cottage Industries.

Since the attainment of Independence, Indian economy is undergoing revolutionary changes requiring constant and careful study by students of Economics. India, primarily an agricultural country with small-scale and cottage

industries, has embarked upon a wide and thorough industrialization on a planned way with a view to convert the economy into a socialistic pattern. But private and free enterprises are not disturbed or banned, they are being regulated and controlled to suit the formation of a socialistic society. The treatment of the subjects although specially meant for students will help a general reader. The author has collected materials from authentic and authoritative sources and used them to the best advantage. We have no doubt the book will be useful to readers and students.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

CHOR KI PREMIKA: *By R. Krishnamurti "Kalki". Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 4.*

The author is a doyen of presentday novelists in Tamil. The book, under review, is a Hindi rendering by Shri Somasundaram, of his *Kaluvanin Kadali*. It is a moving story of an innocent, good boy, whose life is shipwrecked as a result of certain social forces, over which he has no control. The woman whom he loves so ardently in his adolescence, but whom he cannot marry because of money being the monarch of society, is also a victim of society. But her sufferings transmute her into a saint. The beloved of the "society-made" thief becomes the beloved of God! The publishers are to be congratulated on giving to the Hindi-reading public such masterpieces from the modern South Indian literatures.

G. M.

GUJARATI

NANDINI: *By Jayendrao Bhagwanlal Durkal, M.A., D.O.C., Ahmedabad. Published by the Astika Sahitya Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth-bound jacket, with a block and autograph of the writer. Printed at the Mayur Printing, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. 368. Price Rs. 5.*

Prof. Durkal is by nature and instinct, conservative, say, orthodox. His scholarship is utilised invariably towards pointing out what good exists in the past and what evil is being brought in the present time, in our social, religious, and domestic life and habits. He is a vigorous defender of the old. Fifty-one articles embodied in this volume bear on Creation and Creation, Culture, Society, Language and Lite-

rature, Animals, and miscellaneous topics like a Rag, Fire Crackers, Fire Works, Buds, &c. In spite of the author's conservative bent of mind, the reader will find in the work, much that is entertaining, informative, interesting and beneficial.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Nagarjuna Konda: By Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 26. Price As. 6.

Lumbini: By J. Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

Bodh-Gaya: By Vijaytunga. Buddhist Series. Illustrated. Pp. 19. As. 4.

The Dancing Foot: By Mulk Raj Anand. The reputed author in his inimitable language first writes the Introduction and then deals with

Rajasthan; Ghumar Dance; Himachal Pradesh; Pangi Dance; Kerala: Kaikattikali Dance; Manipur: Ras; Gujerat: Garba and Ras; Maharashtra: Koli Dance; Punjab: Bhangra and Giddha and with the dances peculiar to Assam, Kashmir and Madhya Pradesh. The book presents 12 superb tri-colour plates and a number of line-drawings. Crown size. Pp. 36 + 12 full-page coloured plates. Price Rs. 1-8, 3sh. 6d., 50 cents.

Tunga-Bhadra Project: Illustrated. Pp. 12 + 1 map. Price As. 4.

Life-lines of the Nation: India on the March Series. Illustrated. Pp. 19. Price As. 2.

All the above books are published by and can be had from The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.

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Indian Periodicals

Buddhism and the Arts of Ceylon

Jayaweera Karruppu, Minister of Culture, Ceylon, observes in *The Indian Review* :

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's dictum that "all India can offer to the world proceeds from her philosophy" may as well be applied to Ceylon, for all she has to show the world as her cultural, literary and artistic achievements and all she is rightly proud of, have come into existence and grown solely due to the benign influence of Buddhism. Though the Aryans who settled in this fair Island in the 5th century before Christ—whether as followers of the banished Prince Vijaya or as sea-faring merchants—were from those parts of India where a civilisation of a high order had developed, no evidence of any cultural activities of merit prior to the establishment of Buddhism can be found. Perhaps, these early Aryans were entirely occupied with their material problems, which were inevitable in their difficult task of consolidating their power and position in a new land. It may also be possible that the early settlers were either warriors or tradesmen, with just a few Brahmins, so that the class which took to cultural pursuits was not numerically strong in ancient Ceylon. Whatever the reason may be, the achievements of these Aryans during their first two centuries in the Island do not appear to have been very impressive in spite of the fact that one of their rulers, Pandukabhaya, not only founded the city of Anuradhapura, but also managed its affairs through an efficient administrative system.

The arrival of Mahinda with the message of Buddhism from his illustrious father, Asoka, marked the beginning of the cultural development of Ceylon. Even though an attempt is made by some to show that Buddhism was rather puritanical about arts, the evidence available not only from India and Ceylon but also from practically every Buddhist country in the world leaves no doubt that no religion in the world has inspired as much artistic effort as the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhism has exploited all that is serene and beautiful in human achievements to bring home to the people the doctrines of love, non-violence and selflessness.

The need for impressive monuments, which

indicate the success of the new missionary religion, seems to have given a fillip to the progress of architecture. Gigantic Chaityas, wherein were enshrined the ashes of the Buddha and Arhants, were the earliest Buddhist monuments. In Ceylon the first Chaitya, namely, the Thuparama, was built under the direct supervision of Arhant Mahinda himself. There is no doubt that expert advice was available to the early Sinhalese builders from India. There are records which show that Indian artisans who had achieved a fair degree of perfection during the Maurya regime were sent to Ceylon, quite likely, for the erection of religious buildings. Besides, the Buddhist monks themselves were great builders and artists. Being adherents to a liberal religious system and engaged in the task of winning converts over to it, they encouraged every form of art which contributed towards the edification of both the followers and the non-believers. There is no doubt that the Buddhist monks realised the value of visual aids to religious education almost at the beginning of their missionary career. The missionary zeal of these Buddhist monks coupled with the enthusiasm of the new converts of Ceylon resulted in not only impressive Chaityas and Monasteries but also in the exquisite works of sculpture and painting which to this day, remain the most valuable of her cultural treasures.

Within five hundred years of the introduction of Buddhism, Chaityas rose in various parts of the Island. Nearly 175 miles from Anuradhapura, as the crow flies, a provincial ruler, Ilanaga, built in the 2nd century before Christ the Tissamaharama Chaitya which was, in all probability, the earliest Chaitya of that magnitude to be built anywhere in the Buddhist world. This was followed by larger Chaityas in Anuradhapura itself. The great King Dutugemunu built, besides a number of smaller Chaityas, the Ruwanweli Seya which has recently been restored. Two of the largest Chaityas in Anuradhapura, namely, the Abhayagiriya and the Jetavana, were constructed by Valagamba and Mahasena. Of these the Abhayagiriya was enlarged by Gajabahu in the 2nd century A.C. so that it was the largest Chaitya in Ceylon and was larger than the third pyramid of Gizeh. Perhaps,

the greatest of the architectural masterpieces of the early Buddhists of Ceylon was the Loha Mahapasada or the Brazen Palace of which only one thousand six hundred stone pillars now remain to be seen. The monastery, dedicated to the Sangha by Dutugemunu, had nine storeys going up to a height of 150 feet. The Mahavamsa describes it as having a thousand rooms with delicately carved doors and windows. Covered with brazen tiles this glistening skyscraper of the 2nd Century B.C. was a peerless edifice to the glory of the Buddha. Equally interesting from the point of view of architecture was the so-called canopy built over such Chaityas as the Thuparama and the Lankarama. The rock columns round the Chaityas suggest that it was not merely a roof but a mansion to house the Chaityas. Such a structure, at an age earlier than the Buddhist caves at Karle, would have been unique in Buddhist Architecture. One may even wonder whether Chaityaprasadas, which are described in the Ramayana as peculiar to Lanka, were not such buildings.

The growth of architecture led to the rise in importance of both sculpture and painting. The stone columns and boulders used for buildings were carved with delicate decorative motifs. The friezes of lions and dwarfs on the tenons of the columns round the Thuparama, the friezes of elephants adorning the Wahalkadas or cornices of the Ruwanweli Seya, the guard-stones at the entrance to monasteries and shrines and the moon-stones are among the most beautiful pieces of sculpture in Ceylon. Though these have been used purely for decorative purposes and hence have no religious significance, the predilection of the Buddhist artist to make his work satisfying not only to the eye but also to the mind has not prevented them from being made symbolic representations of the lofty truths of Buddhism. All these beautiful works of art which adorned the places of worship were the direct result of the interest of the Buddhist Kings of Ceylon to make every shrine and monastery a veritable centre of art. No efforts have been spared to make every building artistically perfect. So great was the respect inspired in the mind of the Buddhist towards the Sangha that every gift to the Sangha was made a highly finished object of art. So it may not be surprising that even the lavatory stones of the great monasteries of Anuradhapura were carved with the most exquisite designs.

The early Buddhist sculptor did not confine himself to decorative motifs. Two pieces of sculpture depicting the dream of Maya and the

miracle of Savatthi, besides the figures of Bodhisattvas, indicate that an attempt was made to illustrate incidents from the Buddha's life and Buddhist themes for the benefit of the devotees. At no stage did the Buddhist artist forget that his efforts in the creation of his products was for the purpose of educating the masses rather than satisfying his own artistic urge.

The Buddhist sculptor in Ceylon excelled in the art of statuary. Working on a somewhat rare variety of crystalline lime-stone, he carved not only figures of gods, goddesses and his royal patrons but also the image of the Buddha which was introduced into Ceylon at an early age both as an object of veneration and a symbol of meditation as a result of Mahayanist influences. The statue of the Buddha, which, as Count Harmann Keyserling says, was always to be "the absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain" gave the sculptor the urge to project his keenest aesthetic sense to his work. With meticulous care, the sculptor sought to create in the image of the Buddha the vividest manifestation of that all-embracing loving-kindness for which the great teacher stood. From Kandarodai in the Jaffna Peninsula to Tissamaharama in the South these statues stand as a living memorial to the religious fervour and the artistic skill of their creators. The most famous among these are the Buddha statue on the Outer Circular Road in Anuradhapura and the Toluwila Buddha. The former is recognised by a consensus of critical opinion to be one of the most serene representations of the Buddha. Equally well known is the gigantic Buddha statue at Aukana. Hewn out of the living rock and measuring 42 feet, this standing figure of the Buddha with His hand raised in blessing looks upon the life-giving water of Kalawewa and the smiling paddy fields below. It has impressed both the layman and the critic not only by its artistic excellence but also by its cultural significance as a symbolic representation of the pattern of Sinhalese culture; the Buddha watches and blesses the peasant who works for his livelihood in his fields. By far the most remarkable work of the Sinhalese sculptor was the stone gallery at Galvihare in Polonnaruwa. The last scene in the life of the Buddha, with its heartrending atmosphere, is captured and depicted with masterly skill; the Buddha lies majestically on his death-bed while his trusted attendant, Ananda, weeps in sorrow. There are numerous statues of the Buddha—most of them buried deep in the woods—which speak of a highly developed art. Not far away from Maligawela in the Uva Province are the fragments

of a Buddha Statue which, measuring over 10 feet across the chest, would have been one of the largest Buddha statues in the world. To the Sinhalese sculptor the creation of a Buddha statue has been the fulfilment of his artistic ambitions. He represented the Buddha in various mudras: as a preacher, as a friend of the world offering safety to humanity, as the most compassionate of all beings, as a guide through the miseries of life and above all as a serene religious personality to meditate on whose countenance was in itself bliss. The art of statuary had survived to this day. The Sinhalese sculptor even today devotes his energy and his time to the perfection of the Buddha statues which are a *sine qua non* in a Buddhist shrine.

In addition to the statues carved out of rock and moulded with clay there were from about the 5th Century Buddhist statues in bronze and other metals. The finest bronze statue to be cast in Ceylon is the life-size figure of Tara which is now in the British Museum. Besides proving the existence of the ancient tradition of metal casting in Ceylon, this statue shows the development of the art of metal statuary, the early stages of which are represented by the bronze Buddha figures unearthed at Badulla and Toluwa.

It was in the realm of painting that the influence of Buddhism was more strongly felt. Used as a medium of instructing the adherent, the best works of painting in Ceylon, with the sole exception of Sigiriya frescoes, are religious in content and narrative in purpose. The paintings in the relic chambers of the Kanakka Dagaba at Mihintale and the Mahiyangane Chaitya, besides the accounts of the paintings in the relic chamber of Ruwanweli Seva found in the Mahavamsa and Thupavamsa, give a very clear idea of the use to which painting has been put by the Buddhists of Ceylon. In the 5th Century Fa Hsien who visited Ceylon was impressed by the paintings representing the 550 Jatakas which were seen on both sides of the road through which the royal procession taking the Tooth Relic to the Abhayagiriya passed. The Buddhist shrines have had their walls painted with scenes from Buddha's life and Jataka tales. Some of the most beautiful specimens of such mural paintings are yet to be found in varying degrees of preservation at Situlpahuwa, Tiwanka Pilimage and Yapahuwa and at the rock temples of Dimbulagala, Dambulla and Degaldoruwa. Right through the centuries the development of this art into what is today called "Sittara Art" is traceable.

Varying in finesse and artistic value according to the competence of the artist, these paintings are executed in a technique entirely indigenous and superbly suited for the purpose for which they are used. This form of art has found expression everywhere in the Island, and even today no temple is complete unless its walls are painted with stories from the Jatakas or the Buddha's life. An artist with a reputation is generally employed to execute this work. Artists enjoying international recognition such as George Keyt and Nandalal Bose besides clever "Sittaras" like Hugh Mendis and Sarlis have been commissioned to paint the walls of some of our modern shrines.

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William Blake

1757-1827

R. L. Megroz brings out in an article in *The Aryan Path* the "rare magic" which William Blake, poet, creative visionary, artist and craftsman, had at his command:

Even in a whole book one would probably fail to include just and adequate criticism of the meanings and the influence today (which is the sum of the meanings we can find) of William Blake. In a brief article here, it is perhaps most useful to note what appear to be the essential truths about the great creative craftsman, visionary artist, poet and revolutionary critic of society during the Industrial Revolution.

He was born in London and died in London. He lived and worked in London nearly all his life, and never left his country, even to visit Rome, as many of his artistic contemporaries and friends did. Some of these were loyal and helpful friends, but his most devoted friend was his wife, whom he married in 1782; an uneducated girl, Catherine Boucher, whom he taught much, even to paint like himself on occasion, and to help in preparing his copper-plates and coloured illustrations. They lived in hard-working poverty, but in spite of a critical awareness of what was going on in the world and not infrequent indignation and anger, Blake's imagination was concentrated on another world that fused a conscious judgment of day-to-day appearances with the dramatic imagery of dream: in effect he created a visionary reality that offered a contrast to the false values of contemporary society.

Admired by a few, Blake was not successful in the worldly sense; nevertheless those who were in contact with him as friends admired not only his astonishing achievements but the radiance of the man whose happiness was not destroyed by adversity.

Nowadays a good library will offer you a bewildering number and variety of books on Blake, but for steering a way through a great diversity of opinions—sometimes perhaps too adulatory, and often inconsistent with others—there remains the still indispensable first biography, published in 1863, the "Life" by Alexander Gilchrist and Gilchrist's widow, with contributions by D. G. Rossetti and William Rossetti. In the 1906 and subsequent editions annotated by W. Graham Robertson, this editor sums up the best opinions of half a century ago in an admirable Introduction, and refers to a reading of the biography thus:

"For us, who look down the years and see the Poet-Painter a dim and giant figure, clothed with the mantle of dreams and moving in Vision 'above the light of the Morning Star,' it is good to learn from one in touch with those who had seen him and spoken with him as he lived his beautiful, happy life, a man amongst men."

Robertson anticipated some of the wisest of later comments, and though the terminology to express our thought may have become less simple, Robertson's statement reminds us of many keys to Blake.

Since Blake's career began as a practical engraver (in the academic sense he was "uneducated") "his life amongst men" comes before the more tremendous aspect of this visionary genius. Moreover, when he was troubled as to how he could publish his wonderfully illustrated *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience*, lacking the money to have them printed, he actually invented a method by which he could write text by hand and paint the decorations and engrave both together on plates. He printed from those plates himself in various colours—a laborious process which resulted in the loveliest combination of text and illumination by the same author ever made. The *Songs* were to prove the chief and earliest vehicle of his poetic fame, though the number of copies was so small that they were almost not published at all, and were rescued later, as were many Blake paintings, by the luckiest of circumstances for posterity.

According to Blake, the invention of his original method of printing text and pictures together was seen in a vision during sleep, when the figure of his dead brother Robert came to him and solved his problem. As opposed to the loose rhythmic prose and frequent incoherence of the Prophetic Books, in which usually only his decorative illustrations had a recognizable form, there are wonderful lyrics of a technical perfection as well as an imaginative power seldom equalled in poetry. It is a rare magic that can give you both a song and a profound metaphysical kind of poem in the same few verses, as we have in the famous "Tiger, tiger, burning bright, in the forests of the night." Yet it is essential Blake, the creation of a man that stupid or wicked fools denounced as a madman. Blake's wonderful craftsmanship at its best required severe intellectual control, though it is true that some of his drawing and much of the text of the Prophetic Books, as well as miscellaneous jottings, are either like careless

notes or incoherent with urgently crowding ideas. The fact that much critical study in this century has made the obscure Prophetic Books comprehensible, mainly by tracing the meanings Blake attached to various names and other symbols, indicates that there was a logical meaning for each vision, and also that the fundamental ideas all belong to the grand visionary whole of Blake's thought. His incoherence was a fault; none the less, though due to passionate feeling and haste—a failure of the artist unable to control powerful inspiration.

Contradicting a comment on the "fancy" in his pictures as being "in the other world, or the World of Spirit," Blake wrote to a friend that this was not his intention, for "Whilst living in This World [I] wish to follow the Nature of it." Besides Michelangelo's power, his naturalism also appealed to Blake, on whose drawings of ancient themes, such as the Creation, the influence of the great Italian painter is frankly revealed. But what astonishes, even today, is Blake's frequent transmutation of a characteristic theme of Michelangelo, such as the image of the Deity stretching down to touch Adam into life, which in Blake became the Biblical Elohim's creation of an Adam whose human body is being evolved out of the serpent form coiled around it above chaos, and under the Deity's hand. But it is less the hand than the face of the Deity, and also that of emerging Man, which express Blake's intuition. There is radiant anguish and foreknowledge in the Creator's, and the fear and nobility of dawning consciousness in the human creature, whose mien seems to reflect something of the Creator's grandeur. In many pictures for universal themes, as in the illustrations to the Book of Job, Blake unites what we may conveniently term spiritual knowledge with natural forms that belong to the familiar world of appearances. Instead of trying to escape this world he penetrated like a seer to realities which most religions, especially in the East, have taught are veiled by the world of phenomena.

Such reflections bring us to the verge of subjects requiring far too much space. Besides, Blake maintains a duality of vision throughout. He hated physical science and materialistic philosophy, but lovingly sought truth in natural forms, and most pungently condemned society,

not so much for greed as for blindness to the remediable evils of degrading want and the brutal enslavement of children. As for religion, Blake's was a combination of elements from the Orient and the Western world, most remarkable in a self-taught artist-craftsman and poet who lived from 1757 to 1827 when the Industrial Revolution first developed to change a world which, if any better now, owes the fact largely to practical, creative visionaries like Blake—and how few there are!

A book could be compiled of Blake's proverbs and many other aphoristic statements, which are so endlessly diverse that it is difficult to choose a concluding quotation that is as characteristic of Blake as any other could be. I find the following among many in *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* where he describes a vision of Isaiah and Ezekiel:

"If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite."

"For man has closed himself up, till he see all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Albert Camus

Albert Camus, the noted French writer to whom the Nobel Prize for literature has just been awarded, is one of the youngest authors to receive this prize, being only forty-four. But he has been famous already for something like twenty years. He sprung to fame as far back as 1937 with a volume of incisive essays called *Noces*. This collection was first published in Algeria, and two years later in Metropolitan France by the well-known publishing house of Gallimard, one of whose directors he now is.

He has written essays, novels, plays, and short stories, the most notable of which are the following: Essays—*Noces* (1939); *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942); *Lettres a un Ami Allemand* (1945); *L'Homme Revolte* (1952); Novels—*L'Étranger* (1942); *La Peste* (1947); Theatre—*Le Malentendu* 1944; *Caligula* (1944); *L'État de Siège* (1948); *Les Justes* (1949); Short stories—*L'Exil et le Royaume* (1957).

Born in Algeria into a very modest working class family, his childhood was spent in one of the poor quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the communist party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism, first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of Republican Spain and this was the first of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war despite very fragile health, he was a militant in the Resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper *Combat*. His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believes that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that first of all, especially if what he creates does not recoil before the problems of his own times"; but "in exceptional

circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservation, and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian revolt.

This rigour, he thinks, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckons himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, conformism has fastened on the Left; "It is true that the Right is not brilliant," he said in a recent interview, "but the Left is in full decadence, a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." "The role of the intellectual," he adds, "lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing ecstatically his imaginary robes."

He follows his own dictum in prescribing a solution to the Algerian problem. He regards himself as an Algerian Frenchman and he does not approve the terrorism of the Algerian guerillas. Since his early beginnings as a journalist in Algeria, he has always taken a liberal stand. In a series of articles published last year in *L'Express*, and also more recently, he defined his position. He advocated the end of the status then in force in Algeria, a Round Table conference that would include all the representatives of Algerian parties and groups, and the discussion of the possibility of an autonomous, federated Algeria, which would preserve the liberties of the two peoples who inhabit the country.

Although already an established writer and one of the foremost among his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus is still developing. With regard to him there is still in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he has shown and the power of his thought and produce in the future works which will be fully equal to his most outstanding successes. And the collection

of short stories published this year does not indicate any falling off.

He has always been evolving. For the first five years or so of his literary career Camus showed himself as a pronounced pessimist, almost a nihilist, oppressed with a sense of the unending conflict of man with reason and ultimately with the moral order. In *Noctes* he wrote, "A stone warmed up by the sun or a cypress which the sky lays bare in its full growth, furnishes the limits of the only world in which reason possesses any sense—Nature without man." This phase continues in *Caligula*, *Le Malentendu* and *L'Etranger*. In all of them man is shown convinced of the absurdity of the world. In *L'Etranger*, however, a new vein revealed itself, a streak of Voltairean irony infused with pathos.

In this phase Camus found the mainstay of his lyricism in his praise of the life of the senses, but however preoccupied he might be with the absurdity of the world, neither in his exposition nor in his style did he ever show himself as anything but a believer in order and clarity, and he gave a rational form to a

philosophy which was obsessed with the incoherent and the irrational. He found in his classical style an antidote to the "disgust for life," and saw in art a counter-destiny for man.

But from 1942 onwards Camus began to move towards a humanistic position. Participation in the Resistance was for him an influence towards this end. By taking risks for a cause, Camus evolved towards a philosophy which recognized the eternal values of the conscience above the contingencies of history. In his *Lettres a un Ami Allemand* he stated that man ought to set himself against moral nihilism and take the part of justice even against the gods. In *La Peste* this tendency reached its culmination. *L'Homme revolte* shows Camus as the champion of what might be called secular humanism, which rejects any form of violence on man. He thus becomes an advocate of reforms rather than of revolutions, and he shows himself disinclined to sacrifice any part of the liberty and happiness which man enjoys today in the expectation of an ideal future.—*News from France*, October 1957.

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Unforgettable India

EXCERPTS OF AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY
CHINESE PLAYWRIGHT TSAO YU

The famous Chinese playwright Tsao Yu, who visited India in 1956, has written an article in the *Pekin People's Daily* entitled "Unforgettable India." Excerpts from the article read:

In the two thousand years of contact between China and India, we have not heard a single battle cry. Envoys of peace visited each other's country continuously in search of knowledge, culture and a prosperous life. History never recorded two more amicable and harmonious neighbours.

It is impossible for any of us who has visited India to forget the Indian people's affection towards us. In every Indian city we visited, many Indian friends invited us to stay with them and to talk with their wives and children. At many evening parties, poets recited to us poems they had written in praise of our friendship. And how fascinating were the Indian music and dance! In big cities and little towns, musicians and dances would invariably carry us into a fairyland of happiness.

In Hindi, the words "sugar" and "Chiua" are very close in pronunciation. Our Indian friends laughingly told us that to them the thought of Chinese was always accompanied by a feeling of sweetness. It is the same with us Chinese. When we think of our Indian friends, we experience a feeling of placidity and cordiality.

In villages and small towns we could feel all the more the ocean-deep affection of the Indian people towards the Chinese people. On our tour of various Indian cities by train, we were greeted at every start by crowds of people, men and women, young and old with garlands of flowers, with fragrant scents and enchanting songs. One early morning, we were not yet quite awaked when our train pulled into a station. We heard the knocking of many gentle hands on the compartment door. As we got off the train, we were faced with a large crowd of people, with shining eyes, smiling at us in the half-light of dawn. The welcomers presented gifts to us and anointed us with perfumed ointment. Each of us was offered a cup of hot coffee. Singing, laughing and chatting, there were a boundless feeling of happiness and cordial friendship. The whistle sounded. And we suddenly realised that the five minutes' stop had passed in the twinkling of an eye. We bade good-bye to the crowd, among whom friendship sparkled like a flame. But in our excitement we forgot to ask the name of the town. As the

train pulled further away, our eyes were full of tears. We had left our heart with the town. Though we did not know its name, we knew it was India. It was the affection that millions of Indians cherished for visitors from New China.

Every minute of our stay in India was so precious that we wished we could bring back all the knowledge and wisdom of India to share with our kinsfolk and friends. Every place in India is so beautiful, every place is like a dreamland.

The construction carried out by the Indian people made us proud for India. The peace-loving and musical Indian people are making gigantic strides forward on the road to industrialization. Many fine poems, articles and newsletters had been written by Chinese writers and poets on their unforgettable impression of India after they visited that country. The writer, Yen Wen-chin, has recently finished his work for Chinese children entitled *India, We Shall Never Forget You!*

How happy we are that we have by our side such a great neighbour, India, who has stood up and has boundless faith in the cause of peace. When I think of our friendship, I think to hear the singing of a sea of people. The singing, full of confidence and joy, comes over the Himalayas to mingle in a great chorus "Hindi Chini bhai bhai."—*China Today*, October 15, 1957.

Boom on the Book Market

THE WEST GERMAN BOOK PRODUCTION
OF 1956

Dk Frankfort: As it is the case with almost all branches of industry in West Germany, thus the publishing houses could also register a noticeable increase in their production again during the last year. Regarding the number of the titles of the books thrown on the market in 1956, there is no doubt that there is a boom in literature. The Exchange Association of the (West) German bookselling trade has together with the great Frankfort Book Fair again submitted its annual review *Books and Bookselling Trade in Statistical Figures* which allows the supposition that the slogan "he who brings much, brings something to everyone" can also be applied to the book-industry. That this method is not completely without effect was after all proved by the great numbers of visitors crowding the Frankfort exhibition halls of the Book Fair although it was not possible to buy

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books there. After all, the demand cannot easily be met with in this cultural field. One can also read in the review of the Exchange Association—as two institutions investigating into public opinion have found out—that between 33 and 47 percent of the people who have been interrogated do not own a single book. In many cases this is due to their incomes, and it can be gathered from a survey that the average published price per book has risen from 6.84 marks in 1951 to 9.18 marks in 1956. But on the other hand, some larger publishing houses have extended the production of cheap pocket-books in such a way that it is now possible to get the *Odyssey* or the *Divine Comedy* for the price of three packets of cigarettes.

GERMANY AT THE FOURTH PLACE AS CONCERNS FIGURES

In 1956, the publishing houses of the German Federal Republic and West Berlin have brought 17,215 different titles on the market, among which there were after all 13,307 books having been published for the first time. This concerns as well books as booklets and pamph-

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lets which have been edited in a greater or smaller number of copies. By that they have not only surpassed their post-war record of 1955—then it was possible to count 16,660 titles—but at the same time they have also kept their place on the international ranking-list where the Federal Republic is fourth. Thus they reached a little more than half the amount of the titles which were edited by the publishing houses of the Soviet Union in 1955 and probably reached again in 1956. Japan and Great Britain have produced more publications still than West Germany. The Exchange Association has in this connection ascertained how the titles of the books compare to the number of the inhabitants, and here the Federal Republic is at the thirteenth place as she had 33 book titles to 100,000 inhabitants, whereas there were more in smaller countries, 69 in Denmark, 53 in Austria. The United States of America with its great amount of inhabitants is with 8 per 100,000 at the last place but one among the countries selected.

The participation of the various publishing houses in the book production of 1956 has not been ascertained yet, but as compared to 1955 there should not be very remarkable changes, and the picture at that time was that out of 1,935 publishing houses a third edited a single book in the course of one year. Only 20 (1.1 per cent) proved—according to the amount of publications—the great publishing houses as they sold 100 to 400 titles during that one year. Consequently the turnover of these publishing houses showed figures of seven digits. Well, to what kind of books did the German publishers pay their special attention in 1956? To polite literature, politics, science? Certain changes can be noticed when comprising the figures of 1955. The increase of publications in the field of religion and theology is most obvious. In 1956, with 1,246 titles there were 230 more than in 1955. There is also a rise in the number of titles in the field of technics, industry and trade, and natural science, if, however, not so marked. On the other hand there was a decrease to be noticed in polite literature (1956: 2,689 titles), school-books (1956: 1,999 titles), and youth periodicals (1956: 1,336 titles). There were also less books published about formative art and handicraft in 1956 than in the previous year; however, it can be assumed that the publishers will draw their

conclusions for the next years at the latest from the markedly strong rush especially on these publications and on the picture prints as well at the Frankfurt Book Fair of his year. Details about the share of the scientific descriptions for the general public such as *Gods, Graves, and Scientists* (Götter, Gräber und Gelehrte) or *The Bible as History* (Und die Bibel hat doch recht) in the book production of 1956 cannot be gathered from the survey of the Exchange Association; judging, however, by the exhibitions in the shop-windows of the booksellers and the books exhibited at the Fair, they must still be of great interest for the publishers and probably for the buyers, too.

MORE TRANSLATIONS THAN IN 1955

There were 1,543 translations into German among the 17,215 titles having been published in 1956, that is 42 more than in 1955. Most of the translations were in the field of polite literature (668), youth periodicals (217), and religion and theology (169). Most of the translations (403) were from English, 356 originated in America, 317 were books of French authors, 47 books (3.1 per cent) were translated from Russians. But polite literature having been specially examined showed a decrease of translations from the American and English as compared to 1955, whereas it was almost static with the French. Opposed to this the books of Russian and Spanish origin showed an increase.

Together with the number of the books having been published in Federal Republic in 1956, foreign trade in the book-market has also increased. As compared to 1955, the export of books of the Federal Republic rose by 16.2 per cent in 1956. The total amount of the books exported was 51.921 million marks. The main buyers were Switzerland, Austria, the Saar district that was no part of Germany at that time, and the U.S.A. Book imports on the other hand did not rise quite so much. As compared to 1955, imports rose by 2.6 per cent and brought books worth 32.895 million marks into the Federal Republic. Here the main suppliers were Switzerland, Austria, Great Britain, and the western neighbours of the Federal Republic.—*Deutsche Korrespondents*, October 22, 1957.



On their way to the village



The attraction of the soil
Photos by Romen Bagchi

TO THE TUNE OF DANCE
By Panchanan Ray

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The 63rd Congress Session

The sixty-third session of the Indian National Congress at Pragjyotishpur was remarkable for two events only. First was the Presidential procession headed by sixty-three elephants on January 14 and the second was the intervention of Pandit Nehru in the debate on the language resolution draft before the Subject Committee on January 16th. Beyond these we find little in the reports, that have been splashed on the pages of the daily press, that may be termed either inspiring or even thought-provoking.

A cynic remarked that the elephant procession was meant to bring home to the Indian people the truth of the old Hindustani proverb about the likeness of the elephant's teeth to the statements of the great, "one set for use, another for show."

We confess that this year's Presidential address seems to be even more unrealistic than last year's. The *Statesman's* special correspondent summarises the highlights of the speech in the following terms:

"Pragjyotishpur, Jan. 18.—Mr. Dhebar, presiding over the annual session of the Indian National Congress here today, for the fourth consecutive year, said that the last General Election results showed that the country wanted the Congress to go ahead with its programme of socio-economic reconstruction on the basis of the Second Five-Year Plan.

"If there was general agreement between the Party and the people, the Congress President added, the people did not fail to ventilate their grievances against the Congress by voting against it in certain areas.

"The Party had to assimilate the election

lessons and strengthen itself where it had gone weak. Kerala was a big rent in its armour and it had to redeem its prestige and position there with the people.

He referred to the Party's promises made in the last election manifesto and discussed what they could do to accelerate their fulfilment. Congressmen had pledged themselves to the goal of a democratic Socialist co-operative commonwealth. There was no room for gradations in social status in democracy. Casteism, communalism, provincialism and all similar sect-ridden influences had got to be rooted out if the plant of Indian democracy was to flourish."

In detail, we find he has dealt with the Assam movement for an oil-refinery in that State, the Naga problem, the Save Hindi agitation, the D.M.K. riots in the South, World Peace problems, the Kashmir problem, Goa, the Language problem, and so on and so forth. But there does not seem to be any emphasis on the most vital problems, that of corruption in high places, the lowering of moral values all over the country, and the consequent hopeless downward march of the nation as a whole and the Congress in particular.

We had great hopes of the President. He is an ardent disciple of Gandhiji and a worker. We thought that he would trim the lamp that Gandhiji had lit, so that the light of Truth would dispel the forces of Darkness that are overwhelming the Congress of today.

Has he forgotten that his preceptor was an All-India man in the truest sense of the word? Otherwise why is he so averse to the opinions of those whose voices are not in accord with that of the flatterers of Nehru and his satellites? Does he realize that the Indian National Congress is now like the "Holy Roman Empire"?

Foreign Investments in India

Answering a question as to the total amount of private foreign investment in India, the Union Finance Minister stated in the Lok Sabha (in its winter session) that the total foreign business investments as at the end of June 1948 were Rs. 287.57 crores, as on 31st December 1953 were Rs. 415.73 crores and on 31st December, 1955, they stood at Rs. 477.97 crores. The recent survey published by the Reserve Bank indicates that India's total liabilities and assets at the end of 1955 amounted to Rs. 766.3 crores and Rs. 1251.8 crores respectively, indicating a net creditor position of Rs. 485.5 crores. This net creditor position was wholly due to the official sector, which had a net creditor position of Rs. 960.8 crores, the non-official sector showing a net debtor position to the extent of Rs. 475.3 crores.

The country-wise details show that India was a net creditor with respect to both the United Kingdom and Pakistan to the extent of Rs. 408.5 crores and Rs. 269.5 crores respectively. India is a net debtor to the USA for Rs. 104.7 crores and also to many other countries. Foreign investments in India have been classified as direct investments, portfolio investments and miscellaneous obligations. Where foreign investments are accompanied by control and direction of the enterprises by foreign investors, such investments are regarded as direct investments. The branches of foreign companies, the ownership and direction of which are wholly in the hands of foreign owners are examples of direct investments.

According to the classification made by the Reserve Bank in this connection, the portfolio investments comprise ordinary shares held by non-residents as well as preference shares and debentures held by all non-residents. Miscellaneous obligations represent loans and advances, including inter-company or inter-branch balances, and liabilities to non-residents in respect of life and non-life policies. The combined total of direct and portfolio investments is regarded as business investments.

The total liabilities, according to the survey made by the Reserve Bank, of business enterprises as at the end of 1955 aggregated Rs. 522 crores of which business investments

amounted to Rs. 481 crores. The latter was predominantly in the form of branch investments and equity holdings while creditor capital amounted to only about 3 per cent of the total. The bulk of the investments was of the direct category, portfolio obligations being less than 15 per cent of the total. The foreign branches have largely invested their capital in trading, utilities, transport and plantations. The direct-controlled joint-stock companies and their subsidiaries have concentrated their investments mainly in the manufacturing concerns.

In comparison with the survey made in 1953, the foreign-held business investments in India showed an increase of Rs. 61 crores during the two years and stood at Rs. 481 crores on 31st December 1955. The most disquieting feature is that during 1954-55, the tea companies resorted to revaluation of their fixed assets to an unusual extent and as a result, the foreign investments in this sector were written up by as much as Rs. 20 crores. The revaluation of the fixed assets in the other industries, however, appears to be of a small order to the extent of not more than Rs. 2 crores at the most. In recent years there has been a large-scale flight of capital out of the country from tea estate investments. Most of the gardens are now superannuated and exhausted, the tea bushes having outlived the normal span of existence. But these gardens have now been revalued or strictly speaking over-valued by revaluation by the foreign-owned concerns and these superannuated gardens are now being sold to Indian owners at much exorbitant prices. The result is that these gardens have become uneconomic and unproductive. The authorities in this country should take proper steps to stop such flight of capital. The capital from tea estates is being diverted to the tea estates in East Africa which in recent years has become a formidable rival to the Indian tea.

The amounts of foreign investments in different industries in India are as follows: Manufacturing Rs. 163.3 crores; Trading Rs. 102.3 crores; Utilities and Transport Rs. 53.1 crores; Mining Rs. 9.6 crores; Banking Rs. 20.2 crores; Other financial institutions Rs. 19.1 crores; Plantation Rs. 81.2 crores and Miscellaneous Rs. 25 crores.

Adjusting for valuation changes which have been made during the last two years, the net change in the foreign business investment would be of the order of Rs. 39 crores as against the unadjusted figure of Rs. 61 crores. In petroleum trading industry there has been a net capital inflow for 54.2 crores during the period 1948 to 1955. During this period, the net capital inflow in the petroleum manufacturing industry has been to the extent of Rs. 27.4 crores. In manufacturing industries, the inflow of foreign capital amounted to Rs. 64 crores; in utilities and transport Rs. 21.8 crores; in plantations Rs. 35 crores; in financial institutions Rs. 12.2 crores. In mining industry there has been a net capital inflow between 1948 and 1955 to the extent of Rs. 1.2 crores against an outflow of capital for Rs. 3.1 crores. In trading concerns, Rs. 16.3 crores have been repatriated out of the country.

A country-wise breakdown of the change in business investments during the years 1948 to 1955 reveals that the industrially advanced countries have added substantially to their Indian investments. Four industrial countries, namely, the United Kingdom, the USA, Western Germany and Switzerland increased their investments by nearly Rs. 175 crores. In addition, resources provided by the IBRD to private companies amounted to about Rs. 3 crores. The other countries have reduced their investments by Rs. 7 crores. Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma are among the countries which have reduced their investments during the period. The United Kingdom maintained its position as the leading investor of capital during 1954-55. Its capital investment between 1954 to 1955 was of the order of Rs. 45 crores. Adjusting for the revaluation of assets, the increase in the U.K. investments during 1954-55 was around Rs. 23/24 crores. There was a considerable stepping up of the rate of investment from the USA from the average of Rs. 3.4 crores between 1948 to 1953 to Rs. 4.9 crores between 1954-55. The U.S. investment during 1954-55 was mainly in petroleum industries. The investments of West Germany have also showed a marked increase, although her investments still now are not very significant.

A considerable part of the investments in the old companies was concentrated in the petroleum trading companies. The manufactur-

ing investments (other than petroleum) in the old companies at Rs. 5.5 crores were also somewhat larger than in new companies. The average annual rate of capital inflow would be of Rs. 20 crores during 1954-55, as against Rs. 25 crores during the period between 1948 to 1953. Taking into account the loans and advances obtained by the companies, the foreign investments in the non-banking business enterprises in India during 1954-55 would be of the order of Rs. 40 crores. Britain continues to occupy the predominant position amongst the creditor countries of India. Liabilities to the United Kingdom at the end of 1955 exceeded Rs. 400 crores or 77 per cent of the total foreign business liabilities of India. The USA accounted for some Rs. 45 crores of capital a large part of which was invested in petroleum activities. The remaining countries taken as a whole provided Rs. 74 crores of which nearly one-half represented financial liabilities. Though India emerged as a net creditor country at the end of 1955 it is very likely that by the end of 1957 it has already become a net debtor country on account of the large reduction in the country's sterling assets and substantial additions to its liabilities to the USA, the IMF and the IBRD. Switzerland has a net investment of business capital in India to the extent of Rs. 7.4 crores of which direct investments amount to Rs. 4.2 crores and the portfolio investments stand at Rs. 2.4 crores. The capital investment of West Germany in the business enterprises of India amount to Rs. 2.6 crores, of which the direct investments are only 60 lakhs and portfolio investments stand at Rs. 2 crores.

In 1956, Rs. 223.68 lakhs of foreign capital were invested in India. Of this amount, the capital from the United Kingdom was the largest being Rs. 1.34 crores. The USA invested Rs. 13.33 lakh, West Germany Rs. 14.67 lakh; Switzerland Rs. 9.27 lakh; Belgium Rs. 1.40 lakh; British East Africa Rs. 50.41 lakh and Others Rs. 44 thousand. The investment figure for the British East Africa is perhaps of a repatriation of Indian capital there rather than a foreign investment from that country. Industry-wise, the investment of foreign capital in 1956 was as follows: Iron and Steel products Rs. 53.78 lakh; Automobiles Rs. 44.63 lakh; Machinery and

machine tools Rs. 8.40 lakh; Building and building materials Rs. 4.74 lakh; Heavy chemicals Rs. 22.63 lakh; Cotton Rs. 49.45 lakh; Cotton goods Rs. 16.76 lakh; and Others Rs. 15.09 lakh. In the trading concerns of machinery and machine tools Rs. 5.84 lakh have been invested.

European Common Market

The European Common Market which came into being on January 1, 1958, had been the subject of study by G.A.T.T. about its impact on world trade. The European Economic Community, commonly known as the Common Market, consists of six countries of Western Europe—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. The Community aims to bring about, by means of the establishment of a common market and the progressive harmonizing of the economic policies of the member States, the all-round development of economic activity throughout the Community, constant and balanced development, growing stability, the most rapid improvement of living standards, and closer ties among the countries which it unites. The Treaty provides for: (a) the abolition by member States of quota and tariff restrictions on imports and exports, and also of all other measures having a similar effect; (b) the adoption of a common customs tariff and trade policy towards third countries; (c) the elimination of all barriers to the free circulation of persons, services and capital among member States; (d) the adoption of a common policy in the domain of agriculture; (e) the adoption of a common policy in the domain of transport; (f) the establishment of a system ensuring fair competitive conditions in the common market; (g) the application of procedures making it possible to harmonize the economic policies of member States and eliminate discrepancies in payment balances; (h) the harmonizing of the national legislation of member States to the extent necessary for the operation of common market; (i) the establishment of a European Social Fund with the aim of improving employment possibilities for workers and contributing towards raising their living standards; (j) the creation of a European Investment Bank to facilitate the economic development of the Community through the creation of new resources; and (k) the association of

overseas countries and territories in order to increase exchange and joint efforts directed towards economic and social development.

The basis of the Community shall be a customs union covering all trade and providing for the abolition among member States of import and export tariffs and other imposts having a similar purpose, and also the adoption of a common tariff toward third countries. In their relations with each other the member States shall refrain from the adoption of new import and export tariffs and similar imposts, nor shall they increase tariffs and imposts applied in their trading relations with each other. Import tariffs operating among member States shall be progressively abolished by them during the transitional period in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Treaty. The Treaty provides for the adoption of a common tariff on the basis of reciprocity and mutual advantage. The establishment of common tariffs will secure a reduction of tariffs below the limits of the general level fixed under the customs union agreement.

Quantitative restrictions on imports and also any measures having similar consequences are forbidden among member States. Member States shall refrain from adopting new quantitative restrictions or measures having an equivalent effect upon other member States. The member States shall progressively reconstruct national monopolies of a commercial character in such a way that by the expiry of the transitional period all discriminations between citizens of member States in regard to terms of sale and supply will have been eliminated.

There shall be established a European Investment Bank endowed with juridical character. The members of the European Investment Bank shall be the member States. The Bank shall facilitate, by furnishing loans and securities without a profit motive, to finance the following projects in all sectors of the economy: (a) projects envisaging improvement of under-developed areas; (b) projects aiming to modernize or convert enterprises or create new development resulting from the progressive establishment of the common market; and (c) projects of common interest for several member States which by virtue of their extent and nature cannot be entirely financed from the various financial resources of the individual member States.

The Assembly and the Council will be two most important institutions of the Community. The Assembly shall compose of representatives of the peoples of the States united within the Community. It shall exercise the powers of decision and supervision granted to it by the Treaty. The Assembly shall consist of delegates which the Parliaments are called upon to designate from their midst in accordance with procedures set forth by each member State. The number of these delegates is fixed as follows: Belgium—14, Germany—36, France—36, Italy—36, Luxemburg—6, and Netherlands—14. The Assembly shall work out plans with a view to enabling elections by direct, universal suffrage to take place in accordance with a uniform procedure in all the member States.

The Council shall guarantee co-ordination of the general economic policies of the member States and is invested with powers of decision. The Council shall be composed of representatives of the member States. Each Government shall delegate to it one of their members. The Presidency shall be exercised in rotation by each member of the Council for a six-month period and in alphabetic order of the member States. The Council shall meet when convoked by the President, upon the latter's initiative or of one of its members, or of the Commission. There shall be a Commission to ensure the functioning and development of the Common Market. The Commission shall supervise the application of the provisions of the present Treaty as well as the measures taken by the institutions under the Treaty. It is empowered to make its own determination and participate in forming decisions of the Council and of the Assembly in accordance with the conditions laid down in the present Treaty.

West Germany today has become an exporter of capital and its continued favourable balance of payments position has thrown the economy of the European Payments Union out of gear. The main point is that while West Germany has increased her exports several times in recent years, she has imposed strict control over her imports. The result is that she being the producer of capital goods vitally needed for the industrial development of most of the countries, her superiority as an exporter has been maintained. This point was raised at the last session of the General Agreement on

Tariff and Trade at the Geneva conference held in the last week of November 1957. At that conference of the GATT, a move backed by Britain and the United States to have West Germany remove certain import restrictions was narrowly defeated. Australia, Canada and other nations of the sterling and dollar areas joined Britain and the USA in recommending that West Germany reconsider her commercial policy with regard to quantitative restrictions enforced on about 36 per cent of German imports. The issue was raised when a majority of GATT's 37 members in a working party had declared that West Germany's continued import restrictions—originally imposed for balance of payments reasons—were unjustified and that plans for removing them did not go far enough.

India is much concerned over the formation of the European Common Market. In 1955 about 30 per cent of India's total trade deficits were with West Germany and in 1956, the trade deficits to that extent also persisted. On account of higher import of capital goods from West Germany, India is a debtor to that country and has been suffering from continued imbalance in trade. From India's point of view, the main achievement of the GATT conference has been that while avoiding any firm commitment on the validity of the projected Customs Union, it has secured reasonable assurances from the six contracting countries—France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg. These assurances are that whatever arrangements the six contracting countries will make under the Rome Treaty (to set up the European Common Market) will be in conformity with the general principles of and specific commitments under GATT. Thus, although the Rome Treaty has come into force with effect from 1st January of this year, all tariff arrangements made under it will be subject to scrutiny by the inter-session committee of GATT due to meet early in April.

The Geneva conference also decided to keep open the question of associating with the common market the African territories of the six contracting countries. In effect therefore the European Common Market scheme will extend to certain parts of Africa and that will lead to the exploitation of raw materials of these territories of Africa. This is of greater importance to India because the inhibiting impact of the

European Common Market on exports from countries like India will be magnified manifold, should the African territories on the six contracting parties be considered part of the Common Market. The inclusion of the African territories will provide a threat to the export of India's jute and textile goods.

Another decision taken by the GATT at Geneva is to appoint a commission of three of world's top economists to report on the causes and remedies of some recent trends in the world trade. This is of special interest to India and other Afro-Asian countries because recent studies by GATT show that while exports by highly industrialized countries of the West have increased rapidly, those from underdeveloped countries have not. Within the GATT there is controversy over the causes of this situation and its correctives. Hence the need is to secure an impartial verdict from economists of international repute. The GATT conference recognises that the establishment of the common market necessarily involves the granting of privileged treatment to some trading partners to the detriment of others. In this connection the events of recent years indicate that such arrangements do not necessarily result in serious diversion of trade. The diversionary effect of such arrangements upon the channels of trade is stronger during periods of declining activity or falling prices and values, but is smaller, even negligible, during periods of continued buoyancy in business conditions. It is however hoped that the adverse effects of inevitable discrimination during the transitional period would be kept to a minimum. The GATT expects that the common market scheme after the transitional period will positively contribute to maintain and even to accelerate an uninterrupted growth of production in the six countries as a whole.

A review of the trade position of the Common Market countries made by the GATT secretariat reveals that these six participating countries are predominantly exporters of manufactured goods, mainly to one another and the rest of West Europe and also to the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa. The sterling area countries including India are their best customers. But as regards their imports, the interesting feature is that about 75 per cent of their imports of primary products are con-

centrated within themselves. That is, for the requirements of their primary products they are not required to import to any considerable extent from outside the common market area.

The formation of the European Common Market is certainly against the basis of the Havana Trade Charter which aims at bringing about a condition of free and multilateral trade arrangement among the countries of the world. The common market scheme is a great retreat from that conception. It is the economic counterpart of the political alliance like NATO and SEATO. It is significant that all the members of the European Common Market are members of NATO. In practice therefore the activities of the six countries in their trade pattern will be dominated by the aggressive military policy of NATO. The NATO is an agency of political manoeuvre by the USA and in the ultimate analysis the common market scheme is the economic counterpart of that politically aggressive outlook. The common market scheme will push the two Europes further away and the hope of the future reunion of Germany is also put into jeopardy. West Germany is steadily being pulled into the vortex of power politics of the USA and Britain and it is more than certain that there has played the American initiative behind the formation of such an economic block of power politics. The monopolistic concerns of West Germany will no doubt benefit much from this common market scheme and they also exerted their influence in forming such an economic alliance.

West Germany today occupies a leading position among the trading nations of the world. Its volume of trade is now next only to that of the USA and the U.K. In 1956, the total imports of West Germany from the whole world amounted to DM 27,964 million. The imports from India was just 0.67 per cent of the total, that is, only of DM 189.2 million. India's adverse balance of trade with West Germany amounted to Rs. 75 crores during 1956-57. The adverse trade balance was of the order of Rs. 45.4 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 25.5 crores in the year before that. In 1958-59, the adverse trade balance of India in her trade with West Germany is estimated to be much higher.

The Chairman of the GATT observes that the formation of the European Common Market

will begin a new period in the history of world trade. The general tendency towards the expansion of trade which has been a feature since the end of the war will get a set-back and the common market scheme will bring about a slowing down in the rate of expansion of world trade. One of the main causes of such slowing down is that the exports of non-industrialised countries as a whole have failed to keep up with the general rate of trade expansion. The trade between the industrial and non-industrial areas of the world is progressively declining and the formation of common market will further support this declining trend by building up customs barrier. The value of exports of non-industrialised countries to industrialised countries was 24 per cent of the total world trade in 1956 as against 28 per cent in 1950 and 30 per cent in 1937.

National Productivity Council

The Government of India announced on January 10 its decision to set up an autonomous National Productivity Council (NPC) for initiating a countrywide productivity drive for increasing the national wealth, per capita income and production per unit of capital invested. The Council, to consist of not more than sixty members, would have on it representatives of the national organisations and confederations of employer and labour, Government and other interests, such as consumers, technicians, consultants, small industries and scholars. Mr. Manubhai Shah, Union Minister for Industry, would be the President of the Council. Representation of Government, employers and labourers would be equal. The Governing Body of the Council, elected from amongst its members, would also have similar representation. The Council would launch the movement for the increase of productivity in all spheres of national production and would encourage the establishment of local, regional and industry-wise productivity councils through which productivity services would be made available.

The National Productivity Council would conduct its activities following the principles recommended by the Productivity Seminar held at New Delhi on November 1 and 2, 1957. These principles are: "For increasing the national

wealth and per capita income, and for improving the standard of living, people must first be made aware of the significance of higher productivity as the means of achieving these objectives. It is, therefore, necessary to create among labour, management and the general public attitudes receptive to the idea of productivity, thus ensuring a favourable climate of opinion, which would facilitate the introduction and application of modern techniques—social and technical—for increasing productivity. In a campaign for productivity full co-operation of the employers, labour, Government and all other interests is indispensable. For ensuring this co-operation, it is considered necessary to enunciate the following principles upon which the productivity campaign should be based.

"(i) In the productivity drive the objective should be to increase production and improve quality by improved techniques, which aim at efficient and proper utilisation of the available resources of men, machines, materials, power and capital, raise the standard of living of the people, and improve the working conditions and welfare of labour, taking into account the social implications of these changes. The movement does not seek the intensification of labour's burden through increasing work-loads and speed-up.

"(ii) Increased productivity in a growing economy will ultimately help in increasing employment by stimulating development of industry. The Government, employers and the labour should take specific measures to obviate the possibility of any unemployment.

"(iii) Benefits of productivity increase should be equitably distributed among capital, labour and consumers, and these should lead to the renewal and expansion of plant, machinery and equipment.

"(iv) Productivity drive may eventually be launched in all the spheres of nation's economy. It is of importance to achieve integrated improvement in productivity in all activities of the nation. In the field of industries it would cover the large-scale industries as well as the medium, small-scale and light industries in the public and the private sectors.

"(v) Increase of productivity cannot be achieved without the fullest co-operation between management and labour. In order to

carry through the productivity programme effectively it is necessary to create a climate for increased productivity through encouragement of joint consultations, participation of labour in management, and promotion of mutual understanding between management and labour, in each industry and in each individual enterprise."

Congress and the Language Issue

The Gauhati session of the Indian National Congress was dominated by the official language issue. After a prolonged debate the following resolution was passed:

"The Congress regrets that, following the publication of the report of the Official Language Commission, which is under the consideration of a committee appointed by Parliament, controversies have arisen and even the basis as laid down in the Constitution has sometimes been challenged. It is clear that in spite of these controversies, there is a very wide measure of general agreement which is sometimes forgotten in the heat of controversy. The Congress has every hope that the Parliamentary Committee will arrive at decisions which are generally and widely accepted.

"The general principles in regard to the use of languages have been laid down, not only in the Constitution, but in a number of resolutions passed by the Working Committee on May 17, 1953, and April 5, 1954, and in the A.-I.C.C. resolution of June 3, 1956. This Congress approves of and confirms these broad principles. The implementation of the Constitutional provisions should be governed by the principles contained in the Congress resolutions and the approach should be flexible and practical and made by general consensus of opinion. Provision may be made for the use of the English language after the fixed period (1965) in the manner provided in Article 343(3) of the Constitution.

"All the languages of India, as mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, are national languages which should be equally encouraged. With the development of all these languages, education and administrative and other work will be progressively carried on in them.

"It is necessary, however, that there should be a strong link between these languages. Such

a link cannot be a foreign language, however, important this may be. It can only be an Indian language, as is laid down in the Constitution.

"English, as a world language of great importance, and as a language which has long been in use in India for official and other purposes, will necessarily continue to occupy an important place. The study of other foreign languages will also be necessary to facilitate India's contacts with other countries of the world. In particular, the use of English will be necessary for higher scientific and technical purposes. In regard to technical and scientific terms every effort should be made to develop similar terms in all the Indian languages and to approximate them to international terminology.

"As stated in the Constitution, the official language for all-India purposes will have to be Hindi, but the transition to Hindi for such purposes would necessarily be gradual.

"The Congress trusts that further decisions in regard to the use of languages in India will be taken by general consensus of opinion even as the decisions embodied in the Constitution were taken, and should be adaptable to changing conditions."

There was no disagreement among Congress members about the desirability of replacing English by Hindi. Speakers were, however, sharply divided over the date from which English should be replaced. It was in response to their pressure that the draft resolution was amended to add that provision may be made for the retention of English beyond 1965. The resolution, as passed and quoted above, is very vague and is thus capable of contradictory interpretation. If it should seek to convey the idea that the transition to Hindi would be done in 1965 then we cannot very much commend the wisdom of its framers.

We give below the views of two of India's leading newspapers, both of which are known for their moderate tone, on the Congress resolution on the official language issue:

The *Hindu* of Madras writes: "The resolution adopted by the Congress Subjects Committee at Pragjyotishpur is disappointing and unsatisfactory. This is not surprising in view of the complex of emotions revealed by the

leaders of the Congress Party in their recent utterances. They seem to equate patriotism with allegiance to Hindi and to proceed on the assumption that English is a foreign language which it would be beneath our national dignity to accept as our official language. They are prepared to ignore the many inconveniences that would ensue as the result of replacing it by the admittedly undeveloped language that Hindi is and to see the country suffer, at a critical period in our history, the terrible and entirely avoidable waste of time, labour and money entailed by the translation of administrative and legal terms and scientific nomenclature into Hindi. Some specimens of translation that we have seen are absolutely unacceptable and would be merely amusing were it not for the tragic confusion that is sure to result. Supporters of Hindi continue to harp on the fact that in its various dialectal forms it is spoken by 42 per cent of the population. They have no answer to the argument that even this percentage, which represents a minority of the people of India, is concentrated in three States, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, whereas there is a more even and uniform distribution—in all the States of India—of those who not only speak but write and understand English. The English language has been for a long period the language of administration and has, whatever Hindi sponsors may say, in the main justified itself. To the people in non-Hindi States, particularly in South India, it is Hindi that is the foreign tongue, not English. The Congress resolution and those who spoke in its support want facts to fit into their pre-conceived theories. They seem to be out of touch with popular opinion, especially in South India, and hence their unwillingness to shed party slogans and shibboleths."

Referring to that portion of the resolution where the Congress reiterates that the all-India official language have to be Hindi the *Hindu* writes:

"It would have been far better if the leaders at Pragjyotishpur had listened to the advice tendered" by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to keep the whole question open, recommending the scrapping, if necessary, of the whole of Part XVII of the Constitution dealing with languages. These very leaders have now and then

promoted and supported amendments to the Constitution with far less justification. The language issue calls for calm and objective re-thinking and that is possible only if we allay the fears and suspicions of non-Hindi India by removing out of the way the existing constitutional impediments that were set up—we must reiterate—as the inevitable result of voting at a Congress Party meeting. At that meeting, the majority in favour of Hindi was only one (and that on a re-count after a tie) but as the Congress members who dominated the Constituent Assembly had to obey the Party's directive, Hindi was proclaimed as the official language in spite of the misgivings and anxieties in the minds of the non-Hindi people. They are now awake and fully alive to the risks involved in replacing English by such an inadequate language as is Hindi now. Their leaders must use the time that has been gained by the amendment to the original Congress resolution in organising public opinion on such an effective scale that the *status quo* in regard to English is continued."

The *Hitavada* published from Madhya Pradesh, writes:

"A close scrutiny of the terms of the resolution will show that in the form in which it has been adopted, it is not likely to produce a powerful impression on dissident opinion in the South. It is well for legislators at the Centre to realise that there is a substantial body of opinion in the South represented by the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which is opposed to the adoption of Hindi at any time."

"The vexing character of the situation in the South," the *Hitavada* adds, "is that the Tamil spoken by the Brahmin is based on Sanskrit while the Tamil spoken by the non-Brahmin is based purely on the Dravidian languages. There are Raghu Viras in the reverse gear in the South who are keen on pruning out every Sanskrit derivative word from the Tamil language. As the non-Brahmins represent the overwhelming majority of the population, they regard the attempt to impose Hindi in 1965 as an attempt to bring by the back door Brahminical influence because the Brahmin represents the Sanskrit civilisation. It is, therefore, necessary for the Government of India to take note of the strength of sentiment in the South

on the subject. A mere declaration of easy transition from English to Hindi is not sufficient because narrow linguists are growing like mushrooms in the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Parliament of 1965 may not consist of persons with the required kind of tolerance. Today, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru holds the affections of the people, and it may be truly said that no single ruler since Emperor Asoka has wielded such influence and commanded respect as he. In his life-time, we should like to see this problem settled."

While the *Hitavada* considers that Hindi in Devanagiri script should be the official language it suggests 1990 as the date from which to effect the changeover from English.

Regional Languages and States

India has been free for over a decade now. Yet the foreign stamp on our administrative machinery is more prominent than ever. The use of ties in Government offices has reached beyond all proportions. In some offices promotions to higher posts have been made subject to wearing full pants. This may seem strange in an independent India, but nevertheless true.

Except in a few States no effort has been made to make the language of the people the language of administration, while in the wake of independence some of the more far-sighted officers and ministers made an effort to effect a transition from English to the local language, the work was not pursued after the transfer of those officers. In West Bengal, for example, some laudable work was made by Shri Sukumar Sen. The work was, however, completely forgotten with his transfer to the Election Commission. The States which have made commendable progress in this direction are Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Latest reports indicate that the State Government in Madras has now accelerated the pace of transition from English to the local language (Tamil) for administrative purposes.

A *Press Trust of India* report from Madras, :

"Madras, January 7.—About 90 units of the several State Government departments in the city have switched over to Tamil for correspondence internally and with the public.

"These include 17 units of the Electricity

Department, three of the Food Production Department, six of the Public Works Department, and a few of the Revenue and Education Departments.

"Government offices in the mofussil numbering 1,922 have also started implementing this change-over from January 14. These offices have been supplied with copies of the glossary of administrative terms prepared by the Government. This glossary will be reviewed every three months with a view to incorporating suitable suggestions.

"An expert translation committee of six is to be constituted to translate into Tamil all the forms and codes in the order of their administrative importance," a spokesman of the Government stated today.

The Madras Government is to be complimented for this bold step. It is, however, disappointing to find the West Bengal Government idle on the matter.

Problems of Transition from English

While there are differences over the time when English could be replaced by an Indian language in the Centre, there is virtually no disagreement over the fact that the local (regional) languages should be adopted for administrative and educational purposes in the States. While effecting this transition the Governments in all the States are likely to face a number of similar problems arising from the need to coin new words in the respective regional languages. If a common principle could be adopted by all the States in this regard, the task of inter-State communication would be made easier.

In our view an All-India Committee should immediately be formed with competent representatives from all the States who would be drawn from literary, academic and administrative circles. This Committee would study the position in all the States and could on the basis of those observations recommend a uniform glossary of terms which could be adopted by all the States with minor modifications as and when necessary. The Committee would undoubtedly find it wise to retain the greater majority of the English terms which have become part of the popular vocabulary and thereby could avoid the absurdities of the West Bengal Committee which

made itself a laughing stock of all by its efforts to coin new terms even for such commonly understood words as 'police,' 'office,' 'press,' 'budget,' 'circular,' 'diary,' 'gazette,' etc., etc. The chief criterion in the selection of terms should be, as the foremost Bengali novelist Bankimchandra said long ago, its intelligibility to the majority. If an English term is familiar with the people, there should be no objection to its retention. We have already retained thousands of them: 'school,' 'college,' 'shirt,' 'pant,' 'blade,' 'chair,' 'table,' 'tram,' 'bus,' 'dock,' 'rail,' 'engine,' and so on. This should not be embarrassing because the leading languages of the world have attained their present pre-eminence only through liberal incorporation of foreign terms.

Imparting education through the mother-tongue would require the translation of many text-books on history, geography, economics, politics, sociology and other natural and social sciences. Most of the Indian languages have no terms to convey all the leading ideas of these subjects. In this case also the evolving of a common principle on the retention and translation of terms would be greatly beneficial. As in the administrative sphere, in the educational sphere also it would be found wiser to retain many of the English and foreign terms for which no suitable words are available in the regional languages. It should be seriously considered whether the scientific terms and numerals should not be taken over in toto. This would be an additional help to students who would be reading scientific treatises in a language other than his mother-tongue.

This task should be taken up right now so that all translations are made on the basis of standardised terms. As is well known, knowledge depends to a large extent upon exact definition and unless terms are standardized definition becomes increasingly difficult.

The Union and State Ministries for Education would do well to pay some attention to this subject.

Armaments and Humanity

There has been so much futile talk about disarmament that people now have grown indifferent to these discussions. But disarmament

is nonetheless a vital necessity—for all. If the world continues to live very long in the state of present tension with the West—armed to the teeth—accosted by the armed Soviet Union—we might have to witness colossal destruction even if there is no war. The following news-item is a pointer to the future if the nations in the meanwhile fail to agree on complete disarmament:

"Moscow, January 12.—Airmen who make regular flights in aircraft carrying atom or hydrogen bombs are liable to sudden fits or madness which could lead to the extermination of hundreds of thousands of human lives, according to a Soviet psychiatrist, *Tass* reported today.

"The psychiatrist, Prof. Vassily Blansheikov, said; 'This danger is all the more real as often no warning sign permits the detection of the approach of a fit of madness, because in most cases it is a question of men considered as perfectly normal.'

"The psychiatrist said the only way of avoiding such a risk was the forbidding of such flights."

Factors that tend to produce such mental derangement are, according to Prof. Blansheikov, "continuous stress, mental or physical fatigue and other factors which weaken the nervous system and the body as a whole. Many of these are the inevitable corollary of the pilots' difficult and strenuous work. Especially significant is the fact that the airmen are continually subjected to the effects of frequent changes in atmospheric pressure and of highly rarefied air. This affects such major functions of the body as blood circulation and respiration and has a considerable effect on higher nervous activity."

This means that, war or no war, there would be the risk of atomic bombing so long as atom bombs exist and that no country is safe from the threat. Paradoxically enough, in a time of peace it is the possessor country that runs the greatest risk in so far as the slightest error on the part of anyone concerned in the process of manufacture and transport of nuclear weapons—a possibility now stated to be very real and thus all the more threatening—would result in the destruction of hundreds of thousands of human lives. All these lead to the imperative need for immediate disarmament.

Salvation or Destruction

One of the most distinguished names amongst the military men of the U.S.A., is that of General Omar N. Bradley's. We reproduce from the *World Around Press*, the following extracts from his speech on November 8, at St. Alban's School, Washington:

"The central problem of our time—as I view it—is now to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind. For we have defiled our intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of destruction that we are now in a desperate danger of destroying ourselves. Our plight is critical and with each effort we have made to relieve by further scientific advance, we have succeeded only in aggravating our peril.

"We reason that no Government, no single group of men—indeed, not even one wilful individual—would be so foolhardy, so reckless, as to precipitate a war which would most surely end in mutual destruction. This reasoning may have the benefit of logic. But even logic sometimes goes away. How can we assume that reason will prevail in a crisis when there is ordinarily so little reason among men.

"Have we already gone too far in this search for peace through the accumulation of peril? I believe there is a way out. And I believe it because I have acquired in my lifetime a decent respect for human intelligence.

"It may be that the problems of accommodation in a world split by rival ideologies are more difficult than those with which we have struggled in the construction of ballistics missiles. But I believe too, that if we apply to these human problems the energy, creativity, and the perseverance we have devoted to science, even problems of accommodation will yield to reason.

"Admittedly, the problem of peaceful accommodation in the world is infinitely more difficult than the conquest of space, infinitely more complex than a trip to the moon. But if we will only come to the realization that it must be worked out—whatever it may mean even to such sacred traditions as absolute national sovereignty—I believe that we can, somehow, somewhere, and perhaps through some as yet undiscovered world thinker and leader find a workable solution.

"If I am sometimes discouraged, it is not by the magnitude of the problem, but by our colossal indifference to it. I am unable to understand why—if we are willing to trust in reason as a restraint on the use of ready-made, ready-to-fire bombs—we do not make greater, more diligent and more imaginative use of reason and human intelligence in seeking an accord and compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and banish it as an instrument of war.

"This is the real and most strenuous challenge to man's intellect today. By comparison with it, the conquest of space is of small significance. Until we learn how to live together, until we rid ourselves of the strife that mocks our pretensions of civilization, our adventures in science, instead of producing human progress will continue to crowd it with greater peril. If enough of us believe in the ability of intelligent human beings to get together on some basis of a just accord, we might somehow, somewhere and under some auspices make a start on it.

"Time is running against us with the speed of a Sputnik."

The Soviet Seven-Year Plan

The Soviet Government in a decree in September, 1957, announced that the new Seven-Year Plan spread over the period 1959-65 would be worked out. This decision was remarkable not only because it made a departure from the principle, followed since 1928, of using five-year periods for planning the development of the national economy; it was also significant that the proposed plan was to begin from 1959—two years before the completion of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1956-60).

The decision to draw up a new plan in the midst of a current one was an indirect admission of the unrealistic character of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. "The excessive demands made by the plan," writes G. A. Vvedensky in the *Bulletin* of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, "are indicated not only by the actual production figures, which are lagging behind the planned targets, but also by the failure to present any more specific plans, although the later had been promised."

Premier Bulganin had stated in his report to the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in early 1956 that the

detailed plan would be drawn up later on following the directives of the Congress. This promise could not be kept. Thereafter, the central committee of the Communist Party decided in December, 1956, that the detailed working out of the Sixth Five-Year Plan would be completed and would be submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by the first half of 1957 for examination and ratification. However, this date also could not be observed. Neither could the Plan be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. The repeated failure on the part of the Soviet Government to keep to the schedule indicated the unrealistic nature of the directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. This was also given by the fact that planned targets for the first year (1956) had earlier been reduced for some branches of Soviet industry.

The newly announced Seven-Year Plan—the working out of which was scheduled to be completed by the end of June, 1958—was also oriented to developing the heavy industries.

G. A. Vvedensky writes: "Not by chance is the new plan to cover the period 1959-65. Soviet long-term plan fixes production for the first and final years of the period in question, but not for the intermediate years. Thus, the Sixth Five-Year Plan gave the planned indices for 1956 and 1960; the new plan will give the initial figures for 1959 and the final figures for 1965. The artificially chosen period of the new plan will thus have more chance of concealing the failure of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, both inside and outside the USSR, since it will reflect production targets not coinciding in period with those of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The new plan will have figures for 1959 not contained in the directives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan while, on the other hand, the final year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1960) will, as an intermediate year, be absent from the new plan."

The difficulties experienced by the Soviet planners should convince those of our countrymen who are always fond of making ignorant and abstract references to the USSR in order to serve their narrow political ends by discrediting their fellow countrymen (some of whom are men of great competence, integrity and full of love for their countrymen), that in no part of the world, Communist part included, progress is achieved by magic without failure or sacrifice.

1957 in retrospect

Mr. Robert G. Whalen, reviewing the developments in 1957, writes in the *New York Times* International Edition, "The sound that epitomised 1957 was the faint beep-beep which on an October evening first came eerily down from space. The sight was that of earth's first man-made satellite streaking across starlit skies."

The two Sputniks indicated great Soviet superiority in rocketry and missileery and thus shattered one of the "bedrock assumptions of the Western security system" that the United States would always be ahead of the Russians in weapons and this would deter any Soviet assault on the Western coalition, Mr. Whalen writes. The result was a "shudder of dismay through the North Atlantic Alliance" and a regenerated "pressure for a round of East-West Diplomacy."

The failure of the Americans in their effort to launch an artificial satellite brought home the magnitude of the Soviet achievements. The confusion in the Western camp was profound. In this background the heads of Nato States met in Paris. There were clearly wide differences of approach revealed in that summit conference. The success of the conference in rallying the members in their alliance, Mr. Whalen says, "remains in doubt."

In 1957, Khrushchev emerged more forcefully as the voice of Communism. His voice was heard nearly a dozen times more than Stalin's ever had been. However, there were also indications of grave ideological and political differences in the USSR. The Western camp was not very stable for that. England and France were still nursing their mortification at the U.S. denunciation of the Suez adventure. In addition there were also the crises of colonialism in general in which Great Britain, France, Greece, Turkey and, relatively indirectly, the U.S. Governments were also involved.

"More serious than any of these Western troubles," Mr. Whalen writes, "was the steady erosion of American prestige. Before the advent of the Sputniks the erosion was most apparent in the Middle East."

In the U.S.A. itself the year closed with an uneasiness about the possibility of continued Eisenhower leadership because of the President's

renewed illness. The other most important aspect of American domestic scene was the progress in de-segregation.

"Enter 1958"

The New York Times writes:

"The year 1958 may prove to be one of the most critical in the history of modern man. The Soviet leap into space has produced a profound alteration in the psychological—if not the actual—balance of power between the East and West. The months ahead may reveal whether that change will result in a new equilibrium between the two great power blocs, or a slow deterioration of the Western position with consequences that no one can foretell.

"Dispatches from *New York Times* correspondents (and in the case of Peiping from *Reuters*) in capitals throughout the world reflected varying moods at the year's end depending on whether the nations were in the Communist, Western or neutralist groups.

"In the *Communist* countries—particularly in Russia—the mood was one of elation and confidence. In some of the satellites, however, the elation was tempered by the fact that political independence and economic prosperity still seemed as far away as ever.

"In *Western* countries, the general feeling was one of apprehension and concern. The mood varied between countries such as the United States, where the chief reaction was a determination to catch up with Russia and smaller Western nations who saw an urgent need for a negotiated settlement with Moscow.

"In the *neutralist* countries, the dominant mood seemed to be renewed determination to stay clear of the two great power groups, coupled with the fear that neutrality was becoming increasingly difficult in the stepped-up arms race."

The Asian-African Conference

A conference attended by representatives from forty-four countries of Asia and Africa was held in Cairo, capital city of Egypt, from December 26, 1957 to January 1, 1958. The conference, in which more than five hundred delegates took part and which was covered by more than one hundred press correspondents, was a non-official one in the sense that the

delegates did not represent their respective governments. Nevertheless, it marked a great step towards Asian-African solidarity and understanding and was regarded as such by its supporters and opponents alike. Despite its non-official character, however, the conference was actively supported by a number of governments of Asia and Africa. The opening of the conference was watched with great interest by Egyptian Cabinet ministers and ambassadors of other countries stationed in Cairo.

The conference was a very important event of 1957. It discussed various problems—economic, political and social—confronting the peoples of Asia and Africa and a number of resolutions were adopted on these. The conference endorsed India's stand on Goa, Indonesia's stand on West Irian and China's stand on Formosa. Another notable event of the conference was the declaration by the representative from the Soviet Union that the Soviet Government was prepared to offer economic aid without any strings to any country in Asia and Africa.

While the conference was widely publicised in foreign press, the coverage by Indian press was rather scanty. The reason is hard to explain. Even the Portuguese press with its rigid censorship gave wide publicity to the conference (omitting, however, the statement on Goa). The Western press, as usual, tried to belittle its importance by describing it as a Russian show.

Opening the conference Mr. El Sayed Anwar el Sudat, said:

"Free Egypt sees in your meeting on her soil another aspect of freedom. We have all witnessed one history of imperialism and exploitation and are partners in one struggle and one future. There is no better proof of this strong unity which ties us together than the severe trial through which Egypt passed a year ago when three countries conspired to invade her and destroy her freedom. The peoples of Asia and Africa rose at that decisive moment to support Egypt and expressed their support through all means in their power. It was then that those who were attacking Port Said felt that they were not attacking a single city but attacking two big continents; the aggressors felt that they were not attacking the homes of peaceful citizens but were attacking a sublime symbol of justice and freedom which 1,000

million people were determined to protect. The hands of the aggressors trembled and their hearts sank while the spirit of Egypt on the firing line soared high. When aggression receded and victory dawned it was not a victory for Egypt alone but a victory on behalf of you all.

"Egypt, in expressing her gratitude and in welcoming you today, knows only too well that the only way to repay this debt is for her to become an effective force working for the liberation of all peoples from imperialism and the protection of all peoples from any danger similar to that to which she was exposed.

"Dear brethren,—More than two years ago the Bandung Conference was held and attended by representatives of 29 independent governments to declare to the world that the tide of history had turned and that Asia and Africa, which had been an open country or a forest through which wild alien beasts roamed, had become a free, highly-esteemed force which had a decisive role to play in the future of the whole international community.

"The Bandung Conference was also held to prove to the sons of Asia and Africa that their solidarity and the strength which they gained when they met together were of the greatest importance. Today this peoples' conference meets to salute and continue the Bandung spirit, on the one hand, and to be another step forward, on the other hand. Because our conference is a peoples' conference it was able to include not only the countries which international law recognise as one independent unit but also all peoples which are recognised by the established fact, history and humanity and the peoples which are still suffering under the yoke of imperialism in one form or another. In fact, these latter peoples will receive the utmost attention of the conference because they represent the sick part of the body of Asia and Africa which deserves the greatest possible attention because a body cannot live with one good whole and one sick part.

"The Bandung Conference was not, therefore, a sudden phenomenon. It was the natural result of a moral development which led African and Asian peoples to awaken to deal with problems affecting their existence and to shoulder the responsibilities of their liberation. This awakening would have not had a historic signi-

ficance had it not been in turn a starting point for a new historic progress, the outlines of which were drawn up at Bandung. It will be up to the Cairo conference to extract the best possible positive results in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

"Here we shall inevitably be faced by some difficult problems. But these problems can be easily overcome if we start by overcoming the first difficulty, which exists in ourselves; this difficulty is to estimate things correctly. We have to visualise the problems facing us in their true light, avoiding exaggeration, which makes solutions difficult to achieve, but at the same time avoiding any underestimation, as this will make solutions less valuable and less daring. In short, we should avoid misinterpretations which lead to miscalculations.

"Dear brethren,—There is no doubt that each country has its special problems which it understands best. But there is also no doubt that we can extend to one another a hand of assistance, experience and advice to overcome these problems. Here it becomes clear that each one of us should take two things into consideration: giving attention to his own problems and to the problems of others. Then we have the common problems which interest us all. Our private and common problems should be discussed side by side. We should, therefore, always look for a meeting point which we should develop and strengthen.

"These are not all our responsibilities at the conference. In addition to our responsibilities towards our countries and our responsibilities, towards our continents we have also our responsibilities towards the world as one unit.

"We cannot live in security in a world threatened with war. We cannot enjoy our resources in a world where there is robbery. We cannot build producing weapons of destruction and devastation. We cannot raise the standard of living of our peoples, attend to our sick and deal with epidemics in a world which is competing in finding means of killing. Gone for ever is the time when the destinies of war and peace were decided in few European capitals. It is we who decide this today. Our word has great weight in the international field. We have only to remember our great numbers, our resources, our

vast area and our strategic positions to see that war will be impossible if we are determined to maintain peace. But our determination must not be passive. It must be turned into positive action for peace."

France and North Africa

The New York Times of January 19 has the following comment to make on the situation in the North African French colony of Algeria and its neighbours. French obstinacy is still aggravating the situation as the report indicates. Colonialism dies hard indeed!

"Algeria's neighbors—Tunisia to the east, Morocco to the west—are not officially involved in the Algerian rebellion against French rule. Actually the Tunisians and the Moroccans have given Algeria's Arabs both moral and material support. Despite a 100-mile-long electrified barbed wire barrier on the Tunisian border, French intelligence estimates that about 1,000 weapons cross into Algeria each month—more than enough to offset rebel losses from French military operations.

"Last week-end between 200 and 300 Algerian rebels attacked a French patrol in Algeria two miles from the Tunisian border. Fourteen French soldiers were killed, five were missing. The French charged that the Algerians had crossed from Tunisia to attack the patrol and had withdrawn back to Tunisia with the five French captives. Paris protested strongly to Tunis and demanded the immediate release of the prisoners.

"Last Monday Tunis rejected the protest. The Government of President Habib Bourguiba denied that there had been 'any infiltration by the belligerents into Tunisian territory' or that there were any French prisoners in Tunisia. French Premier Felix Gaillard sent two personal envoys—one of them a French general—to deliver a protest and a warning to M. Bourguiba. The Tunisian President refused to receive the general on the ground that his presence constituted a virtual military threat.

"The French were incensed. French officials regarded the incident as confirmation of their suspicions that recent American and British arms aid to Tunisia was reaching the Algerian rebels. Premier Gaillard's office charged that Tunis had shown 'a deliberately

unfriendly attitude.' There was talk of a breach in diplomatic relations.

"Whatever happens in the next few days, it is clear that while the Algerian war continues, French relations with Tunisia and with Morocco as well will be strained."

The Antics at Ankara

Mr. Firoz Khan Noon seems to have found a kindred soul in the old associate of King Feisal I. We are not surprised at the ebullitions of Firoz Khan Noon but it is queer that an old hand at politics like Nuri-es-Said should join in this incongruous and ridiculous cavorting. Pacts also make strange bed-fellows, it seems:

"Ankara, Jan. 27.—Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and the leader of the Iraqi delegation, Mr. Nuri-es-Said, today raised the Kashmir issue in the Baghdad Pact Ministerial Council meeting.

"Mr. Noon also criticized 'neutralist' countries and said, 'Of all the threats to which the Baghdad Pact area is subjected, the most invidious is from the so-called neutralists.

"The part which they are playing in supporting subversion and in providing pseudo-moral basis for it constitutes a serious threat. It is time we recognized this danger and took active steps to meet it.

"The people of the Baghdad Pact countries are quite bewildered when they find that some of these so-called neutralists are recipients of large-scale aid not only from Communist countries but also from Western countries whose policies they are constantly attacking.'

"Unless differentiation could be made between friends and neutralists, distinction between friends and foes was in grave danger of being blurred.

"Mr. Noon continued: 'There can be no objection to a nation following under certain circumstances a policy of neutrality so long as it is genuine neutrality. In certain quarters, however, neutrality is regarded as meaning hostility to one side and friendship with the other, irrespective of precepts or practices.

"N.A.T.O., Baghdad Pact and S.E.A.-T.O. are dubbed as aggressive military alliances but not a word is said about the Warsaw Pact and the massive armaments which it disposes. The building of Communist bases in the Middle

East and injection of vast stores of arms is described as contribution to world peace, but the supply of minute quantities of purely defensive weapons under strict guarantees by the U.S.A. and the U.K. is a threat to peace. This attitude of the mind harms not only the free world but also endangers those whom it is supposed to protect'.

"Mr. Noon hoped that the efforts of Dr. Graham would prove fruitful and a solution of the Kashmir problem would be found.

"Mr. Nuri-es-Said in his speech described the Kashmir issue 'as an unresolved problem which is disturbing peace and stability in the area.'

"Iraq believed that there should be no deviation from the principles of the U.N. Charter in settling the question. Such a settlement should be compatible with the rights of the people of Kashmir for self-determination and freedom. 'We believe the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council on the Kashmir question will lead to a speedy solution of the problem'."

Pakistan and Rule of Law

The recent developments in Pakistan would be viewed with great concern by democrats everywhere. Pakistan is a State where, as in the Union of South Africa, discrimination is being practised legally. Under the law as it stands, a non-Muslim, be he a Hindu, Christian, Jain, Parsi or Buddhist, cannot be the Head of the State. There are several additional handicaps specifically placed upon the non-Muslims. Even in the application of this discriminating law, further discrimination has been done against the Hindus, apart from the calculated political moves leading to communal disturbances resulting in the loss of life and property to the non-Muslims. The Pakistani policy of deliberately driving out the Hindus has led to the exodus of nearly six million Hindus from East Pakistan into India. It has naturally not been easy for the Government or the people in India to make suitable arrangements for the physical, economic and cultural rehabilitation of this vast number. This has meant a human misery and degradation on a scale which, perhaps, has no parallel in history. This policy goes directly against the United Nations Decla-

ration of Human Rights and falls in the category of genocide.

On January 11, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Firoze Khan Noon, made another declaration of policy which, perhaps, is also unprecedented in history. On January 11, Mr. Noon candidly declared to the Press representatives gathered in Karachi, the capital city of Pakistan, that he had issued directions for the arrest of all Indian citizens in Eastern Pakistan and for their detention in concentration camps to be employed as forced labour for building mud roads. This was a fantastic announcement; nevertheless it was confirmed in another news on the following day. Soon the Government of Pakistan saw the unwisdom of such frankness and accordingly the statement was modified (not by the Prime Minister Noon) to say that only Indians without a valid passport would be arrested and put in concentration camps.

Even in the modified form the statement of the Pakistan Government is fantastic, to say the least. History shows that war was declared for far less reasons. Pakistan disregarded the history and geography and even good neighbourly relations. In practice, however, the Government's measures have by no means been restricted to Indians without passports—but also to Indians in Pakistan and even in India. A reign of terror is now raging in India, Pakistan with the military razing Hindu houses and business, and people fleeing in all directions.

The conduct of the Government of Pakistan is a clear violation of the rule of law. The democratic forces in Pakistan have tried hard to curb these fascist tendencies on the part of the Central Government, but have so far failed—specially because West Pakistan elements predominate in the administration and the forces. In the whole affair the role played by the President Iskander Mirza is quite evident. The President, being a constitutional head, cannot under the Constitution meddle in the politics of the country. That, however, has not deterred him from making statements—outside the Parliament—deprecating the various laws framed by the Parliament even under his own Presidentship. On December 22, for example, he told a meeting of the Bar Association in Karachi that the law passed by Pakistan

Parliament deciding upon a common electorate for all religious communities (replacing the reactionary separate electorate for Hindus and Muslims) had been a retrograde step. Such an action is certainly unusual on the part of an elected constitutional head of a democracy.

The political history of partition on a religious basis has too much coloured international opinion for it to take a proper view of the happenings in Pakistan. That to a large extent accounts for the fact that while the international public opinion has waxed angry over the fate of a few East German or Hungarian refugees, it has practically kept silent over the fate of the millions of Hindus suffering in Pakistan, or, in India, as refugees from Pakistan. It is high time that the Government of India made some efforts in acquainting the world public with the facts of the situation.

Bureaucracy in India

The weekly newspaper *Vigil* has, in an editorial article, admirably shown how bureaucracy has been growing in India at the expense of popular welfare. Referring to the Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation, the *Vigil* writes:

"Half a dozen zonal commissioners will from now on be giving a new brisk look to the business of refugee rehabilitation in West Bengal. Somebody high up in New Delhi got hold of the bright idea that refugee rehabilitation needed urgently a good amount of high-grade bureaucratic blood transfusion. This brings us face to face with Parkinson, an almost legendary name, to which Pandit Nehru referred sometime ago by illustrating the law of self-propagation of the higher bureaucratic species. Parkinson's Law is the climax of the bureaucratic universe which exists and flourishes in almost every country without any very great regard for the needs and interests of people at large. This law so-called after Parkinson explains with remarkable acuteness how a bureaucratic administrative machine expands more and more according to its own inner pressures, independent of the amount of work it has to do. In other words, first to quote a typical instance of Parkinson's Law in operation, over a twenty-year period the number of officers and subordinate staff in the British Admiralty increased many times while the size of the British Navy

and the number of ships were reduced during the same period. The lesson to be kept in mind is that bureaucracy is self-creative, self-expanding and self-perpetuating. As India has always been a paradise for bureaucrats and now that a self-styled Welfare State must have all the symbols and tokens of welfare being spread out from above, Parkinson's Law is having here a perpetual field-day. This, of course, is an old story and if any warning was needed it could be easily found in Tagore's famous parable on educating a parrot. The king, anxious to provide the best education to the parrot, spends a lot on having a golden cage, volumes of dreary books and a large body of retinue, supervisors and so on. If in the scrimmage, the parrot itself was forgotten and left to die uncared for, that exactly foreshadowed the course and consequence of Parkinson's Law in operation in our modern bureaucratic administration. That Pandit Nehru is more or less aware of this hardly gives any satisfaction either to the taxpayer or to those in whose supposed interests more and more additions are being made to the Central and State Civil Lists."

"The Ministry of Rehabilitation is not the only sinner in this respect," continues the *Vigil*, "but this has, by and large, under its jurisdiction, the most fantastically expensive and elaborate organisation. The Central Rehabilitation Ministry has its own large team of officers at the secretariat level, and at the State level in West Bengal, the number of officers with a very long list of varied designations, assignments, postings, etc., gives initially an impression of tremendous work in progress. In this context the appointment of half a dozen zonal commissioners produces rather a feeling of anticlimax. In addition to the State Minister, and Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation, there is a full-fledged secretariat team—Secretaries, Directors of Camps, Rehabilitation Commissioner and various other officers to look after financial and educational affairs connected with the refugees. There are, besides, District Rehabilitation Officers and below them a fairly long chain of subordinates to work in different localities."

Discrimination in Government Offices

One of the chief reasons for the grave discontent among government servants is the wide

discrimination between government servants even within the same rank. The *Statesman* in an editorial article has referred to the iniquity of allowing a lower scale of pay to State Government servants than that to a Central Government servant of equivalent rank and qualification. There are further instances of discrimination even in the same office. Thus in the office of the Accountant-General, West Bengal, clerks required to possess the same qualifications and doing equivalent jobs suffers discrimination when they have to go out of Calcutta. For example, the clerks belonging to the Local Audit Department draw the same pay and allowances as in other departments of the Accountant-General's Office while they remain in Calcutta. But when they have to go to mofussil, as they have to on account of official duty, they are treated on a completely different footing than the clerks in other departments though the former do not enjoy any special benefits or facilities in mofussil. This discrimination entails a sacrifice to an individual clerk of the Local Audit ranging from one hundred rupees per month to more. Departmental representation has been ineffective to remove this unjust discrimination. Naturally there is widespread discontent and backbiting in the department to avoid going out of Calcutta and efficiency has been the chief casualty.

U.S. Aid for India

The *New York Times* had the following report in its January 19 issue regarding the recent U.S. aid offer to India:

"The combination of India's political importance in Asia and its serious economic plight have made it a target of sharp East-West competition in the cold war. Since 1951, when India launched her First Five-Year Plan to boost agricultural production, the United States has given New Delhi almost \$1 billion in aid in the form of loans, grants, farm surpluses and technical assistance. In recent months, however, two factors have raised urgently the question of additional U.S. aid to India.

"One was the stepped-up Soviet economic offensive in the Afro-Asian world. Moscow has been especially interested in wooing India and has extended credits to New Delhi totaling \$270,000,000—and has promised more.

"The other was the threatened collapse of India's Second Five-Year Plan, launched in 1956 with the aim of giving the country an industrial base and raising per capita annual income by \$10 to \$69.51. The plan envisaged expenditures of \$15 billion to be raised through heavy taxation, deficit spending, public borrowing and foreign aid. India, however, was gambling on a number of assumptions, including an increase in Indian savings and the stability of world prices to meet the plan's goals.

"The assumptions proved faulty and last summer the plan was drastically cut back, with many projects halted in the blueprint stage. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said that unless India could raise \$1.4 billion by 1961, the hard-core essentials of the Second Five-Year Plan could not be realized.

"Last week the United States moved to meet New Delhi's financial plight—and the Soviet challenge. On Thursday the State Department announced U.S. 'willingness' to aid India with an additional \$225,000,000 loan, plus 1,000,000 tons of grain valued at \$65,000,000. India would pay for the grain in rupees, 80 per cent of which would be turned back to India in the form of U.S. loans."

New Year's Hopes

Although we are not very sanguine about the fulfilment of official forecasts, the following news report seems to hold out some hopes about the lessening of the strain on the consumer and tax-payer. But then, so long as there is reckless spending and feckless planning there will even be new demands on the life's blood of the helpless Indian people:

"New Delhi, January 5.—Although the position about the availability of steel will remain difficult in 1958, the new year is expected to herald a substantial increase in the country's production of pig-iron.

"By early next month, the expansion programme of the Indian Iron and Steel Company is likely to be completed, creating an additional capacity of 1,200 tons of pig-iron per day.

"The completion of the more ambitious expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company will follow in June or July. It will create an additional daily capacity of 3,000 tons.

"According to firm estimates, therefore, as a result of these developments, the country's pig-iron production this year will be 600,000 to 700,000 tons more than the present output.

"Besides, one blast furnace each at Rourkela and Bhilai, in the public sector, will go into action towards the end of the year. That will contribute some further quantities of pig-iron.

"This is bound to reduce somewhat the drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. At present the import of iron and steel amounts to Rs. 120 crores annually. Increased supplies of indigenous pig-iron will considerably lower this figure.

"However, the full impact of the expansion programme in the private sector will be felt towards the middle of 1959. By then the three plants in the public sector will also have made sufficient progress and steel rolling mills will be in action.

"It can therefore be safely assumed that during 1959 India will be in a position to export iron and steel worth at least Rs. 50 crores besides saving double that amount on imports.

"Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is now touring the public sector steel projects and is expected to return to Delhi on Tuesday. Although no longer directly in charge of the subject, the Finance Minister's interest in the progress of the steel projects has by no means diminished."

Kerala's Education Bill

The following news reports tend to throw some strange lights on the bill in question which seems to be a *fait accompli*. However, the ominous forebodings might not be so bad in the actual working:

"Ernakulam, January 5.—The Catholic Union of India, socio-religious organization representing the five million Catholic Christians in the country, has repudiated the Portuguese claim that 'the future of Christianity in India or the East is bound up with the continued dominion of Portugal over Goa.'

"The Managing Committee of the Union, which concluded a two-day session here today, in a resolution on Goa, emphatically asserted that Christianity in India needed no aid of any foreign or colonial power for its existence or progress. On the other hand, it claimed for the people of Goa their natural right to 'self-determination'.

"Another resolution viewed with 'great concern' the passing of the Kerala Education Bill. The committee was 'alarmed' at the consequences such legislation might have on the future of private educational institutions in this country.

"The committee, after taking into consideration the 'great strides' made by Communism in India as shown in the recent general elections, and the fact of its getting increasing hold both of the intelligentsia and the working class, suggested that leaders of all communities in India who believed in God, freedom and democratic values, should form a non-political organization to combat Communism in the spiritual and ideological fields.

"Ernakulam, Jan. 5.—The Archbishop of Ernakulam, the Most Rev Dr. Joseph Parecattil, said here today that the Kerala Education Bill was not a matter only affecting the Catholics of the State but would have its repercussions in other States also. It was therefore essential that people of other States also should study this question carefully and expose the 'over-bearing fallacies of the Bill'.

"The Archbishop was inaugurating the Catholic conference of India, held as an adjunct to the meetings here of the managing committee of the Catholic Union of India.

"He said that 'the State machinery in Kerala has begun to move in the line of indoctrination' and it had become a matter of 'life and death'. Therefore they should have an efficient bureau to do intensive propaganda in defence of the Christian doctrine and to counteract such of the criticisms as were not in keeping with Catholic principles."

French Aid for Plan

New Delhi, Jan. 23.—India and France today signed an agreement for closer economic and technical co-operation.

The agreement is an outcome of the negotiation undertaken by Mr. Nehru with French officials in Paris in 1956-57.

Under the agreement, the French Government will facilitate the financing of the manufacture and delivery by French suppliers during the next 12 months of capital goods worth up to a total of 25 billion francs (about Rs. 28 crores). A tentative list of the goods to be supplied has been classified according to priority and annexed to the agreement.

INDIA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI*

In 1957, India had been connected with several resolutions in the United Nations.

KASHMIR

The most important of them is, of course, the resolution introduced by Pakistan in the Security Council with regard to Kashmir. The essence of the original resolution was to the effect that India had neglected to abide by the directives of the Security Council and that now she as well as Pakistan be required to withdraw their troops from Kashmir and prepare the field for a plebiscite to be held under the supervision of the United Nations, to determine whether the majority of the people of Kashmir would want to be a part of India or Pakistan. There was a heated debate which was led by the United Kingdom on behalf of Pakistan. Mr. Krishna Menon made an impassioned and rather a lengthy plea. But the cards were already stacked against him. An atmosphere had been created in the Security Council to the effect that India was trying to ferret out all kinds of excuses to avoid a plebiscite and that she was sabotaging the principle of self-determination which is a cardinal principle of the Charter of the United Nations. Some went so far as to accuse India of colonialism. This type of atmosphere surely hurts the prestige of India. The Soviet Union saved India from an embarrassing situation. Mr. Sobelov the Soviet representative emphatically declared that his delegation would oppose any such resolution. Hence, no vote was taken on this and a milder resolution was introduced, saying that Dr. Graham of the United States be requested to go to India and Pakistan and negotiate for withdrawal of Indian and Paki-

stani troops from Kashmir. This resolution was passed without a negative vote. The Soviet Union abstained. It is obvious that the question of Kashmir will plague India as long as the conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union will last. Perhaps, no argument would convince one who does not want to be convinced. One cannot help having a peculiar feeling when he hears the representative of the United Kingdom pleading so eloquently in the Security Council for the principle of self-determination in Kashmir and at the same time opposing with equal vehemence in the General Assembly of the United Nations the same principle of self-determination in Cyprus and Algeria. However, some of us who have followed the proceedings of the United Nations closely, feel that the debates conducted by the representative of India, particularly on the Kashmir issue, had been unnecessarily lengthy, often taxing the patience of members, some of whom are usually friends of India. It is no reflection on Mr. Krishna Menon. He is very able, sincere, hard-working and often brilliant. But many felt that a great deal of unnecessary details could have been avoided, emphasising only on the convincing objections. Introduction of almost unrelated or distantly related subjects in the debate, involving some of the Asian nations, helped to irritate them and did not advance the cause of India. The main emphasis could have been on the following arguments:

1. Kashmir acceded to India legally and India accepted also legally in accordance with the provisions of the British Parliament Act of Transference.

2. The Prime Minister of India exceeded his constitutional authority in acquiescing to a plebiscite. That authority rests on Indian Parliament and Kashmir Assembly.

3. Pakistan is invader and aggressor.

4. Security Council has failed to take any action to remedy India's complaint.

* Metallurgist, now retired. Lived in the United States for 50 years. Left India in 1906, after the Partition of Bengal. Worked with U. S. Steel Corporation for 40 years. Worked for one year as Assistant Technical Director of Magnitogorsk Steel Works in the Soviet Union. Travelled extensively in Europe and Asia. His articles have been published from time to time in *The Modern Review* and other periodicals in India.

5. India is a secular State and not a parochial one and hence cannot allow—cannot afford—a plebiscite on religious grounds. It will jeopardise India's security. India has many religious minorities throughout the country. A plebiscite on religious grounds will have disastrous effect on them. India cannot risk another blood-bath like the one which followed the partition of India on religious basis. Religious issues were injected in Indian politics not by India but by the United Kingdom in the form of Morley-Minto Reform which introduced communal representation in the Indian Legislative bodies. Lord Morley characterised this reform as sowing Dragons' Teeth which would grow and harass India for generations to come.

6. If Kashmir is ever ready and is willing to hold a plebiscite on political and economic grounds and not on religious basis and all foreign influences are entirely withdrawn, Indian Parliament and Kashmir Assembly then may be persuaded to sanction such a solution. Until then it is India's moral and legal obligation to provide Kashmir as well as other Indian States adequate security and protection.

DISARMAMENT

The twelfth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations began on September 17, 1957 and came to an end on December 14. The subcommittee appointed by the eleventh session of the Assembly met at London for many months to come to an understanding with regard to some limitation in armaments. The subcommittee consisted of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada on one side and the Soviet Union on the other. As was feared, they could not come to any agreement. The first four powers submitted a resolution which provided for cessation of nuclear arms tests only on condition that the production of all fissionable materials for military use be also stopped. It also provided for a reduction in conventional armaments and forces. The Soviet Union also introduced a separate resolution which called for an unconditional cessation of all nuclear tests. It also called for destruction of all nuclear stock piles and considerable reduction in conventional armaments and forces.

Another important feature of the Soviet proposal was the withdrawal of all troops and military bases from foreign soil. The four-power resolution was adopted, with a request that the subcommittee continue its deliberations on the basis of the resolution. The Soviet proposals were rejected, whereupon the Soviet Union withdrew from the subcommittee, suggesting that they will be willing to negotiate with the United States. India introduced a resolution asking for enlargement of the subcommittee by three more members from non-committed countries. The argument was that since the two power-blocks could not agree on any workable action, perhaps the non-committed members would be able to find a common formula acceptable to both sides. The argument though valid was not acceptable to the Western block and hence was rejected. Perhaps, through negotiation the two big powers may find a solution.

CHINA

India sponsored a resolution asking the General Assembly to consider whether China should not be admitted as a member of the United Nations. The resolution was referred to the Political Committee, where a sharp debate took place. A counter-resolution was introduced by the United States to the effect that the questions of mainland China's admission and unseating of Nationalist China should not be discussed at the present session of the General Assembly. India's resolution received support from the Soviet bloc and most of the Asian-African nations. The United States' resolution was passed by over two-thirds majority. So the question of China's admission still remains unsolved.

SOUTH AFRICA

India and Pakistan sponsored a resolution regretting the ill-treatment of peoples of African and Indian origin by the Government of South Africa by enacting unjust and inhuman laws and asking the South African Government to negotiate with the parties concerned to remove their grievances in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As was to be expected the U. K. and many of the Western powers opposed the resolution but thanks to the solidarity of the Asian-

African nations and strong support from the Soviet bloc and many of the South and Central American nations the resolution was passed by more than two-thirds majority. Whether it will be implemented by any action by South African Government, remains to be seen. South Africa has been conspicuous by its absence from the sessions of the Assembly since the late General Smuts went back from the United Nations, saying that he came back like a whipped dog.

WEST IRIAN (NEW GUINEA) AND INDONESIA

India took active part in supporting the Indonesian claim for West Irian. The resolution did not really advocate the transfer of West Irian from the Netherlands to Indonesia. It only recommended that the question of West Irian be settled by negotiation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Here again Australia which holds a mandate over the eastern half of New Guinea, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands led the opposition. In spite of the support from practically all the Asian-African nations and the Soviet bloc, the resolution received only forty-five votes and failed to carry two-thirds majority necessary to win.

ALGERIA

India together with twenty-one other Asian-African nations sponsored a resolution on behalf of Algeria. The resolution regretted that the situation in Algeria continued to cause much suffering and loss of human lives. It also recognized that the principle of self-determination was applicable to the people of Algeria and called for negotiations for the purpose of arriving at a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The opposition was led by France and the United Kingdom with support from most of the Western nations including North and South America and also Nationalist China. The Asian-African nations, the Soviet bloc and Greece supported the resolution. Neither side could win a majority. A substitute resolution was introduced by some of the South American countries and Spain. This also failed to be passed. Finally, India and a few other countries introduced a very moderate resolution, suggesting mediation from Morocco and Tunisia and expressing hopes of an early settlement in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the

United Nations. The resolution was passed without any dissenting vote. France abstained.

CYPRUS

Greece introduced a resolution expressing concern that no progress had been made towards the solution of the problems of Cyprus and that the situation was fraught with danger. It hoped that further negotiations and discussions would be undertaken in a spirit of co-operation with a view to applying the right of self-determination to the people of Cyprus. This resolution was vehemently opposed by the United Kingdom and Turkey and other colonial powers. Though supported by the Soviet bloc, some of the South American nations and a few of the Asian-African nations, the resolution failed to be passed with a two-thirds majority. The United States abstained. That is understandable. Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom belong to NATO and the United States did not want to offend any one of them. But for some inexplicable reason India and some other Asian-African nations also abstained. There were twenty-seven abstentions. If they had voted in favour the resolution would have been passed. Certainly it is to the best interest of the Asian-African nations to reduce the number of colonial possessions. In this case undoubtedly they have acted against their own interest and against the interest of all oppressed peoples. They should have remembered that it was from this crown colony of Cyprus as a base that the United Kingdom and France launched their attack on Egypt and Suez Canal. It is to be hoped that some member would raise this question in the Parliament for clarification of India's vote.

PANCH SHILA

The most hopeful sign in the United Nations is the gradual emergence of the Asian-African powers of the Bandung Conference as a moral force in the deliberations of vital issues. This was particularly noticeable during the debates on Disarmament, China, South Africa, New Guinea, Algeria and lastly on Peaceful Co-existence. At the last meeting of the General Assembly, India, Sweden and Yugoslavia sponsored a resolution in the form of a Declaration, concerning the peaceful co-existence of States. Of course, the inspiration is from Panch Shila

and the Bandung Conference. The draft resolution is as follows:

"Considering the urgency and the importance of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States, irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development,

"Recalling that among the fundamental objectives of the Charter are the maintenance of international peace and security and friendly co-operation among States,

"Realizing the need to promote these objectives and to develop peaceful and tolerant relations among States, in conformity with the Charter, based on—

- (1) Mutual respect and benefit,
- (2) Non-aggression,
- (3) Respect for each other's sovereignty,
- (4) Equality and territorial integrity, and
- (5) Non-intervention in one another's internal affairs, and to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter,

"Recognizing the need to broaden international co-operation, to reduce tensions, and to settle differences and disputes among States by peaceful means.

"Calls upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace and develop friendly and co-operative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means as enjoined in the Charter and as set forth in this resolution."

Mr. Krishna Menon in a lengthy speech supported the resolution, saying that these five principles are the corner-stones of India's foreign policy. Mr. Jarring of Sweden, one of the sponsors, said that these principles had gained popularity in Asia. They appeared in the agreement of April 29, 1954, between India and

China. Prime Minister Nehru has referred to Panch Shila or the five principles on different occasions. At the Asian-African Conference of Bandung in 1955 the twenty-nine participating States adopted a programme consisting of ten points which include the five principles. He pointed out that during the visit of the Swedish Prime Minister to Moscow in 1956, the joint statement issued by the Prime Ministers of Sweden and the Soviet Union, contained these five principles.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of the United States in supporting the resolution, said:

"It seems fitting to begin our discussion of this subject with a tribute to the delegation of India, whose initiative, along with that of Sweden and Yugoslavia has considerably brightened the outlook. The United States welcomes the draft resolution and warmly supports it."

He criticised the Soviet Union for stifling free expression and free election. In this connection he paid tribute to India's democratic free election. There 121 million people registered their opinion as to who should constitute the Parliament of India. He finished by saying:

"We have often fallen far short of our goal, but that is no reason to despair. Just as twelve years ago the founding of the United Nations expressed the hopes of men and women throughout the world, so today we have the duty to express those hopes again and to show that we intend to be faithful to them. The draft resolution offered by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia is such an expression. It is a worthy vehicle for our hopes. We should adopt it, and not only should we adopt it, but we should do so unanimously and with sincerity and then we should all set about carrying it out."

The resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote. And thus Panch Shila and the spirit of Bandung triumphed.

Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.



RURAL EDUCATION AND RURAL UNIVERSITY

By PROF. A. C. BANERJI

I

RURAL EDUCATION

ALMOST everyone in India will agree that there should be widely distributed population in India and that the villages should be prosperous, economically stable, culturally rich and largely self-supporting so that young people will find greater interest and get more opportunities in utilising their natural gifts and taking initiative in various enterprises.

Indian history tells us that about 200 years ago there was wide distribution of cultural life throughout the villages. It is noteworthy that the great cultural literature of India mostly originated in villages. It is unfortunate that literature of the same type and standard cannot be produced by the villages of today. Let us analyse the causes for the steady decline of cultural tradition of present-day villages. One of the main causes is that those who are in power are steadily despoiling the villages. The life-blood of the villages is being steadily sucked by urban society and even by those in authority in the shape of interest on debts, taxes and rents. The nation gets its food and texture from the villages and creates its wealth by exploiting them so that most of the villages are left with mere mud huts, scanty garments and simple tools for work. Moreover, there is unfortunately lack of integrity, on many occasions, on the part of interested persons from urban areas in their dealings with the simple village folk. The second cause for the decline of progress and prosperity in the village is the absence of scientific mind and the lack of open and inquiring spirit. Rural mind in India is unfortunately locked in the rigid frame of customs and traditions with the inevitable result that the mind loses its vigour and vitality. On the other hand, if the scientific spirit gets an opportunity of spreading widely in rural areas, it will completely invigorate and revitalise the villages. In addition of being a progressive

factor such a vitalising force will have a stabilising influence. Hence, it is very necessary that the villagers should develop the habit of free and critical enquiry.

There is a third cause which impedes the progress and prosperity of the villages. It is the absence of any clear idea of what a good village should be. As a basis for material welfare of the village it should be economically prosperous. Modern technical methods should be adopted for efficient farming. Food production in the village can be immensely increased by this method and much of the village population can be spared for other useful works besides agriculture. In order that villages may be self-supporting to a large extent it is necessary that each village or a group of villages within a small region should have a wide range of economic activities. In this way much of the industry of the country will be widely distributed and located in villages and small towns. Although America has established vast centralised industries, yet there are many thousands of thriving small industries in rural areas of America. It is noteworthy that over half the business of America is done by small- and medium-sized firms. There is no reason why small- and medium-sized industries should not equally flourish and be widespread in India.

It is very necessary for every village to have good all-weather roads. Every village should be supplied with cheap electric power. There should be adequate supply of water under pressure either from streams or tubewells. On a co-operative basis it should not be difficult to have refrigerator plants to preserve perishable fruits and vegetables. In the long run, in spite of initial cost, a refrigerating system will be much more economical as large quantities of fruits and vegetables will be spared and prevented from perishing. By and by cheap processes for temperature control and humidity control may be introduced, and much of the inconveniences due to summer and humid heat may be avoided. But these economic and

hygienic advantages would be of no avail unless corresponding development of character and culture proceeds side by side. For recreation traditional games, music and dances of India may easily be developed.

Much has been said about basic education and its programme has been clearly defined. This type of education should enable the children to get a glimpse of the main issues and interests of living. But we should not make spinning and weaving the fetish of basic education. Perhaps, there has been some amount of over-emphasis in this scheme for producing cloth and fabric. It is true that clothing like food and shelter is one of the three basic human needs. It is, perhaps, as well that the child gets familiar with an economic process which would guide its whole life. Or, perhaps, it will be still better if the child develop a more distributed interest and a more varied attention to various processes of rural life.

The programme for rural secondary education or post-basic education has been less clearly worked out. In the field of rural secondary education greatest benefit can be achieved if it be possible to make each rural secondary school a residential unit. Each school should have about 200 pupils and possess about 50 acres of land. About 20 acres of land should be utilised for school buildings, hostels, playgrounds, workshops and small industries and the remaining portion should be utilised for agriculture, fruit growing, dairy, pasture, etc. The buildings and streets should be planned properly and built on the lines of a modern village.

Half the working time of each student should be devoted to study and half to farming, building, carpentry, cabinet-making, house-keeping, weaving, street-cleaning and other useful village work. It would also be desirable if one or more modern industries for manufacturing goods for sale are also included in the programme. As far as possible the secondary village schools should be self-supporting.

If the school industries are well-planned or well-managed it will go a long way towards making the village self-supporting. It would be a good profitable education if the school children are taught how to raise most of the food needed by the school and to make the land yield as much as possible. The school should

not be bound down by traditional systems and should teach modern agricultural methods. The secrets of good agricultural processes are being continuously revealed to the world by researches.

It is also necessary that the pupils in rural secondary schools should have well-proportioned and all-round education. Elementary Geography, Geology and also Astronomy should be taught to give the pupil an insight into the physical environments. It is also necessary that they should have general knowledge of the history of their locality, of India and of the world. They should have some idea about local and national Governments. Some knowledge of good literature would help them to develop their mind. Some knowledge of mathematics would be necessary to meet their practical needs. Their education should be such as would help in cultivating good habits and correct attitude of mind and spirit in them. Open-mindedness, honesty, love of freedom and the habit of critical enquiry are essential qualities necessary for revitalising India. A new industrial tradition may develop in rural areas. A rural industrialist may train himself to work chiefly for service. Of course, a rural industrialist should be allowed to earn sufficiently so that his economic security may be assured and he may be able to get his decent and reasonable living.

A rural secondary school may be more or less self-supporting partly by reducing wants through simple avoidance of palace traditions and adoption of simple living standard, and partly by increasing income.

As the number of rural secondary schools is continuously increasing, as modern industries are being developed in villages and as new villages are being planned and constructed, larger and larger number of teachers, school administrators and trained men for various village industries and technical processes will be required. These teachers and trained men will have to be supplied by rural colleges. Again, village irrigation systems will require skilled workmen for their management. Moreover, construction, maintenance and operation of rural electric lines, drilling of tube-wells and construction of water taps would require skilled workers. Rural colleges would have to train technicians and skilled workers for village needs.

An ideal scheme would be to have a basic elementary school in almost every village of India. There should be a rural secondary school on a suitably situated village surrounded by a group of villages each containing one basic elementary school. Each rural secondary school would draw its pupils from surrounding basic elementary schools. Similarly, a rural college can be constructed in a village built for the purpose, and this college will draw its pupils from surrounding rural secondary schools. Rural college students should devote about half their time to their studies and half to their practical work. They will work for longer periods than rural secondary pupils. In rural colleges general education should be imparted along with practical courses.

Alumni of rural colleges should not only be skilled workers but also cultured and educated citizens. The rural colleges should as far as possible be self-supporting. Hence, in various colleges much of the practical work will be in connection with agriculture, fruit-growing, dairying, processing of agricultural crops, transportation, marketing and other interests. Rural colleges should also develop their own industries for training these students and for getting adequate income to support themselves. The college staff should also try to find suitable work for their students in industries, in rural elementary and secondary schools, in constructing and rebuilding villages, in irrigation, in rural electrification, in mines, in quarries, in forests, on railways and in other services. The rural colleges would teach up to B.A. and B.Sc. standard.

Rural education of a higher type and skill of a better order will be necessary to cope with the rapid development of rural India. It would involve work of a more exacting type. Hence, a number of rural Universities in the country should be established to cater for a selected number of students who after completing their rural college work would prepare themselves for more advanced work. A rural University should cater for post-graduate and research work.

A conceivable plan for rural University may be given here. It should consist of a ring of small colleges catering for B.A. and B.Sc. Pass degrees with the central building for specialised courses for post-graduate and research work. Each small B.A. or B.Sc. col-

lege should not contain more than 300 students for efficient training. Moreover, intimate contact between teachers and students should be ensured. The enrolment of the whole University including the small colleges should not exceed 3,000.

A workable syllabus for the Rural University has already been given elsewhere. A rural university should not be an extension or a replica of the urban University. Rural education should grow upward from the soil. The rural secondary school should evolve out of the basic elementary school. The rural college should grow out of the rural secondary schools and the Rural University should evolve out of the rural colleges.

It is essential that India should industrialise and that modern methods and modern industrial processes should be welcomed in the village. If this necessity for modernisation is not clearly understood, then rural secondary and higher education will be seriously hampered. It will be a foolish thing to pump irrigation water by muscle power only instead of by modern scientific methods. It will be useless waste of human efforts which can be used much more fruitfully otherwise, if water is pumped by human hands for the purpose of irrigating agricultural lands. A farmer can also get much greater yield from his field in much less time by using modern methods. Modern scientific methods are able to save much manual labour which after being realised can be very profitably diverted to various useful channels. In this matter it is necessary to make one safeguard, i.e., it should be ensured that enormous saving in labour which is thus made possible by modern machinery is actually utilised to raise the possibilities of life for the common man. It should never be used to exploit the common man for the benefit of those in control. For this reason it is necessary that industry should not wholly be concentrated in great units within or in the neighbourhood of large cities. On the other hand, a considerable part of it should be widely distributed over the country in smaller units mostly in small towns and villages.

In this way prosperity of modern industry will be diffused throughout the country. The village in modern times can no longer maintain

the status of a wholly independent and self-contained economic unit. It can only remain as a basic unit of society which is the stepping stone to the formation of a large society. The villagers now require books, radios, watches, bicycles, electric goods, etc. These all cannot be produced by each village for itself. Each village will have to depend upon other towns and villages for the supply of many commodities. Inter-relation is the trend of the time and the world is becoming more and more inter-connected. It is necessary that different inter-related units should co-operate with one another. Each village unit should be at the same time independent and inter-dependent.

In the words of Professor Arthur E. Morgan, "The best degree of local self-sufficiency and not the greatest degree should be the aim of each village unit."

II

RURAL UNIVERSITY

India has a vast rural population. It has been estimated that more than 80 per cent of the total population of India live in villages. The strength of India lies in villages, hence the village life in India has got great significance. If rural life in this vast sub-continent gets greatly disorganised, vigour and vitality of our national life would suffer considerably. Our villages constitute a huge reservoir of life, power and vital resources. So long as this reservoir is kept full, nation's vigour and vitality remain at a high level. A careful study of sociological conditions in urban areas in Europe and America have shown that city families are liable to become extinct after a few generations. Unless there is continuous replenishment from healthy and vigorous rural population the cities cannot grow and flourish. There are various instances in the world's history where cities which were once prosperous and flourishing decayed and became extinct in course of time. Secondary and University education has hardly touched our village population. Due to extreme poverty, lack of opportunities and absence of cultural activities in the villages a large proportion of able, efficient and ambitious children have been shifting more or less entirely during the last hundred years or so from the villages to the cities to get higher

education and join the universities with the hope of improving their prospects, realising their ambition and raising their social and political status. Thus the cities are continuously absorbing the nation's cream of strength and vitality from the villages and are hardly giving back anything in return. The villages are constantly being deprived of their life and power; and the nation's life and vitality are continuously being sapped. Hence, it is very necessary to take early remedial steps so that the drift of able and competent young men from the villages may be substantially reduced. On the other hand, if the influx of vigorous young blood into the cities from the villages is completely stopped then the cities will suffer from intellectual and cultural stagnation and ultimately they will begin to decay. To maintain vigour and vitality both in the cities and the villages exchange of able and intelligent youngmen between urban and rural areas within moderate limits would be necessary. Let us analyse our rural problems which await immediate solutions. Let us trace out the causes which lead to the gradual depletion of village resources of culture and vitality. Most of the villages contain mud huts with unprotected walls. The village paths often serve as drains. In many of the villages stagnant pools of water into which drains also fall are often used for drinking water and for washing clothes and utensils. Stagnant pools also become breeding places for mosquitoes. Hence, water-borne, mosquito-borne and fly-borne diseases all take their toll in the villages. If our villages are to be healthy, habitable, attractive and economically prosperous, modern technical devices should be fully utilised. Every village should have good accessible all-weather roads. It should have adequate supply of good uncontaminated water through pipes under pressure. It should also have proper sewer system and be supplied with cheap electric power. Each village should have an adequate number of well-ventilated, properly constructed and cheap pucca houses. Small-scale farming on which the prosperity of village farmers chiefly depends may be made much more productive by applying modern labour-saving methods.

There are more than six hundred thousand villages in India. It is well-nigh impossible to rebuild them and transform them into ideal

villages within a short time. The immediate necessity is to construct a number of model villages, each being in the midst of a group of existing villages and within easy distance of them. By and by these old villages would take their cue from their model village and try to become healthy and prosperous rural units.

It is not desirable that the entire industry of a country should be located in big cities and their suburbs. On the other hand, it is very necessary that a substantial portion of a country's industry should be located in small towns and villages. There should be decentralised progressive industrialisation of the country. Villages cannot be completely independent discrete units. There should be interdependence and inter-relationship between villages and villages, and villages and cities, and between cities and cities.

It is unfortunate that almost the whole of intellectual and cultural Bengal is being centralised in Calcutta and suburbs. Also apart from Asansol area industry is being concentrated in Calcutta and its suburbs, such a state of things has its unfortunate consequences. Scholars, teachers, businessmen; students desirous of having higher education, lawyers, doctors are all anxious to come and reside in Calcutta. In Calcutta, they find many amenities of life which are totally absent in most of the villages. The number of medical doctors practising in Calcutta is decidedly more than what is necessary for this city, in relation to villages.

It is significant that sometime ago the question arose as to whether admissions to Medical Colleges in the city should be restricted or not. The leading physicians in Calcutta have extensive practice whereas there are many younger physicians who have got meagre practice; some of them also find it difficult to make both ends meet. But let us look at the condition prevailing in villages. Most of the villages have very few doctors, and some of the villages have none at all; owing to the absence of amenities of life and to the lack of other opportunities many young doctors would not like to leave Calcutta in spite of their difficulty to make both ends meet in the city and settle in the villages. Even in business the cream of youth drifts not only from villages but also

from provincial towns in other States to the Presidency cities like Calcutta or Bombay.

Apart from the small University of Visva-Bharati of recent origin two other Universities in the State of West Bengal, *viz.*, Calcutta University and Jadavpur University are located in Calcutta and its suburb. Hence, there is a very large influx of student population in Calcutta. The question of accommodation for such a large body of students has become a grave problem. Most of them live under conditions which are not conducive to serious study and are positively detrimental to their health. Moreover, there are many distractions in a big city like Calcutta which are prejudicial to their morals and prevent them from having seriousness of purpose and forming disciplined habits. On the other hand, the teachers cannot give their best to the students. Due to high cost of living many teachers, in order to make both ends meet, have to exhaust their energy by accepting private tuitions or by writing cheap notes for the examinees. For raising the standard of education it is necessary that the teachers should not only be sound scholars but for efficient teaching they should devote time to prepare their lectures before delivering the same.

Now a grave problem faces us foreshadowing ominous consequences. If our village get completely depleted of their reserves of available resources of intellect, vitality, and culture, Calcutta will no longer get replenishment of life and vigour from the villages. After a few generations Calcutta will begin to decay perhaps rapidly. Ultimately the whole of Bengal will suffer and deteriorate.

I have already mentioned before that in order to prevent the drift of able and intelligent young men from the villages to large cities, the villages should be made more attractive and habitable; amenities of life should be increased, economic and hygienic advantages should be secured and new opportunities be created to satisfy the ambitions of promising young men. To ensure their future prospects able and aspiring young men would like to have higher or University education. Hence, it is necessary to decentralise higher or University education. It is, therefore, necessary to have a few regional Universities in model villages and in district towns. This will relieve considerably the im-

mense pressure on Calcutta University and Calcutta colleges. The influx of students into Calcutta will decrease considerably. A large part of the student population will be free from many of the distractions of city life. They will be able to devote much more time for serious study. They will get much greater opportunity to build up their character, to cultivate disciplined habits and to lead a moral life. In these regional universities the teachers will get much greater opportunities to come into intimate contact with the students and guide them in proper directions.

Some of these Regional Universities should be Rural Universities. What is true of Bengal is more or less true of other States in India. It is specially true of Rajputana where arid rural areas need immediate development. A rural University is, therefore, a great necessity for Rajputana.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has truly said that

"Education is not identical with formal intellectual training; men can become educated without being intellectuals and that intellectuals are not necessarily educated men."

It is necessary that education and intellectual training go hand in hand and they must not be hostile to each other. We have to be careful and see that the right type of education is imparted to rural people. The success or failure of democracy in any country depends to a considerable extent on the type of education that may be made available to the rural population. The programme of education in rural areas should be liberal, broad-based and able to create opportunities which would inspire able and brilliant young men to remain part and parcel of villagers to serve and guide them and to help in uplifting the whole village.

A prevalent idea among certain sections of educationists is that liberal and higher education should be limited to a small intellectual group, and only vocational education should be imparted to common people. Such an idea is undoubtedly reactionary and foreign to proper democratic outlook. On the other hand, liberal and higher education should be made available for all young people possessing necessary qualities to derive benefit from it. A democracy

requires true "leadership" and not "rulership" which transforms "rulers" into "dictators." History teaches us that the people's cause was lost many times when leaders became estranged from the common people and turned dictators. Grundtvig, who was the originator of the People's College idea in Denmark, wrote:

"People in our day shout themselves hoarse about freedom and culture and that is certainly what we need, but the proposals for attaining them usually have the same fundamental faults as Plato's Republic where the guardians of freedom and culture themselves swallow them both up, so that the people for all their labour get only proud tyrants to obey, to support, and if that can comfort them to admire and deify."

Our problem is to evolve that type of liberal education which will produce proper leadership with requisite intellectual discipline and culture and will maintain identity with common people.

In another place I have discussed briefly "Basic and Secondary" education under rural conditions and there is no necessity for me to cover the same ground again. Rural higher education is a natural sequel to this. The Rural University which is expected to impart higher rural education should evolve its own special pattern quite distinct from the traditional type of urban university.

It is expected that in near future every State will have a rural education council to advise the State Government in matters relating to rural Basic, Secondary and University education.

The Rural University will be a new experiment. The Rural University should be an autonomous body and should have freedom to work out its plan in its own way. Each university should prepare its own syllabus not merely on general lines but also keeping in view the special features of rural education. There should be two controlling bodies for each Rural University, *viz.*, the Executive Council and the Academic Council. The Executive Council should be the main authority to direct and control the general policy of the University. It should meet at least once a month. The Academic Council should guide academic policies and programme. The Rural University need not be saddled with

such bodies as the Court or the Senate. A simpler frame-work will give greater freedom to the new University to develop along its special lines. Perhaps, a Development Board would be more useful as it would advise the University regarding the lines on which the University should develop. The new University may do away with the Faculties but different Boards of Studies would be necessary. The Boards of Studies shall frame the syllabus and may propose new courses of studies and submit them to the Academic Council for consideration. The Executive and the Academic Councils may form committees to help them in their work. If necessary, combined meetings of the Executive Council and the Academic Council may be held to decide important questions. The appellations "Chancellor" and "Vice-Chancellor" savours of mediaeval ritualism. In a new type of University it will be better to have the names the President and the Rector in place of the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The Rector shall preside at the meetings of the Executive Council and the Academic Council. There shall be two other administrative officers, viz., the Treasurer and Registrar.

New schemes will have to be launched and new experiments will have to be undertaken for developing our villages. In the beginning some of these schemes and experiments may be unsuccessful. But unsuccessful attempts after making honest endeavours need not dishearten us. We learn by experience and in our next attempts we hope to be more successful.

It is suggested that the Executive Council may have the following constitution:

- (1) The Rector (Chairman).
- (2) The Treasurer.
- (3) Three Heads of Departments nominated by the Academic Council.
- (4) Two teachers nominated by the Academic Council.
- (5) Three members nominated by the State Rural Education Council.
- (6) Two members nominated by the President.
- (7) The Registrar (Secretary).

It is suggested that the Academic Council may have the following constitution:

- (1) The Rector (Chairman).
- (2) The Heads of Departments.

(3) One teacher of each Department nominated by the Department.

(4) Two members nominated by the State Rural Education Council.

Certain difficulties are bound to arise between the old type of Urban Universities and the new type of Rural Universities. But we can hope that tolerance and mutual adjustments between the two types of Universities will stave off these difficulties. There may be certain brilliant students for Rural Secondary Schools who may desire and be able to join some older type of Urban University without much disadvantage to themselves and *vice versa*. It is desirable that such migration from one type of University to another should be permitted. There should not be any irksome legislation preventing such migration. It would be mutually disadvantageous if these two types of University choose to remain in water-tight compartments. Such an attitude is bound to hamper their free development. It is, therefore, necessary that in the syllabus for Rural Universities apart from subjects having special bearing on rural matters there should be some general subjects on Humanities and Basic Sciences.

Systematic efforts are now being made both by Central and State Governments to improve amenities of rural life by promoting rural industries, by introducing rural health and library services and by undertaking agricultural extension work. It would be a profitable idea if the Rural University becomes the regional centre of rural service agencies of Government. By this process the activities of different agencies will be co-ordinated and unnecessary conflict and duplication of expenditure will be avoided.

Recently the Higher Rural Education Committee set up by the Central Government has recommended the establishment of Rural Institutes, the aims and objects of these Institutes being—

- (a) to provide facilities for higher studies to students who completed their post-basic or higher secondary courses;
- (b) to provide certificate courses in subjects, such as rural hygiene, agriculture and rural engineering and also shorter courses;
- (c) comprehensive teaching-cum-research-cum-extension programme.

These Rural Institutes are intended to function as cultural and training centres and as centres for development planning in rural areas. I feel that the establishment of Rural Institutes will not be able to prevent the drift of able and promising young men from villages to cities having Urban Universities. These Rural Institutes will only award certificates whereas these ambitious young men won't be satisfied with anything less than a degree. They feel that their status in social and educational spheres would be lower than that of degree-holders. These young persons would therefore continue to go to cities and join Urban Universities in order to get degrees. Without equalising the status of the young man of the village and that of the young man of the city in the academic world by giving them equal opportunities for getting the University education in their respective regions, no effective response will be achieved if promising young men in the villages are advised to stick to their village after receiving whatever rural education they may get in the village and help in the noble task of uplifting it and making it an ideal village. Hence, I am definitely in favour of having Rural Universities which would award degrees of high standard and provide for extensive researches in rural subjects.

It may not be out of place to mention here that culture is not the monopoly of urban life nor of village life. It is common to all humanity. Hence, to promote culture a course of liberal education common both to Urban and Rural Universities should be a part of the syllabus in both the Universities. This common part should include an appropriate course in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy; Biology; Physical Education, Psychology, Social Science, History, Philosophy, Economics and Languages. Detailed syllabuses of the above subjects have not been incorporated in this note. If required they may be added later on.

Rural Universities should also train up teachers for rural basic and post-basic education. Three characteristics are essential for achieving success as a teacher, *viz.*,

- (a) Thorough mastery over the subject in which he lectures.

- (b) His all-round education,
- (c) Genuine interest in his work.

The degree course, *i.e.*, B.A. or B.Sc. course, in a Rural University should be a three-year course in conformity of what obtains in Urban Universities. The Post-Graduate course, *i.e.*, M.A. or M.Sc. course should extend over two years.

For M.A. or M.Sc. course groups of subjects as specified below may be introduced:

GROUP I

- (a) River Physics and Water-control Engineering.
- (b) Soil Chemistry and Soil Engineering.
- (c) Physics of temperature control.
- (d) Physics.
- (e) Chemistry.

GROUP II

- (a) Food process technology.
- (b) Ocean products technology.
- (c) Mineral processing.
- (d) Biology.
- (e) Agriculture.

GROUP III

- (a) Rural public administration.
- (b) Rural social welfare including Rural village planners.
- (c) Rural Arts, Sociology and Anthropology.
- (d) Law.
- (e) Economics.

For B.A. and B.Sc. courses, a few groups of subjects as specified below may be introduced:

GROUP I

- (a) General Sciences including Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Geology.
- (b) Humanities including Economics, History, Philosophy and Social Sciences.
- (c) Agriculture.
- (d) Animal and Dairy Husbandry.

GROUP II

- (a) Physics including Elementary Mathematics.
- (b) Chemistry.

- (c) Biology.
- (d) Geology.

GROUP III

- (a) Economics.
- (b) History.
- (c) Law.
- (d) Business Administration.

GROUP IV

- (a) Social Science.
- (b) Home Sciences.
- (c) Rural Arts and Industries.
- (d) Business administration.

GROUP V

- (a) Physics.
- (b) Mathematics.
- (c) Chemistry.
- (d) Rural Engineering.

GROUP VI

- (a) Rural Engineering.
- (b) Law.
- (c) Business Administration.
- (d) Geology.

GROUP VII

- (a) Elementary Medical course.
- (b) Biology.
- (c) Business Administration.
- (d) Rural Arts and Industries.

GROUP VIII

- (a) General Science.
- (b) and (c) Two languages.
- (d) Library Science.

GROUP IX

- (a) General Science.
- (b) Rural Engineering.

- (c) Local Self-Government and Law of Land-ownership.
- (d) Business Administration.

GROUP X

- (a) General Science.
- (b) Rural Engineering.
- (c) Rural Arts and Industries.
- (d) Business Administration.

In a Rural University the curriculum should be flexible and so framed as to meet the needs of industrial students as well, hence, combination of subjects other than those specified above may be permitted.

After M.A. or M.Sc. degree, researches in various subjects of rural interests may be undertaken and some of the candidates may prepare for Doctorate degrees. There is no reason why the Rural University would not be able to prepare its graduates for most thorough research on scientific lines. They should also acquire sufficient practical ability to make profitable use of natural resources.

Some of the useful topics in which researches can be carried out are:

- (a) Ethical researches relating to practical problems of rural India.
- (b) Psychological researches to explore critically the processes of rural Indian mind.
- (c) Sociological, Anthropological and Cultural researches in rural areas.
- (d) Researches in population.
- (e) Agricultural researches.

So far as West Bengal is concerned Kalyani would be an ideal place for a Rural University. North Bengal may have either a Rural or an Urban University.



evaluation of their literature and the tenets propounded therein. Descriptive and analytic studies of the rituals will also be welcome. In this connection a reference may be made to the edition and annotated translation made by Nowotony of a purely ritualistic portion of a work of Trimalla and published in the pages of *Indo-Iranian Journal* (Vol. I. pp. 109-154).

Quite a good number of Kavya works have been published. As an accessory to the proposed *Kalidasa-Lexicon* A. Scharpe's critical editions of *Malavikagnimitra* and *Vikramorvasiya* have been issued (Gent, 1956) as Part II of Vol. I which will contain basic texts of the works of Kalidasa for use in the lexicon. Part I containing the text of the *Aphijnana-sakuntala* was published in 1954.

The Sahitya Akademi has undertaken the publication of critical editions of the works of Kalidasa and allotted different volumes to different scholars. Dr. S. K. De's edition of the *Meghaduta* has already been published. The printing and get-up of this valuable scholarly edition is, however, not up to the mark. The Akademi proposes to bring out an anthology of Classical Sanskrit Literature and it is under preparation by Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. V. S. Agrawal. Sternbach's critical edition of Chanakya's Aphorisms in Hitopadesa, appearing serially in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, deserves special mention here. Of hitherto-unknown works brought to light there are few of outstanding merit. In the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series we are presented with a number of works of which the *Sivavilasa* of Damodara (14th century) has some historical importance in that the theme of the work centres round the life of King Keralavarman. The *Usaparinaya-prabandha* and the *Gopikonmada* are both anonymous, the former a short *champu* work and the latter a short lyrical poem of 124 verses. The Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute of Jaipur which has taken upon itself the task of collecting and publishing little-known small works of Rajasthan and Gujrat has brought out within a short space of time critical editions of a number of interesting works. Of these the *Rajavinodakavya* of Udayaraja possesses considerable historical value in that it deals with the life-story of Muhammad Begra, the well-known Sultan of Gujrat in the second half of the 15th

century. *Sringaraharavali* is a collection of one hundred erotic verses by Sri Harsa who has been supposed to be identical with the great author of the *Naisadhacharita*. The *Krishnagiti* of Somanatha is a small poetical work of the type of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, numerous poems in imitation of which were written in different parts of the country. The *Karnakutuhala*, a comparatively late work by poet Bholanatha of the court of Madhava Simha and Pratapasimha of the 18th century, is a peculiar production. It begins in the manner of a dramatic work but ends with the narration of a story. Interesting small works are published also in the newly-introduced Oriental Thought Series, the latest work published in the Series being the *Sivanamakalpalataratnalavalakavya* attributed to the celebrated Tantric author Bhaskararaya. This work explains the significance of 108 names of God Siva in 108 verses in 108 different metres. Another small *kavya* work ascribed to the same author was published earlier in the same Series. A little-known work attributed to the well-known author Kshemendra, viz., the *Nitikalpataru*, has been published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the basis of a single manuscript. The Mithila Institute of Darbhanga has brought-out a critical edition of a *mahakavya* called *Parijataharana* of poet Kavi Karnapura (circa 15th century) who seems to be different from the famous Vaishnava poet of the same name of Bengal.

Reference should be made to two important works on the *Naisadha Charita*: (1) Second edition of the translation of the work by Prof. K. K. Handiqui published by the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, (2) *A Critical Study of Sriharsa's Naisadhiya-charitam* by Dr. A. N. Jani published by the Oriental Institute of Baroda. This is a comprehensive study on the author and his *magnum opus*. Another interesting work is Dr. Kunhan Raja's *Kalidasa—A Cultural Study* (Waltair, 1956) which deals with the views and descriptions of the poet concerning subjects like kings, the common people and women, ideal of beauty, art, nature, heaven and earth, renunciation and release, harmony, etc.

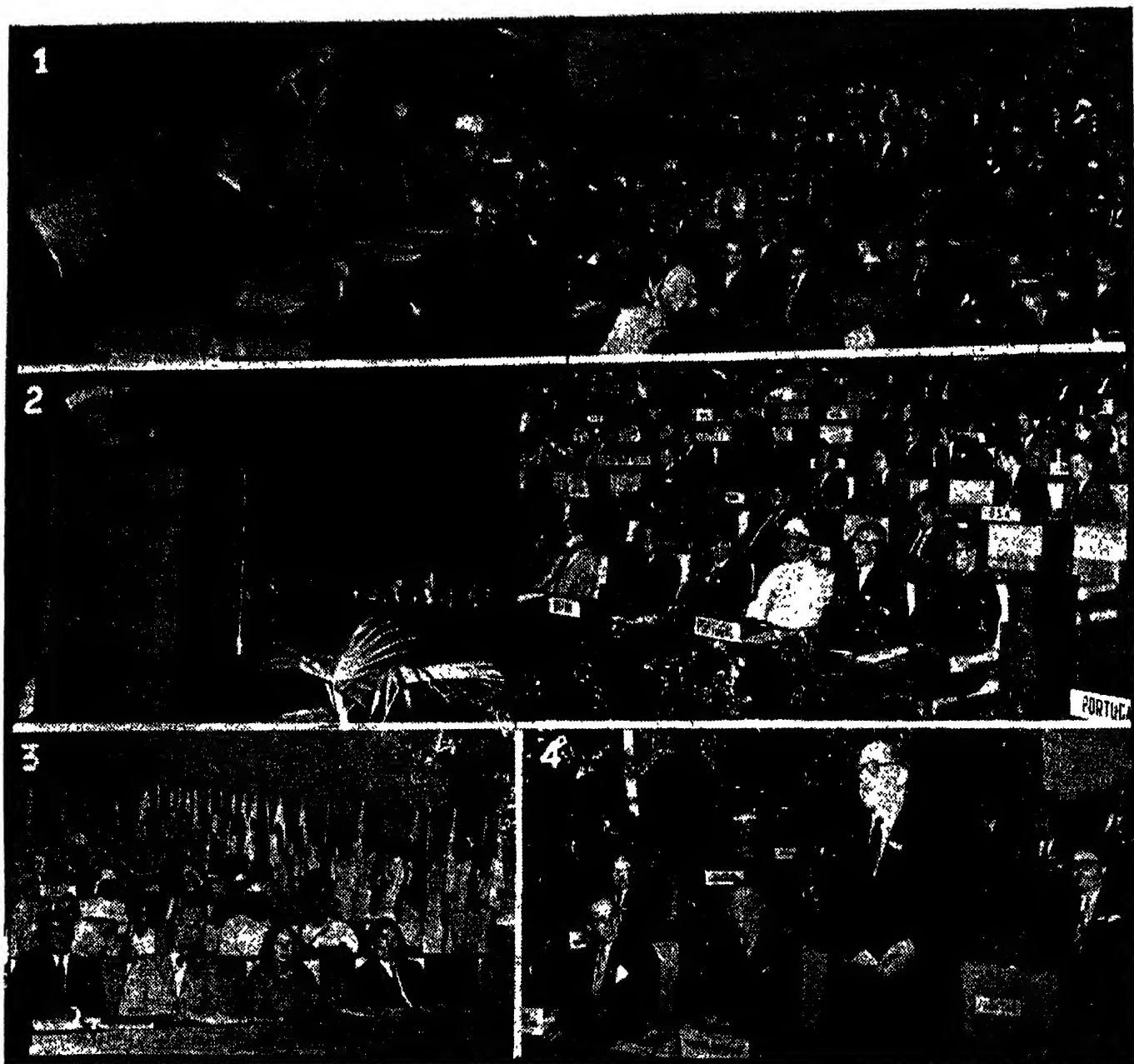
The publication of two hitherto-unknown works on Alankara deserves mention. The credit of bringing the works to light goes to the



Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam, with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in conversation with Mr. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of U.K. and Lady Dorothy Macmillan



1. President Dr. Rajendra Prasad inaugurating the 14th International Tuberculosis Conference at Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi. 2. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the fourth session of the Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. 3. Delegates who came from different countries of the world to attend a Conference of the International Red Cross at New Delhi. 4. A British delegate addressing the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in New Delhi

Mithila Research Institute. One of these is an old commentary on Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* by Ratnasrijnana of Ceylon, who is stated to have composed the commentary in the 23rd regnal year (931 A.D.) of King Rajyapala, probably of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. The other work is the *Kavyapariksha* of Srivatsalanchana Bhattachary. The author who is supposed to have flourished some time between 1200-1600 A.D. and hailed from Orissa is referred to and refuted by Jagannatha in his *Rasagangadhara*. This is a work of the type of the *Sahityadarpana* of Visvanatha, also of Orissa. The Karikas are mostly borrowed from the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata. The Institute is also engaged in the preparation of a critical edition of the text of the *Kavyadarsa* on the basis of all available materials pertaining to the work. Of expository work done in English I may mention two. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy who has made a special study of the *Dhvanyaloka* and published the results of his study in the form of books and papers, has come out with the first complete English translation of this important work together with its gloss. Mere literary translations of compressed obscure texts like this are dealt with here, however, do not go a great way in making the work comprehensible to the average reader. And hence we need the scheme of Prof. Bishnupada Bhattacharya engaged in bringing out an elaborate exposition in English of the text of which two parts containing the first two sections have so far been published. Reference may also be made to *The Test of Experience according to Abhinavagupta* which contains a careful edition and an English translation by R. Gnoli of a section of Abhinava's commentary on the *Bharata-Natyashastra*.

Conservation and study of our rich manuscript treasure has not, it must be confessed, as yet received its due share of attention at the hands of scholars and administrators. The demands repeatedly made by this conference in this connection for so many years still remain unfulfilled. As a silver lining in the cloud is the plan of the Government to make arrangements for the publication of important manuscripts lying in different parts of the country. For this purpose lists have been invited from a number of learned institutions. Already the Sangita Nataka Akademi has made arrangements for the publication of six unpublished old works

on music in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The first of these six works, the *Ragatatvavibodha* of Srinivasa, a 17th century work, has been published. We hope other important manuscripts preserved in different parts of the country will receive the attention of the Akademi.

Of institutions engaged in the collection and preservation of manuscripts the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute is one of the latest. Within the short span of its existence it is reported to have collected as many as 10,000 manuscripts of which the number of Sanskrit manuscripts exceeds 6,000. One important study tour was undertaken in connection with the study of manuscripts. In pursuance of the plan for a survey of Manuscript Libraries in Nepal initiated by the Asiatic Society and sponsored by the Government of India a survey party led by Sri J. K. Saraswati of the Calcutta University went to Nepal in October last year and made preliminary enquiry of the resources of the private and Government collections and examined the personal collection of Field Marshal Sir Kaiser Shamsar Jang Bahadur Rana. The collection, though small, is stated to be valuable in more than one respect. Dr. V. Raghavan's inventory of 20,000 manuscripts surveyed during his tour of European countries is undergoing revision and awaiting publication.

As regards the work of compilation and publication of Inventive Catalogues of the well-known collections of manuscripts of Institutions like the Asiatic Society, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and Sanskrit College of Varanasi is making regular, though very slow, progress. But there are numerous collections, both private and public, the very names of which, not to speak of their contents, are little known to the world of scholars and there is no knowing when the manuscript treasures hidden there will be properly utilised to enrich our knowledge of the past and possibly to enlighten many an obscure corner of our literary history. The need for undertaking immediate and systematic work in the matter is very urgent. Concrete suggestions were put forward in this connection by the present writer as early as the year 1936 in a paper presented before and a resolution moved at the First Indian Cultural Conference organised at Calcutta by the Indian Research Institute. Resolutions on similar lines were passed at

several sessions of the Oriental Conference as well. But these appear to have gone unheeded. A number of journals have however been issued independently by three of the most renowned manuscript libraries of the south (e.g., Travancore University MSS Library, Madras Oriental Library, and Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library) for the study, or rather publication, of the manuscripts in their charge. A good number of works have been or are being published serially in these journals and the commendable work they are doing might be profitably emulated by similar other institutions all over the country. If it is not possible to find sufficient men and money for the preparation of scientific critical editions or comprehensive scholarly analysis it is preferable to have faithful 'mechanical' reproductions of the manuscripts—'multiplication of the manuscripts' as the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri put it—made available for the study of the world of scholars. This will mean preservation and dissemination at the same time and at a comparatively small cost.

We indologists, nay all students of Sanskrit, are almost exclusively interested in old Sanskrit texts, modern Sanskrit writing receiving little attention at our hands. In dealing with the linguistic or literary history of modern India one does not usually give sufficient attention to Sanskrit. Books on the history of Sanskrit literature of which there are quite a good number have very little to speak of the latest developments in Sanskrit. But as matters stand, Sanskrit is still a living force. It has still a flowing current, however weak and feeble. It is the intra-provincial medium of communication among Pandits of different parts of the country. It is the vehicle of expression of their higher thoughts. As a matter of fact, even in the present days when Sanskrit is apparently losing its popularity and hold over the people at large, a fair amount of literature covering various subjects, traditional and modern, is being produced in the language in different parts of the country. We have exegetical works, translations, original compositions as well as a number of periodicals. It must have to be confessed that these enterprises of ardent and almost selfless lovers of Sanskrit have to face utter neglect from all quarters—students of Sanskrit as well as the ordinary people. There

are very few people who take a serious notice of these things. Thus no systematic account—nay no record of them—is available. Scarcely does any library care to collect and preserve modern Sanskrit works. It is therefore difficult to gather necessary information about them. In these circumstances, concerted efforts need be made for the compilation of complete records of the works produced, for their value in studying the literary history of the country cannot be ignored. It is a matter of delight that the subject has of late attracted the attention of scholars and a number of papers have been published giving accounts of modern literature: three papers by Dr. V. Raghavan, e.g., *Modern Sanskrit Writings* (Adyar Library Bulletin, XX—Parts 1-2), *Modern Sanskrit Literature (Contemporary Indian Literature, 189-237)*, *Sanskrit Literature 1700-1900 (Madras University Journal, Centenary Volume, 175-201)* and one, *Place of Sanskrit in the Literary History of Modern India* (J.G.J.R.I., XIII, 153-164) by the present writer who has been publishing regularly notices of modern Sanskrit books for a number of years in the pages of *The Modern Review*. Sporadic attempts are being made in giving publicity to more or less recent Sanskrit writings. The Mithila Research Institute of Darbhanga has introduced a separate Series of publications dealing with works by modern Sanskrit scholars. A few works including miscellaneous writings of the late Pandit Ramavatara Sarma have been published in the Series. *The Maharshikulavaibhava* of the late Pandit Madhusudan Ojha, a great scholar and author of a large number of works, has been published in the Rajasthan Oriental Series along with a Sanskrit commentary and Hindi translation by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Giridhara Sarma Chaturbedi. A number of works are being published in the *Saraswati Sushama*, the Sanskrit organ of the Government Sanskrit College, Varanasi. These and other institutes of different parts of the country might well take up the work of compiling comprehensive accounts of more or less recent Sanskrit writings of the principal regions of their activities.

Much useful and valuable work is being done in the different languages of modern India on Indology, especially on old Sanskrit texts. We have translations as well as critical studies on many an important Sanskrit and Prakrit work in the various provincial languages

of the country. Not only popular books like poetical works but works of purely scholarly interest also have been covered. It is, however, a pity that these productions have been given scanty publicity. As a result, works published in one language are little known to people—nay, even to scholars—beyond the area served by the language in question. Necessary steps need be taken to bring these works to the notice of the scholarly world through reviews in reputed journals, carefully compiled bibliographies as well as through other means. As matters stand few bibliographies make any systematic note of these publications. For the present I shall refer to a few recent works in Bengali copies of which have come to my hands.

Dr. R. G. Basak whose contribution on ancient Indian History are well known has now set himself to the task of translating and interpreting in Bengali reputed Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. His translation of the Arthashastra of Kautilya has brought the work within easy reach of the average Bengali reader. His latest work is the annotated translation of the *Gathasaptasati* of Hala which will be helpful to students of literature in making acquaintance with beautiful specimens of ancient poetry of our country. The translation is accompanied by the Prakrit text with select variants and its Chhaya or Sanskritised form.

Learned institutions all over the country undertake works of this type in various regional languages. In Bengal the valuable series of useful booklets called the *Visvavidyasamgraha* published by the Visvabharati Publications Department contains a number of interesting works pertaining to different branches of old Indian literature. Recently it has brought out an important brochure on Prakrit literature contributed by Dr. Monmohan Ghosh. Dr. Amareswar Thakur's Bengali translation of Yaska's *Nirukta* is being published by the Calcutta University. The Government of West Bengal has undertaken the publication of a Bengali translation of Medhatithi's commentary on the *Manusamhita* of which the portion dealing with the first three chapters has been issued. It however remains to be seen how and what class of readers will be benefited by these translations.

Instances may be multiplied if one takes into account the work done by private individuals

and public institutions in other parts of the country. Besides there are learned and popular journals in which the publication of scholarly papers on different aspects of the literature and culture of Old India is not an unusual feature.

If Sanskrit studies in modern Indian languages have not drawn the attention they deserve the Sanskrit texts published in the various provincial scripts with or without translations in the regional languages have been almost neglected in scholarly studies. But as matters stand, numerous editions, some very good, of religious, ritualistic and Purana works are being frequently published in these scripts intelligible to few scholars outside the area covered by them.

A reference may be made in passing to the reprints issued of a number of old publications, viz., *Mirror of Composition* by Ballantyne and Mitra originally published in the Bibliotheca India Series in 1865, reprinted by Motilal Banarasi Dass (Banaras, 1956); Tawney's translation of the *Vetalpanchavimsati* section of Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*, Ryder's translation of the *Dasakumaracharita* and Ridding's translation of Bana's *Kadambari* published by the Jaico Publishing House in beautiful handy volumes.

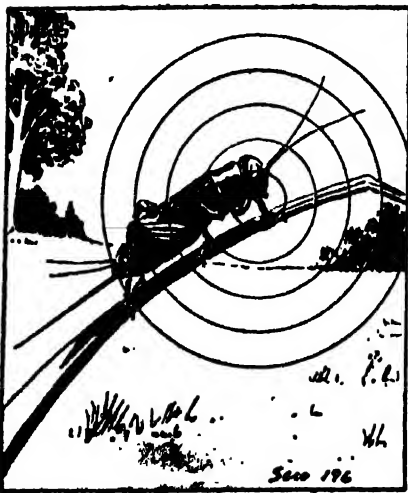
Some of these works though originally published several decades back have their interest unabated even now and the publishers are to be congratulated on their enterprise in undertaking the publication of these works which were inaccessible to the general reader. There are numerous other works which deserve republication and the financial outlay made by firms taking up the work will be repaid by the profits earned if not by the gratitude of all lovers of the literature and culture of India. Collection of stray papers on particular topics may also sometimes be brought out in attractive forms as in the *Theatre of the Hindus* published by Susil Gupta (India) Limited of Calcutta. It contains a number of papers on different aspects of Indian Theatre by scholars like Raghavan, Pisharoti and Vidyabhusan besides portions of the well-known work *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus* of Wilson. The publication in book form of the collected papers of an individual scholar is a rare distinction which falls to the lot of a few and Prof. Gode

has won the distinction during his lifetime. His papers are appearing in five volumes entitled *Studies in Indian Literary History* of which the third volume was published in 1956.

The account given above of the work done in the various branches of Sanskrit literature appears to be encouraging though the condition of Sanskrit studies in the country presents a quite different picture. Sanskrit is gradually losing its popularity among the student community. The number of students taking up Sanskrit as one of the subjects in schools and colleges is fast decreasing from year to year. The state of things in traditional institutions called Patha-salas or Tols is definitely worse. The deterioration appears to be staggering if we compare the condition as prevailing a few decades back. We learn from the *General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1871-2* that 'Sanskrit was taken up as the second language by more than half the candidates (at the Entrance and F.A. examinations) and if the lower provinces of Bengal simply be considered the proportion rises to three-fourths of the candidates' in spite of the fact that the subject was considered difficult at the time. True, it is not possible to restore the previous position when sciences and other modern subjects are attracting the major portion of the students. We have to think out how in the present set-up we could improve our position at least to some extent.

We are looking forward to the Report of the Sanskrit Commission which was appointed to survey the existing state of Sanskrit education in the country and suggest means for its improvement. Without anticipating their recommendations we might point out that the future of Sanskrit studies depends principally on the interest that can be created among the people in various ways including the publication of interesting and popular works dealing with different aspects of the language and the rich literature enshrined in it and the improvement of the method of teaching especially by making the curriculum more attractive than revolting as at present at least in some cases. Making Sanskrit a compulsory subject in the curriculum of studies will be of little avail if at the same time it cannot be made more attractive and its value and utility strongly impressed on the people at large. Popularisation of Sanskrit should be our sacred motto. All lovers of Sanskrit have their share of responsibility in the matter. And the All-India Oriental Conference, an august body consisting of Sanskritists all over the country and abroad, might take the lead and chalk out the way along which work should proceed in this connection.*

*Presidential Address delivered before the Classical Sanskrit Section of the 19th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Delhi on December, 27, 28, 29, 1957.



TAGORE AND THE FIRST NATIONAL CHALLENGE OF INDIA

By JOGES C. BOSE

THE ancients used to believe that the world rested on the back of a fabled monster—*Vasuki* in India, *Encelladus* in Greece; and as it changed side, there was earthquake. Thanks to Lord Curzon, Bengal came to acquire the dignity of bearing somewhat strangely to the imagery. He posed racial questions and said things, which many an Englishman thought as much, but never spoke out in the manner he did; and Bengal bristled with loud, stinging protests sending tremors of resentment all over India.

He whittled down Queen Victoria's Proclamation,¹ which Indian leaders hailed as our Magna Carta. Not content with an uncanny emphasis on its saving clauses, such as 'so far,' 'if,' etc., he said pointblank that Indians by their 'heritage and upbringing were unequal to the high offices under the Crown.'² Trot to gallop, he, attacked the ethics of the East and said that the highest ideal of truth was to a large extent a Western conception—Calcutta University Convocation, 1902. As though an electric button was pressed and Bengal became one geyser of challenging retorts. Some of these have an entertaining value beyond the topical. Surendranath Banerjea called it an 'affront' and asked India to beware of him, who could say this in such a cavalier fashion. Motilal Ghose smiled his parchment smile in the leaders of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and made the Viceroy a moral acrobat in his

confessed aberrations.³ Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, as president of the Calcutta Town Hall protest meeting, covered Curzon with biting sarcasms—how he wished Indian leaders to play the role of chorus girls in Greek tragedy and how 'dressed in brief little authority' he had so pitifully lost all sense of balance. Rabindranath Tagore quoted Herbert Spencer to show how English people of note and standing resort to frigid cold lies to suit their ends.⁴ Curzon never missed an opportunity to hit back and twitted the Indian 'agitators' for their grandiloquent pose, their seeking cover under innuendoes, mal-assimilation of learning and all that. Did they yet taste sour in the mouth as to make him sore against the people of Bengal?

Anyway, it looks pretty certain that he resolved to wet-blanket their influence growing apace.⁵ Bengal intelligentsia was, in fact, at such a height that G. K. Gokhale spoke of them at a public meeting at Manchester on October 6th, 1905, that they were 'intellectually among the finest people of the world'—*Famous Letters and Speeches*, edited by Rushbrook Williams. Curzon hit many nails squarely on the head of Bengal,⁶ but none so brilliantly conceived as to divide the

1. Queen Victoria declared it to be her will that 'so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.' Lord Ripon declared it as embodying the 'principles of Government,' but as an example of principles dying in the concrete, he was, when the time came, against the admission of an Indian into the Viceroy's Executive Council.

2. The King of England, in less than fifty years, sent a message to an Indian successor of Curzon that he had 'most worthily upheld the highest traditions of that historic office.'

3. Sister Nivedita, who was present at the Convocation, came out the following morning with a letter in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quoting chapter and verse how Curzon himself had deviated from truth. Irish by birth, Russian in the ethics of revolt under the influence of Prince Kropotkin, Sister Nivedita was Indian as a spiritual disciple of Swami Vivekananda and at level with India's urge for freedom.

4. After Rabindranath was awarded Nobel Prize, there was an attempt in an influential circle of Oxford University to confer on him the degree D.Litt. (*honoris causa*). Curzon as Chancellor had it foiled.

5. Bengal, says Sir Henry Cotton in his *New India*, rules public opinion Peshwar to Cape Comorin.

6. Such as curbing the popular control of the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University.

soulful entity of their motherland.⁷ He parcelled out North and East Bengal and tacked them on to Assam to make the eastern border of India a statutory Moslem province. Avowedly to induce separateness and hostility between the Hindus and the Moslems, it was of a piece together with the policy, unrelentingly pursued, ever since Clive, in respect of the Army, instructed the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which by letter dated 16th March, 1768, desired the President of the Council of Fort William 'to encourage rivalry between the Gentoos and Mussalmen' to obviate 'the danger of cabals of any alarming nature being formed.' It developed by a remorseless process into one long gearing of mediaeval fanaticism against the growing national consciousness of India to the extent of making her common man act as fuse for barbarous explosions. But to this anon.

Sharp ills, sharp cures; and Bengal changed somewhat abruptly the old method of protest and prayer, uncharitably dubbed 'mendicancy.' Now that India is free, we must speak out without any mental reservation that it was in the conditions of the day the only possibility and it vindicated itself by rousing the people of India province to province into a sense of indivisibleness. To belittle or bypass the leaders of the day is as amusing as for a child, lifted on the shoulder of his father, to say, 'I am taller than papa.' They at least kept alive in the doped mind of the people a feeling of discontent against foreign rule. Lord Curzon unwittingly made Bengal realise its obsolescence. She took to intensifying that discontent into undivided efforts for Swaraj through Boycott, *Swadeshi* and National Education. Civil Dis-

obedience, where the exigencies of the moment justified, was not tabooed.

Bengal's self-consecration to the new gospel of nationalism and her 'affirmation of India's right to Freedom,' as Sri Aurobindo Ghose puts it, has been acknowledged so far as the political aspect of the question goes. In the light of Herr Hitler's dictum that the trade and commerce of a country cannot flourish so long as national consciousness with high ideals does not provide the necessary setting,—*Mein Camp*, it is time to evaluate Bengal's Boycott and *Swadeshi* in the economic life of India. What fight of unique complications Bengal fought to steer clear the Scylla and Charybdis—Government's clenched antagonism on one side and, what on the other was far more insidious than all the brains and batons the Government could collect, the traitorous conduct of some of the leading cloth mill-owners deserves to be read with an intentness, obviously lacking in many an Indian leader of today. Mahatma Gandhi, however, notes in his auto-biography that one of them told him—"In the days of the partition, we the mill-owners fully exploited the *Swadeshi* movement. When it was at its height, we raised the price of cloth and did even worse things." "Yes," said Gandhi, "I have heard something about it and it has grieved me. . . . The Bengalees like me were trustful in their nature. They believed in the fulness of their faith that the mill-owners would not be so utterly selfish and unpatriotic as to betray their country in the hour of its need and even to go the length, as they did, of fraudulently passing off foreign cloth as *Swadeshi*." A deputation from Bengal failed to evoke any favourable response from them in respect of either one or the other. Allied to this group, a business community in Calcutta did not, all persuasions notwithstanding, forbear importing British-made cloth and as much as palming them off as India-made. The blackest traitors, however, turned out whitest patriots, immediately as patriotism could be a business proposition. The British commercial interests joined hands with these people and left nothing undone to chuck out the Bengali elements from the Calcutta market of Export and Import; and since now, they dwindled as a matter of course.

The boycott of British goods had the smack

7. I would not, by the way, suffer some of his noble points to be interred with his bones. We owe him the National Library of Calcutta, the biggest in Asia. By The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904, he has exhumed to save from the ravages of time architectural patterns of glorious workmanship. He held high the honour of Indian woman how so humble. On one occasion he inflicted collective punishment on the entire Regiment; and on another, high military officers were relieved of their commands and the Regiment itself was banished to Aden with leave and other indulgences suspended for two years. With all bitter, irritating dissensions India has endorsed what he claimed that he 'loved righteousness and hated inequity much above his fellows.'

of Boston Tea and was in line with what China did in respect of American imports. Boycott was against the grain of Rabindranath, because it tended to feed the flame of hatred; but to him *Swadeshi* was but a prerequisite of India's national resurrection. He and his brother Jyotirindranath Tagore were working for it and, in fact, opened stores in Calcutta to popularise country-made articles long before it was adopted as a political weapon.

Rabindranath availed himself of the anti-partition agitation to re-emphasise a socio-economic front, which, he argued, would save the new-born enthusiasm fizzling away. He renewed his old faith in urbanising the village and thus provide Hindus and Moslems the scope to work in integration of their common economic interests. It would, he said, constitute a bulwark against bureaucratic inroads to divide them religion-wise. He was one of the active promoters of the Council of National Education, which started a college and technical institute surviving to develop into the Jadavpore University.

Over these two pivotal points of nation-building, e.g., village reconstruction and national education, Rabindranath was exercising himself for a long time, in fact, ever since he began appearing in public at the age of twenty-one, with his essays, lectures, discourses, etc. His leading thoughts, singularly clinching in outlook, may be indicated in broad outlines. What education, he said, was being imparted in our school and college had little bearing on our life in the making of worthy men and patriots. It was designed primarily to coach up some automatons for clerkship and at best to play second fiddles in the Administration. Like those who puncture their skin to dye it for a design, the so-called educated, he says, distinguish themselves in their lacquered shine from the mass of people; and, thus has the gulf between the two yawned. He stresses home the unsuitableness of English as the medium of instruction making education no more than skin-deep; and, therefore, the recipients thereof being as much steeped in prejudice and superstition and lacking in creative urge, as they are halting and atrophied in aims and aspirations. It fosters a life of compromise between profession and practice; and, what then the society

plumes itself upon having gained in muscle is flabbiness. The cumulative effect, he concludes, is that with the spread of this ill-assorted education, we are getting entangled increasingly in an intellectual subjection.—(English rendering is mine).

These are stimulating thoughts to make out a good case against foreign rule. Once accepted that no foreign rule can ever equip the ruled to liquidate that rule itself, I do not believe that the East India Company, as it formulated its educational policy, intended to create some imbeciles only. It is true that British rule, assisted by Christian missionaries, did everything conceivable for a cultural indoctrination, but the inhibiting fears and lessons in loyalty were a later-day growth. The Calcutta University took to teaching texts like *England's Work in India*, conceived to work out in the impressionables a return to the allegiance of England, seriously negotiating hammer blows of the *Swadeshi* movement and then the revolutionaries.

Without impugning for a moment the proposition that mother-tongue is by far the best suited as medium of instruction, I may be pardoned saying that regard being had to the then conditions of our country, all may not share the lachrymose conclusion the youthful poet drew from some happy premises unhappily combined. Education of a people, there can be no breath of murmur to the contrary, must have its roots deep down in national sentiment and tradition. But what sentiment and tradition could be a live force, when the political collapse had led to a complete break-down of the very system of moral values? English, as medium, made the progress of education slow, and superficial; but as it was also the medium, it had to be pursued with great avidity in order to over-

8. Macaulay wrote to his father: "It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence." Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had something to do with this Educational policy, reported to the Parliamentary Committee: "Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youths almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same object, engaged in the same pursuits as ourselves, they will become more English than Hindus just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls and Italians."

come the incidental handicap. And, quicker the race, quicker was the transfusion. It opened within a marvellously short time the sluice-gate of the accumulated inspiration of Western patriotism and democracy, the idea of human personality and freedom. It reared up the Indian mind for a place amongst the head-erect nations of the world.

Any way, outlandish as it 's now to oppose the right of a man to education through the easy medium of his own tongue⁹—and to Rabindranath must be assigned the palm of some pioneer, uphill efforts—it is worth serious consideration, if India stands to gain by undervaluing the scope of such a widespread language as English, which has made a tremendous headway in the study of medicine and technology. It is the mother-tongue of one hundred and seventy-five million people; and another 17 million bilingual people use it as readily—*Hand Book*, published by the Ministry of Education, U.K., 1954. Its flexibility yielding to subtle shades of meaning and purpose makes it an ideal vehicle in diplomacy. India was at one time thrilled to the resonant cadence of English poets and orators, and she gains nothing by slackening an interest in the language that also helps her keep in touch with the rest of the world. Near at home, I share the misgivings of those, who hold that its exile will speed up the decay of the middle-class intelligentsia.

With regard to village reconstruction, Rabindranath re-emphasised that with the exodus of the intelligentsia from the village to the town for the exigencies of bread, the landed aristocracy having followed suit for the amenities of life, the village *Chandimandap*, symbolic of public opinion, which, as the moral law, was no less effective than the law enforceable on pains of penalty, tumbled down. But India, he said, continued to live in the million poor hamlets of the village and this was the crux of the anomaly. Thanks to the munificence of K. L. Elmherst, it has been possible for Rabindranath to instal a section of cottage-industry to create 'a bond of necessity,' between the Visva-Bharati and neighbouring villages. He favoured

the use of industrial techniques and appliances in so far as they serve but do not dominate the village pattern. It is, by the way, due to be studied how Japan has toned up the economy of her middle class people by cottage-industry, the woman in the midst of her household pre-occupations as the soul. The Goering Plan, in the scheme of Germany's National Socialism, was conceived in the same line of thought.

I am not in a position to judge what the aforesaid views of Rabindranath, incredibly ahead of the time, produced upon contemporary mind. A good number of people, I am afraid, dismissed them as fads of a poet whose easy conditions of life, coupled with brilliant flights of imagination, made him display his iridescent feathers. He was the sporting target of a virulent section of the Press descending to lengths he was constrained to call 'journalistic hooliganism.' There was, however, a mass of genuine appreciation which hailed him even then as a master mind. To me it seems that those who desire to serve their country not in the fake glory of parliamentary eloquence but in the tongueless obscurity of rural areas, where the nation yet lives, shall have in these writings enough to sustain them. If the history, how Bengal shaped to help India to win her freedom, is ever written, not as a chronicle of some events only, but written with an eye to balance the forces which have decisively influenced the march of events, Rabindranath Tagore goes down the pages as the poet and prophet of our Cultural Revolt, without which no revolution, worth the name, has any the remotest chance of success.

As I speak of cultural revolt—it is definitely no revivalism—I feel overshadowed by two other personalities; one is Balgangadhar Tilak and the other Aurobindo Ghose. Tilak looked back with deep sorrow to the dying out of the village *Panchayet*, which is chastisement by public opinion and, therefore, in a sense more effective than the hard sanctions of law. Tilak minced no matters and said in substance that Law and Order, upheld by the Police under a foreign rule, made the people sneaks and cowards, whereas *Panchayet* made them self-reliant and self-respecting. Its death, he said, struck at the root of our training in democracy and made us socially degenerate. Tilak again cud-

9. Raja Rammohun Roy, the uncompromising advocate of English education in India, was for vernacular as the medium.

gelled all tendencies which crippled us culturally. What is particularly to the point, he lived on all fours the life of the humble and taught us that the well-being of India did not lie in being a distance-walker of the West. 'Diseased,' 'perverted,' 'vile' and 'malignant' are a few of the choice epithets, judicial to journalistic flatulence of anti-Indian elements delighted to fling at him. All these, however, blended into a sheet of steady flame to stick to him like an aureole.

Aurobindo was rather a new type. As early as 1894, when he was barely twenty-one, he wrote in *The Indu Prakash* of Bombay that the proletariat of India held the real key to the situation; whoever succeeded in understanding and eliciting its strength was bound to be the master of the future. At the first call of *Swadeshi*, he came back to Bengal in exclusive dedication to stabilise the forces of upheaval in order 'to bring the mass' as he said, 'into the conscious life of the Nation, so that every man may feel that in the freedom of the Nation he is free.' What difference has it with that, which Lenin said in explaining his creed, as he came back to Russia in 1917 after a long exile?¹⁰ Aurobindo did not forswear violence to end British rule and 'across his path,' as Ramsay Macdonald said, 'the shadow of the hangman fell.' All the same, he was steadfast in his belief that 'the ideal of our patriotism looks beyond the unity of the Indian Nation and envisages the unity of mankind.' Romain Rolland strikes the point home as he says that 'Aurobindo is the completest synthesis of the genius of the East and the West.' To sum up Tilak and Aurobindo, they sought to align the Indian struggle on the challenge of capacity to turn difficulty into opportunity without frittering away energy over the weak palliatives of Reforms. The old school thought that there was no humiliation to demand what was our due and to make each Reform a lever to organise the country and make it a spring-board till the final blow was struck.

Rabindranath drew up a scheme of

Swadeshi Samaj, i.e., Society for Cultural Re-orientation, in which he formulated eight vows. It was incumbent upon the votaries to eschew English goods save what cannot be otherwise helped; it decried in unmistakable terms the use of English dress and other mannerisms creeping into our society; it even laid down that were an Englishman invited to dinner, etc., he was to be treated to in right Bengali style. The imposition has the flavour of a romantic loyalty to his father returning unopened a letter written by a relation in English. Such a picture, in fact, is not in accord with the overall impression of Tagore in vogue later on. By way of explanation, we have in the mouth of Gora, the hero of his epic of fiction of the name, that such aggressiveness is indispensable in the incipient stage of a nation's growth in order to fight the inveterate flaccidity. Gora would not mind being snubbed a crank in cockney circles. He would all the more tenaciously cling to his idiosyncracies, as though the vestal virgins nursed the celestial fire. He, however, discovers, after he has galloped full length for many years against anything foreign, that he is born of Irish parents and made over to an Indian mother during the perils of the Sepoy Mutiny. He does not regret the change-over. Rather joyfully, he accepts India as his motherland, but desires her to be the prototype of his foster-mother, who knows no distinction of race or colour. I forbear pressing the point hard, but would not resist noting in Gora's caterpillar to silkworm transition a reflex of Rabindranath. The stern nationalist does not give way to but accommodates within himself the internationalist in all naturalness and reconciles by his integrality what are seemingly irreconcilables.

May I, however, just pause to confess to my disappointment that the Mutiny-born Irish boy, who in lone wakefulness nursed the dream to disyoke India from all her shackles, should have concluded as supinely to domesticate himself in the cob-web of connubial felicity, when as yet India's emancipation was a far-off event. It is not, I am afraid, complimentary that a great artist should idolise even in a book like *Gora* the goody goody commonplace end. I have rather a lurking suspicion that Rabindranath is not at home in matters of

10. A very old peasant interviewed Lenin. As he came out, he said, "Here is the man who will deliver goods." "Why?" "Because he made me feel that I belong to the Nation and the country is mine."

sterner stuff, which have for their basic principle,

The world is my oyster,
Which with a sword I shall open.

There are, however, some compensating thrills. Gora goes to village Charchosepur to organise the people to resist the Zamindar enforcing dehumanising exactions with the help of the police. Hauled up before the Magistrate, he refuses to be released on bail and have a lawyer to stand for him, because most of the people, whose cause he espouses and who are at his instance in the fight, have not the means to the benefit of either. He courts imprisonment and writes to his mother:

"Bless me, that I may spurn a life of ease and affluence and have the steel to forge ahead with what sufferings an alien Government may choose to inflict on me."

The culminating note of this neo-nationalism, varying from what has been, as a primary reaction against foreign domination, a bit of ranting, is struck by Rabindranath in the lines:

*Udayer path-e suni kar bani,
'Bhoy na-i or-e bhoy na-i,
Nishshwesh-e pran je karib-e dan
Kshoy na-i tar kshoy na-i.'*

Whose is the clarion call,
I hear in life's steep ascent,
'Fear not; he who sacrifices himself in full
is from destruction immune.'
(All translations of this article are mine.)

Again, on to the journey, which bristles with hazards, the solemnity of the resolve shines the way.

*Jadi keo alo na dhar-e
Jhar badal-e andhar rat-e
Duar deya ghar-e
Tab-e bajranal-e apon buker panjar
Jaliy-e niy-e ekla chala ekla chala-re,
If when the night is dark,
and no one shows the light,
If in rains and storm they close the door,
Quail not: but light up the ribs of the heart
in the fire of lightning high,
And march on, even if, all alone.*

In 1907, Rabindranath shifted his family from Calcutta to Bolepur for permanent residence, presumably, to develop the small school he had started about six years back on the pattern of an *ashram*.¹¹ It was, however, the time, when the first upheaval of the anti-partition agitation suffered a setback and Bengal at times looked like sinking into a torpor. There was, as well, the conflict between the old and the new school of politics taking an ugly turn. He was also tired of the lukewarm support accorded to his socio-economic programme. In an article, "*Byadhi O Tar Pratikar*"—Disease and Its Cure—he urged for a change of heart and inner purification. This was construed as a reflection on either party. Rabindranath retired or stepped down. Instantly it was the opportunity for the gutter-snipes and they whipped it up into a feeling. Even some of the sedate and charitably disposed could not help the sigh—'what else is it but desertion?' There is enough of sauce in recalling, by the way, how Goethe inspired his countrymen to stand up to France and himself joined the force but took to heels at the first onslaught in the cannonade at Valmy. Long, agile tongues found scope to be busy about. Nay, whispers ascribed to the nimble wisdom of imperialism diverting him away from the Indian struggle.

Reason, however, as the sediments of the controversy have sunk down, may well strike a balance between soot and whitewash. Rabindranath was now on the wrong side of forty and if he was not to bid a goodbye to the making of the institution, on which he set no limits to his aspiration, it was high time that he disentangled himself from day-to-day fissiparous politics. Abruptness, again, is in keeping with the temperament of poets, who cannot afford to live prefabricated. All the same, the feeling that he had let down his friends and co-adjutors was to some extent due and it grated on sensitive nerves.

The 'deserter', however, did not retire to sulk in his tent. There was hardly anything affecting our national struggle that he ever shirked to face or over which he hesitated to

11. "The ideal of an Ashram is reciprocity and love, whose education is no mechanical contrivance to spread literacy or a commercial investment in the name of enlightenment."—Rabindranath.

come forward as the spearhead of people's resistance. It was now that he wrote his hymn in honour of Aurobindo Ghose, which, consonant with the deep tenor of his inner being, applauded the new technique of the spirit of quiet strength rising above the crucifixion of flesh:

*Toma lagi nah-e man,
Nah-e dhan, nah-e sukh; kona khudra dan
Chaho na-i kono khudra kripa, bhiksha lagi
Barao ni atur anjali. Accho jagi
Paripurnatar tar-e sarba-badhaheen.*

For thee is no power or wealth or any relaxation from the hard, strenuous ways of life;

Never hast thou stretched a yearning bowl for alms; or hast thou sought any small gift of mercy;

But unflinchingly hast thou kept thyself awake for the solemn realisation of the end.

We have here the picture of a patriot, in whom the love of motherland, saturated with the intentness of devotion, makes him such as

'To look on a noble Form makes noble

Through the sensuous organism that which is higher.'

Both the wings of the Bengal Congress, by now styled the Moderates and the Extremists, invited Rabindranath to preside over the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna. He reiterated his faith in an all-out effort for village reconstruction, which would cement the bond of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, sought to be irreparably snapped by the Separate Electorate.¹² This was under incubation at the Secretariat of India Government and Whitehall.

If then what I have stated in the foregoing lines is the trend and tempo of Rabindranath's political activity after retirement, what is it that gave carping voice the long lease of life it enjoyed on the point of his internationalism? I have a very simple answer to offer. What Rabindranath was doing was not in line with the then valid form of patriotism. Moreover, he did not tire explaining that the history of humanity was seeking to elaborate a definite synthesis in India. The people in the trials and tribulations of their national struggle were, naturally, in no

mood to listen to him. To them it was a luxury. What, however, he was enunciating crystallised and took shape in a presentable form in December, 1921. He then formally inaugurated the Visva-Bharati, through which he sought 'to establish,' as he said, 'a living relationship between the East and the West, to promote international mission of the present age—the unification of mankind.' Since now, he had nothing to call his own, save in terms of Visva-Bharati, to which he made over all his properties of Bolepur, the copyright of his books and the Nobel-prize money.

The internationalist, however, as we have already observed, never failed to be at the old nationalist's post, whenever the occasion here and abroad called for it. He goes to America and there he pleads the cause of India in the context of imperialism as a menace to the peace of the world. He goes to England to address the Quakers in their annual meeting and here too he harps on the selfsame string of India's Independence. And, down to the day when old and bent with age, he stands at the foot of Calcutta Ochterlony Monument to condemn 'the concerted, homicidal attack under cover of darkness on defenceless prisoners of the Hijlee Detention Camp undergoing the most barbarous system of incarceration and the nerve-racking strain of an indefinitely suspended fate.' To sum up in one bald sentence, Rabindranath, to the last, thought of the world as a whole; and wide-awake as he was to everything which touched it, he was, to borrow what Sister Nivedita said of Swami Vivekananda in respect of his motherland, a delicately-poised bell thrilling and vibrating with every sound that falls on it. But to go back.

With the spread of *Swadeshi*, as we were discussing, Volunteer organisations grew up all over Bengal. They combated epidemics, which were by no means few and far between, and did relief works in all visitations of Nature. They conducted free night schools for those, who could not otherwise avail themselves of the rudiments of reading and writing in the ordinary way. Each day as it broke, a small band of volunteers sang round each *mahallah* soul-stirring national songs. People, accustomed to a rather placid domesticity, came to get up in the morning moulded unawares; motherland

¹². Discussed in *The Modern Review* of May, 1957.

being elevated to the rank of divinity. A new socio-political conscience was in the making. Hardly could any one purchase a piece of Manchester cloth or a pinch of Liverpool salt save when it was dark. Agent-provocateurs, set to creating disturbances, bolstered up charges of theft and assault in respect of the nationally forbidden wares; and each Court-proceeding proved a fresh spur to the movement. The day Bengal was officially rent in two was observed with solemn demonstrations. Ovens did not burn except for the small children and the ailing; shops and markets did not open; vehicular traffic did not ply; and, the ordinary avocations of life were almost completely suspended. There were in the morning congregational baths and token unions, each tying the wrist of the other with a piece of thread as a symbol of brotherhood no outside force could assail. In the afternoon there were meetings and processions to reaffirm the vow of *Swadeshi*. These were the days when Gokhale with his kindlier discernment said, 'What Bengal thinks today India thinks tomorrow.' Ramsay MacDonald, as he came here for an on-the-spot study, says in his *Awakening of India*:

"Bengal is idealising India; is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature."

It was now that British character, which had hitherto prided in its appreciation of the dignity of man, revealed itself unabashed, bent upon dividing the Hindus and Mahomedans. 'Red Pamphlets' were circulated amongst the Moslems of East Bengal to wean them away from the *Swadeshi*. The most fantastic of pleas taken was that the *Swadeshi* enriched the Hindus, even if it was obvious to the meanest understanding that *Swadeshi*, at the very first instance, resuscitated the dying weaver-class, who were almost cent per cent Mahomedans. "Do not," to quote one precious line of one such pamphlet, which was made an exhibit in a criminal case, "buy anything from Hindu shops; do not touch articles manufactured by Hindu hands." Still this did not infringe the law, embodied in the Indian Penal Code, as promoting enmity between classes! As an incitement to violence the following that passed with impunity under the very nose of Law and Order has a historical interest:

"You form the majority of population of this province but the Hindus have made themselves rich by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened, the Hindus will starve and become Mahomedans."

The Special Magistrate, himself a Mahomedan, trying the Dewanganj Riot Case, held:

"There was not the least provocation for rioting; the common object of the rioters, who were all Moslems, was evidently to molest the Hindus."

The same Magistrate held in another case:

"The accused had read over a Notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and Nawab Bahadur had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. So after the *Kali's* image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of Hindus were also plundered."

The Subdivisional Officer of Jamalpur, an Englishman of the Indian Civil Service, said in his Report on the Melandahat Riot:

"Some Mussalmans had proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus."

The same Magistrate observed in the Hargilehar abduction case that

"The outrages were due to the announcement that the Government permitted the Mahomedans to marry the Hindu widows in *nika form*."

It is fortunate historically that two Magistrates, one a Moslem and the other an Englishman, felt called upon from a compelling sense of responsibility to record in their findings that the miscreants had in their bonnet the definite idea that what they were doing to make a hell of Hindu life and property and, what is so infinitely humiliating, the honour of Hindu womanhood, had the seal and sanction of the Government behind it.¹³ The voice of Jacob and the hands of Esau, however, cannot indefinitely impose upon people.¹⁴ The Nemesis stepped in.

13. It is stated in *Swadeshi Juger Smriti*, i.e., *Reminiscences of Swadeshi Days*, by Motilal Roy of the Aurobindo School of Politics—the book was published in the hectic days of censorship, August, 1931—that a Mahomedan was fined Rs. 2-8 for molesting a Hindu widow and another Rs. 5 for rape.

14. Daniel O'Connell says that English people have the characteristics of a poker.

"One of the alarming effects of the Bengal episode," says Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Mr. Jinnah, "was on the character of the Congress, so mild in its policy up to then. The dramatic appeal against the British startled all India, and to hold their own as a political force, liberal-minded men like G. K. Gokhale and Dadabhai Nourojee had to assume a more belligerent look." I would justify this in the concrete. Dadabhai, who had pleaded even throughout 1906 in *The Hindusthan Review* and other papers for 'Self-Government under British paramountcy,' said as President of the Calcutta Congress, December, 1906:

"All our sufferings in the past demand before God and men reparation. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our right, the whole matter can be comprised in one word Self-Government or Swaraj."

To leave no room for doubt, he said, that by Swaraj he meant Self-Government as in the United Kingdom. This deliverance of Nourojee has an added significance, because, ever since Bengal plunged headlong into the cultural-cum-political revolt of the Swadeshi movement, he had been counselling her never to cut adrift from British anchorage. In fact, the apologists of British rule sneered at him that he came to warn Bengal face to face but left blessing her. Gokhale had said as President of the Benares Congress, December, 1905:

"What the Congress fully recognises is whatever advance we seek must be within the empire."

Two months after the aforesaid Calcutta Congress, he committed himself to a statement that he shared in full the aspirations of his countrymen. "I wish an Indian," he said, "to be in India what an Englishman is in England."

The situation in Bengal was fast coming to a head. The combustible elements of the Mahomedan community, we have seen, were being ignited ablaze. Almost the entire community was being waylaid over the appetising prospects of Separate Electorate, which, to anticipate the future, proved the seed-bed for the Partition of India. Besides, Bengal was face to face with the bomb explosion at Muzaffarpur. It was flabbergasting. It was revealing. What

sense of horror it roused for having killed two innocent ladies instead of Kingsford, formerly the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, who had made himself obnoxious for his flair for corporal punishment upon people in political cases,¹⁵ was sooner than ever transmuted into sympathy, akin to admiration, for the two assailants well within their teens. 'Do they herald a new day?' is the question that throbbed in every heart. It was getting clear that a section of the nationalists had taken to violence, goaded to desperation by the most ingenious Black and Tan passing for communal barbarities. 'Blood has defiled the land and the land cannot be cleansed of that blood except by the blood of him who first shed the blood' is a text of the Old Testament, on the basis of which Morley canonises Cromwell. It is a dynamic principle that has lured youth everywhere into crusades; and it was no exception in Bengal. They were out to wipe out the charge of cowardice levelled against the people a bit too flippantly. They would at least break the pathetic inertia of the Indian mind and prepare it to live dangerously.

So level-headed a jurist as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was constrained to say in bitter terms:

"We have been called yelping jackals, wolves and chattering *bhaddarlogs*; and, the Viceroy has been described a nincompoop, the Secretary of State a dummy, because they would not reduce us to the position of whipped curs. Again, one Anglo-Indian paper spoke of the 'organised scoundrelism' of East Bengal Hindus and threatened us with the gallows and the sword to be used as remorselessly as in the dark days of the Mutiny. . . . It is not cowardice, whatever Mr. Macleod might say¹⁶ that prevents our young men from retaliating. It is just their loyalty to their much-reviled leaders that have kept them in check."

As we read of these Macleods, the Johnny calves of the defunct East India Company, we feel amazed how these people indulged in accents

15. Sushil Sen, a lad of sixteen, made history; while he was being flogged in the Presidency Jail. Each stripe that cut into his flesh drew out from him a lusty shout of *Bande Mataram*.

16. The reference is to some speeches at St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta.

of vulgar raucosity against the people of the soil even in their hilarious moments of whisky and haggy, associated a bit antithetically with St. Andrews. As we read of this race-arrogance belching their vitriolic wrath on the East Bengal Hindus, the history of Indian Independence, we have no manner of hesitation to say, stands travestied, if it is loth, nay, even slow to acknowledge how these people stood the steel whips and iron bars, the Black and Tan, and the consummate blandishments of the most ingeniously, stringently organised bureaucracy of the world. And, where are they as Freedom has dawned on India?

Rabindranath spoke of the cult of violence as the inevitable sequel of the Government employing brute terrorism by its military and police on one hand and dividing the people as to disrupt the very fabric of society on the other in order to stamp out the national upsurge. He stressed the ultimate futility of violence in compassing the freedom of India. But his contention that violence is opposed to the genius of our culture leaves us cold. To refer to texts, which admit of contrary interpretation and were enunciated at a time when there was no impact of foreign forces either physical or intellectual, detracts much from their soundness and validity. And, it will be worse than folly to ignore in this connection Raja Rammohun Roy's warning that excess of civilization contributed as much to India's political undoing.

I have often wondered if Rabindranath, not inured to the hard, dangerous ways of life, was as much outflanked by this grim manifestation of people's anger. He wound up *Gora*, as we have seen, by marriage—the very antidote, the Government at one time bargained for in the release of a revolutionary. Late in life, Rabindranath wrote his fiction *Char Adhyay* having for its theme the futility of the revolutionary movement. The story weaves round a girl Ela by name. She is both the centripetal and centrifugal force of a certain revolutionary

group of Bengal. It has been possible to decoy her to the perilous wayside, because her step-mother did not devote much thought to encumber her with the crippling responsibilities of a married life. It is certainly not fair to commit an artist to the viewpoint of a phase of life he portrays. But since I have considered it a signal achievement of Rabindranath to have eyed askance on what is in the least subversive of society founded on marriage, I do not feel happy to see him drift to the other end. He depicts Ela's revolutionary urge as a distemper, born of the ennui in life despairing of, what they call, self-fulfilment by marriage. It is, I am afraid, a left-handed compliment to the institution of marriage, on which countless ambitions have floundered with minimum consciousness. Oscar Wilde's fascinating paradox, a woman inspires man with masterpieces and then stands in the way of their realisation, may be, after all, a fling at marriage to equate its piquant realism with all the fervid epistles paid to it.

Be that as it may, I cannot afford to stray afield to discuss the Bengal Revolutionary Movement. It is no cutaneous eruption. What did Surendranath Banerjea mean by teaching Bengal youth Garibaldi and 'Mazzini, who were for honey-combing Italy with secret associations? Swami Vivekananda cared not a straw for the salvation of the soul. Lord Chelmsford was at his wit's end why the martial Punjab could be restored to peace in three months' time and it was continuing in Bengal for such an inordinate length of time. The great revolutionary Jaadugopal Mookherji says that its seed was formally sown in Calcutta in 1902 by Jatindra-nath Banerji (Swami Niralamba) and it was a fully developed tree with fruits and flowers in Netaji Subhas Bose on the field of Kohima. Of the many tributes—none strikes me so affectionate as Rabindranath's

आरे पागल चाँपा, आरे उन्मत्त बकूल,
कार तरे सब छुटे एलि सारभे आकूल ।



AIM AND ART OF TRANSLATION

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THE aims of translating literature from one language into another vary according to subject-matter. Classical literature in the West is available from the times of Homer and Hesiod (circa 900 B.C., according to Herodotus) containing thoughts and descriptions of a lofty and imposing character, and for the history of the religious faith of Greece, productions of the highest importance. In the East, the oldest book of Indian literature goes back to at least 1500 B.C. What should we think of a Greek scholar who could read Euripides or Anakreon, but could not construe Homer? What will be the position of a Sanskrit scholar who professes to pass in Sakuntala and Amaru, but is unable to understand the best hymns of the Rig-Veda? More fundamental from access to the original is the loss to humanity if neither an Indian nor a Greek understands the ideals, thoughts and actions of each other. Here translation helps, however imperfectly. Beginning from the Pehlvi translation about fifth century A.C., the Panchatantra has been translated into more languages in the world than any other book with the possible exception of the Bible. "*Il faisait parler les betes pour instruire les hommes*" (he made the beasts speak to instruct men) drew the world closer in spite of its diverse languages. To-day we are at the beginning of a new era which may be marked by a general *rapprochement* between the nations. The need to know and understand one another is being felt more and more. Translations will assume an ever-increasing importance; indeed, so far as literature and music are concerned, it is safe to assert that *fas est et ab hoste doceri*.

Who for the last half a century has done more for literature and music than Rabindranath Tagore, combining the noblest in the East and the West? To one speaking Bengali, his words inspire exaltation akin to ecstasy. It is not to our credit that we have not done more for those who speak other tongues,—through translations. Restraint is often wisely due to a fear of committing sacrilege: "*apres lui, d'apres lui, mais jamais comme lui.*" But the risk is to a large extent minimised by the words themselves. Very curious is the determination which some

words, indeed many, seem to manifest, that their poetry shall not die; or, if it dies in one form, that it shall revive in another. Thus if there is danger that, transferred from one language to another, they shall no longer speak to the imagination of men as they did of old, they will make to themselves a new life, they will acquire a new soul in the room of that which has ceased to quicken and inform them any more. Take an example: Germans, knowing nothing of carbuncles, had naturally no word of their own for them, and borrowed the Latin 'carbunculus', originally meaning 'a little live coal', to designate these precious stones of a fiery red. But 'carbunculus', word full of poetry and life for Latin-speaking men, would have been only an arbitrary sign for as many as were ignorant of that language. What then did these, or, what, rather, did the working genius of the language, do? It adopted, but, in adopting modified slightly yet effectually the word, changing it into 'Karfunkel', 'funkeln' signifying 'to sparkle'; thus reproducing in an entirely novel manner the image of the bright sparkling of the stone, for every knower of the German tongue. Tagore's own translations illustrate this phenomenon.

फुलेर बने के दुकेछेरे सोनार जहिर

निकषे घसये कमल आ मरि मरि ।

Alas, a jeweller has come into the flower garden,

He wants to appraise the truth of a lotus
by rubbing it against his touchstone.

—(The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, January '26)

'Sonar jahari' is transformed into 'jeweller' which means nothing less.

Cf. Gitanjali:

'What divine drink would thou have, my God, from the overflow-cup of my life?'

The word 'divine' aptly reminiscent of the illustrious hymnologist Adam of St. Victor, quaintly recalls the complaint of Baxter that Independents called Presbyterian ministers not 'divines' but 'dry vines.' 'The overflowing cup of my life' is profoundly instructive.

We, who speak the language that Rabindra-

th spoke, feel that the message of this Poet-Philosopher of the age should be made available in modern European languages, but translations must be made by those who can view that perpetual seeming alternation between the two planes—the plane of vision and the plane of creation, the form within and the garment that clothes it—which may sometimes distract the artist himself. The prophet Jeremiah once said (and modern prophets have doubtless had occasion to recognise the truth of this remark) that he seemed to the people round him only as “one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument.” But he failed to understand that it was only through this quality of voice and instrument that his lamentations had any vital force or even any being, and that if the poem goes the message goes. If all progress lies in an ever greater flexibility of speech, a finer adaptation to the heights and depths of the mobile human soul, the task of the translator is an arduous, spiritual and intellectual endeavour, only to be achieved by patient and deliberate labour and much daring. Beyond mechanical skill, the translator's heart is at the same time a sensitively pulsating organ with fleshy strings stretched from ventricle to valves, a harp on which the great artist may play until the hearts of poet, translator and audience throb in unison. A recent publication of Visva-Bharati, Rabindranath's *Syamali* translated into English from the original Bengali by Sheila Chatterjee, fulfils the task by a remarkable mastery over the foreign medium and a vital insight into the original.

Syamali was composed in 1936 and first published by Visva-Bharati in Bhadra 1943. It consists of an Utsarga and 21 poems: Cf. original and translation—

सेदिन छिले तुमि आलो आंधारेर माम्खानटिते,
बिधातार मानसलोकेर
मर्तसीमाय पा बाडिये
बिम्बेर रूप-आञ्जिनार नाछदुवारे ।—(द्वैत)

You were then between darkness and light,
Standing at the world's portals of beauty,
One foot stretched towards the earth
end
Of the Creator's dreamland.

—(Tr. Duality, p. 1)

याव आमि ।

तोमार ब्यथाबिहीन विदायदिने

आमार भाषामिटेर 'परे गाइबे दोयेल लेज दुलिये ।
एक साहानाइ बाजे तोमार बाँशिते, ओगो श्यामली,
येदिन आसि आबार येदिन याइ चले । —(श्यामली)

I will go.

The day you part from me with no pain
The Doyel will sing swinging its tail on my
forsaken homestead.

There is but one tune of Sahana that
plays on your flute,

Oh green beauty,

On the day I come and the day I go away.

—(Tr. *Syamali*, p. 73.)

आमार रक्ते नित्ये आसे तोमार सुर—

भ्देर डाक, बन्यार डाक, आगुनेर डाक,

पाँजरेर उपर आछाइ खाओया

मरणसागरेर डाक,

घरेर शिकल-नाडा उदासी हाओयार डाक ।

—(बाँशीओयाला)

Your tune brings into my blood

The call of the storm, the call of floods,

The call of Fire,

The call of the sea of death

Dashing against the ribs,

The call of the insouciant wind rattling the
knockers on the doors.

—(Tr. The Flute-Player, p. 41.)

The divine dance of satyrs and nymphs to the sound of pipes—it is the symbol of life which in one form or another has floated before human eyes from the days of the sculptors of Greek bas-reliefs to the men of our own day who catch the glimpse of new harmonies in the pages of *L'Esprit Nouveau*. We cannot but follow the piper that knows how to play even to our own destruction. There may be much that is objectionable about Man. But he has that engaging trait. And the world will end when he has lost it. Through the art of translation,—author, translator and listener are moved by pulses whose primary source is in the heart of a cosmos from which we all spring.

Moliere's *Jourdain* had been speaking prose for more than forty years without knowing it. Mankind has been thinking poetry throughout its long career and remained equally ignorant. Competent translations of Tagore will make ki of all mankind.

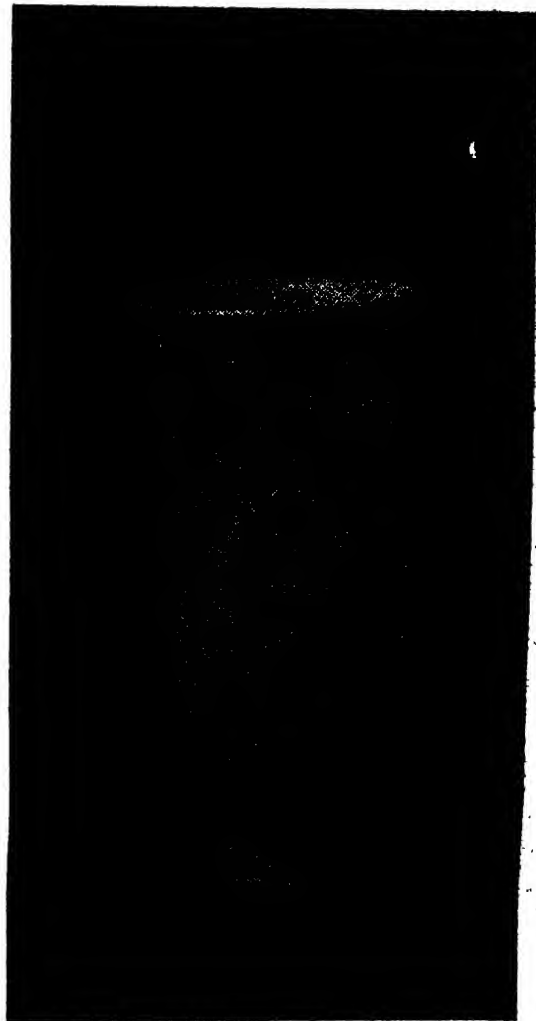
God, the All-Creator, has infused the urge of 'creating' in man, His true effigy. To 'create' something is, so to say, the inherent nature of man. Man creates sometimes out of emotion or feeling and sometimes out of necessity. Thus in the remotest age once when he got tired he perhaps took clay in hand and began to think of making a pot in which he could hold water to quench his thirst after day's hard labour; this thought of 'creating' was undoubtedly born out of his own necessity. Again, when man began to think more deeply he tried to make a bigger pot or jar to keep food in store for future or to put the remains of his deceased ancestor or relation after cremation; the latter thought was perhaps the outcome of his feeling or emotion. In this way, out of sheer necessity he began to create implements or weapons from iron, cloth to cover his body from wool from the sheep or from skin of animals, shelter from stones of mountains or from wood of trees.

From the very earliest time the potter was one of the most useful and respected members of the community and the potter's art was always regarded in high esteem. In India the potter is the hereditary officer in every village and in an Indian village perhaps there is no man happier than the hereditary potter or *kumhar*.

It is however difficult to ascertain the place of origin of pottery. The most plausible answer to this is that the idea of 'creating' pottery had perhaps cropped up simultaneously in different parts of the globe. The history of pottery tells us the story of human civilisation which though much developed would be taken to be still in its infancy by moderners. Potteries made by the people of different countries gives us rather a clear picture of the progress of mankind in his thought and ideas. The magnificent production of ancient potteries depict the disciplined thought in men of that time, the balanced way of expression of men of that age.

Egypt, the cradle-land of civilisation, knew the art of making pottery in the remote period of the third and the fourth dynasties, i.e., between 3000-2000 B.C. During the fourth and subsequent dynasties earthen vessels were employed for the ordinary purposes of domestic life. The clue to the date of these earthenware

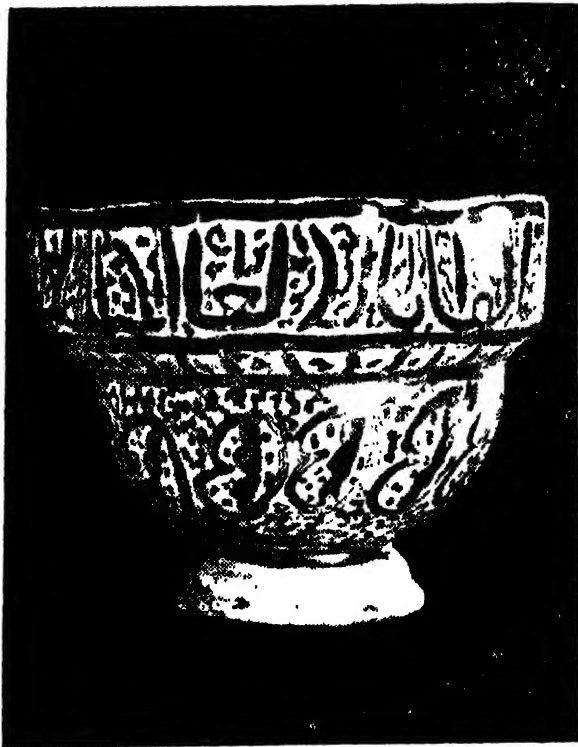
vessels could be found in the hieroglyphs. In Egypt the art of making pottery is attributed, like the other arts and sciences, to the invention of the gods. "Num, the directing spirit of the universe, and oldest of created beings, first exercised the potter's art, and moulded the human race on his wheel." The Egyptians had also the knowledge of producing glazed pottery which represented the porcelain of the present day and fayences of



Pottery from Mohenjodaro

the middle ages. But the modern-day porcelain is made from *kaolin* (white China clay) and *pentuntse* or *pai-tun-tzu* (Feldspathic rock) and this kind of porcelain is termed hard-paste (or true) porcelain. In fact, the Egyptian pottery lacked the 'translucence, the compactness and the hardness' of modern porcelain but it bore testimony to the fact that the people of this part of the globe had the knowledge of the vitreous

glaze which they used to apply on the potteries and which has still remained a wonder to the modern scientists. The art of making pottery of different types and motifs did not die with the passing away of the civilisation of the land. The continuity in this branch of art can be noticed from a statement of Nasir-i-Khusran, who visited Egypt in the middle of the 11th century of our era. "At Misr (Fustat) they make earthenware of all kinds, so fine and diaphanous that one can see one's hand through it. They make bowls, cups, plates and other vessels, decorate them with colours resembling Bukalanun, so that the shades change according to the position in which the vessel is held."



Glazed pottery from Persia

Like Egypt, India, China, Japan and Persia also narrate a very interesting story of the potter and his art. The Indus Valley or Harappa civilisation which goes back to c. 3000-2000 B.C. bears testimony to the fact that the Indus Valley people were well acquainted with this art; and hundreds of specimens, both in full and in fragments, have been found at sites like Mohenjo-daro, Chunho-daro, Harappa, Amri and other places. The art of colouring, the application of glaze and geometric pattern on the potteries clearly show the high level of technicality, the

richness of thought, and the disciplined life of the people of that area. The style and motif on the potteries of the land on the Euphrates and the Tigris present a close resemblance to those of the Indus Valley and Egypt, and there is every likelihood that the art of making pottery grew simultaneously in the lands stretching on the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Nile and the Indus. As a matter of fact, clay on the riparian lands was easily procurable and there is no doubt that the people living by the sides of these rivers took clay as the medium for the necessities of their daily use and for giving concrete shapes to their thoughts and feelings.

In Mohenjo-daro and Harappa the regular striations inside every vessel show that these potteries must have been shaped on the potter's wheel. The use of the wheel shows also a distinct advancement in the art of making pottery. The earliest method of making pots was 'to twist damp clay into long ropes and to twist these round and round, into the designed shape. More clay was then pressed into the hollows between the coils and carefully smoothed flat with the fingers.'

The Indian potter's wheel is of the simplest and rudest kind. "The clay to be moulded is heaped on the centre of the wheel, and the potter squats down on the ground before it. A few vigorous turns and away spins the wheel, round and round. The designs in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were painted on the red surface with a brush before firing, the material used being a thick, black or purplish-black paint made from magniferous haematite.' The most popular design, which occurs on the potteries found in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and other Indus Valley sites, is composed of a series of intersecting circles, 'a pattern which does not appear on the wares of any other ancient civilisation and which is somewhat bewildering to the eye when it forms the only decoration on a jar.' Another very interesting and common device is the tree pattern. No human figure, except on a sherd from Harappa, can be found as design on the pottery of Mohenjo-daro where the usual designs are the figures of animals, birds, snakes or fish.

In Japan the pottery of Nippon, according to historians, belong to the period of 660 B.C. from which time the history of Japan begins. It is said that one Oosin-tsumi was the father

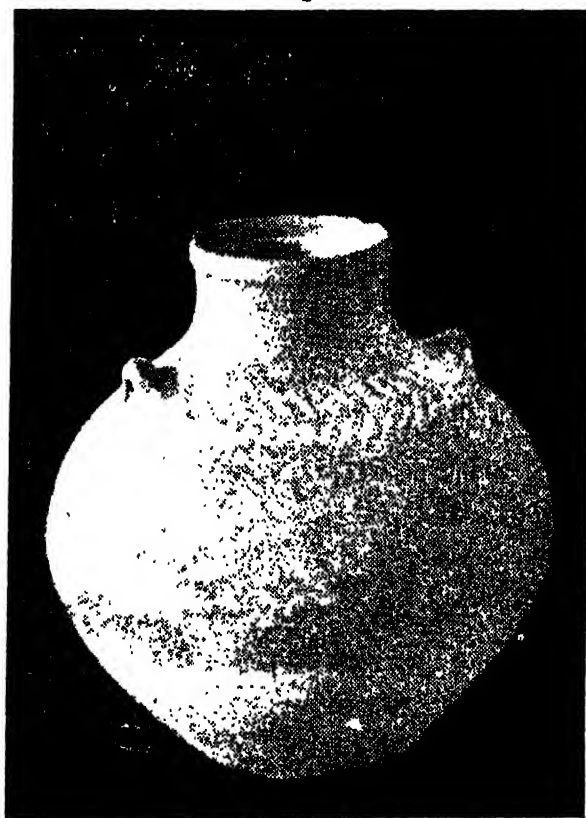
of the art of making pots in that country. Vases of this period are usually found in ancient tombs, and because of their claw-like ornaments in hard stone, they are known as *magutama tsubo* or precious jewel vases. These potteries were perhaps produced by a race which preceded the existing Japanese and the most interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that we find a close affinity and similarity in the making of these pots with those discovered in North America and in certain parts of Europe. Common fire-dried pots were in use in different parts of the world from the remotest times and the first potters working in Japan most probably came from Korea about the beginning of the Christian era.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. when the doctrine of the Buddha engulfed the vast stretches of China and the farther East the Chinese influenced to a great extent the inhabitants of Japan in the realms of art and religion. But the potter's wheel in Japan, it is reported, was invented by a priest of Idzumi in the early thirties of the eighth century A.D. 'The ceramic products of old Japan are amongst its most precious art.' The tea-ceremony (*Chano-yu*) had an influence upon the potter's art in Japan. The most important objects required in the ceremony were tea-jars (*Chaire*) in which powdered tea was kept and tea-bowls (*Chawan*), in which it was mixed with water and from which it was drunk. Some of the most interesting works of the artist-potters was displayed upon such pieces. The burning of incense was another function which brought into service certain utensils, fashioned in pottery by master-makers. In date-marks and decoration the Japanese artists followed closely their Chinese brothers.

In China the oldest finds of certain potteries are gathered in Au-yang (Honan). In fact with the beginning of the Han dynasty the art of making pottery in China flourished. 'As to the dating of the numerous clay vessels, both glazed and unglazed, smooth and decorated in relief with hunting scenes and animals in flying gallop, there can exist no possible doubt. The greatest contribution of China to the world in this line is the invention of porcelain in the early Tang time.' Porcelain was not invented, as in material, but came into being from the desire for a thin, transparent material, probably

to imitate jade, and was certainly produced as early as the sixth century A.D. But foreign influence can be noticed clearly on the potteries of the Tang period.

Persia was closely in touch with China and it might be possible that a number of Chinese workmen was brought over to Persia or Chinese potters might have come over to Persia of their own accord. Sir Malcolm says in his *History of Persia* that a hundred families of Chinese artisans and engineers came to Persia with Halaku Khan in about 1256 A.D. The common name for Persian earthenware is Kashi Kari or Kashan work. The most common pottery in Persia is what is made of reddish clay and varnished with a single colour.



Pottery from Baluchistan

Besides these Asiatic countries the art of making potteries is highly developed in countries like Scandinavia, Greece, Crete, Spain, France, Denmark and Russia. The Greeks were the first in Europe to make fine pottery. Long before history was written the Greek potter had sat at the wheel making pots for women to carry water from the wells and great jars to hold wine and oil. Pliny has highly praised the Spanish pottery of Saguntum near Vallencia.

excellent lusted ware was made at Mercia and in the villages of the province of Vallencia. In Scandinavia the tombs of the earlier Iron age sometimes contain vessels of very good clay ornamented with geometrical pattern. The ancient inhabitants of the Gallic soil (France) manufactured various types of pottery. Here also we find geometrical pattern, ornamental

combination indicating very dexterous handling and keen acumen. The close similarity and affinity of the potteries of the different parts of the world show that there was always a commonness and oneness in thought and idea, in technique and expression among the inhabitants even when one group is separated from the other by time and space.

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MILES OF KNOWLEDGE

The United States Library of Congress

On the hundreds of miles of shelves in the United States Library of Congress are contained the history of the country and an important record of the world. The Library, which is only a few minutes walk from the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., houses over 35 million items containing information which is available to anyone who requests it.

with material shipped from England in eleven trunks and one map case. By 1897 when the Library was moved to its present location, there were 1½ million items.

Through Congressional appropriations, transfers of material from other U.S. Government agencies, benefactions of public-spirited citizens and foundations, deposit of books for



The main Reading Room is a spacious octagonal hall where the general subject-matter is catalogued



Each day the Library's Public Reference section receives more than 400 requests for information, by telephone, telegraph and letter

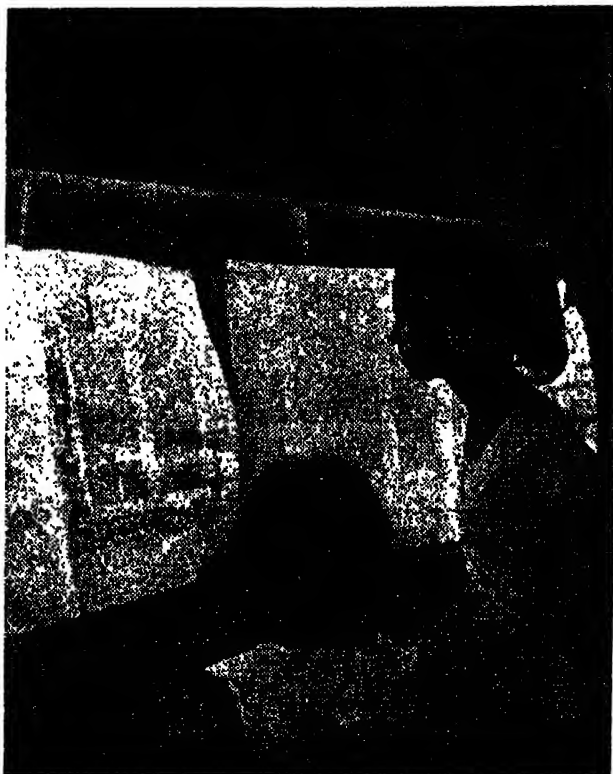
Originally established as a reference service for the use of the United States legislature in 1880, the Library was started in the Capitol

copyright, and a system of international exchange of documents, the institution has become one of the world's great libraries. Today, its

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

collections include more than ten million books and pamphlets, millions of manuscripts on American history and culture, and thousands of bound newspaper volumes, and phonograph recordings of music, poetry and book readings and other works.

However, the quantity of material contained within the Library of Congress is not as important as the diversification and availability of the subject-matter. Today a government official or private citizen, a student or a scholar, an Ameri-



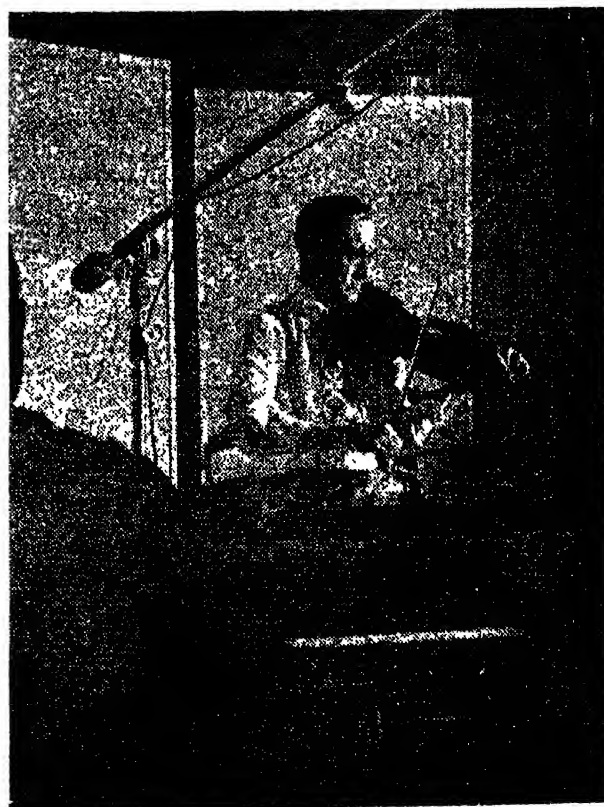
The Gutenberg Bible, the first book produced on movable metal type in the Western world (in 1456), is on permanent exhibit

can citizen or foreign visitor may use the Library. Trained specialists, such as economists and historians, as well as expert librarians are there to help whoever requests assistance.

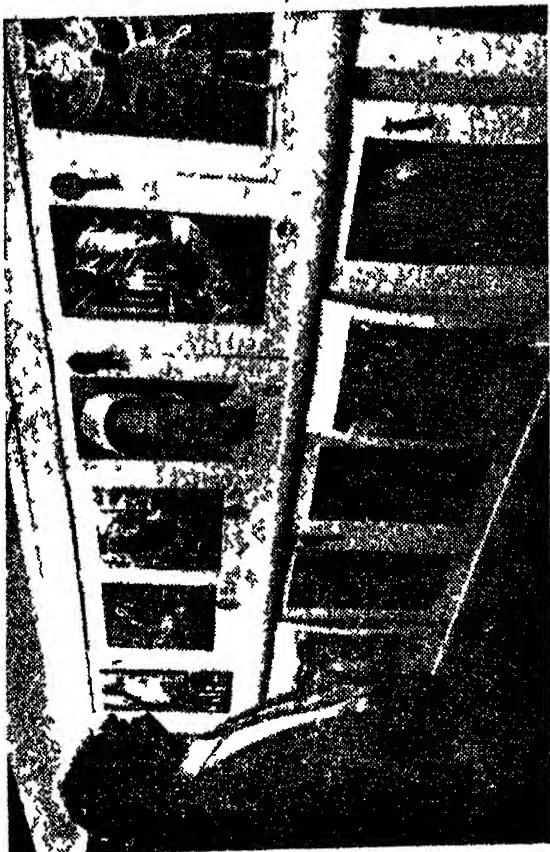
The inquiring individual has many specialized divisions in which to find the information he seeks. For example he can look in the Manuscript, Map, Music, Orientalia or Hispanic Divisions. Perhaps what he needs is in the Slavic, Science, Prints and Photographs, or Rare Book rooms. There is the Law Library which contains nearly one million volumes and pamphlets in many languages covering all known legal systems, both ancient and modern. The Division for the



Unable to see, this visitor listens to recordings of a book selected by him from a wide collection of classical and current literature



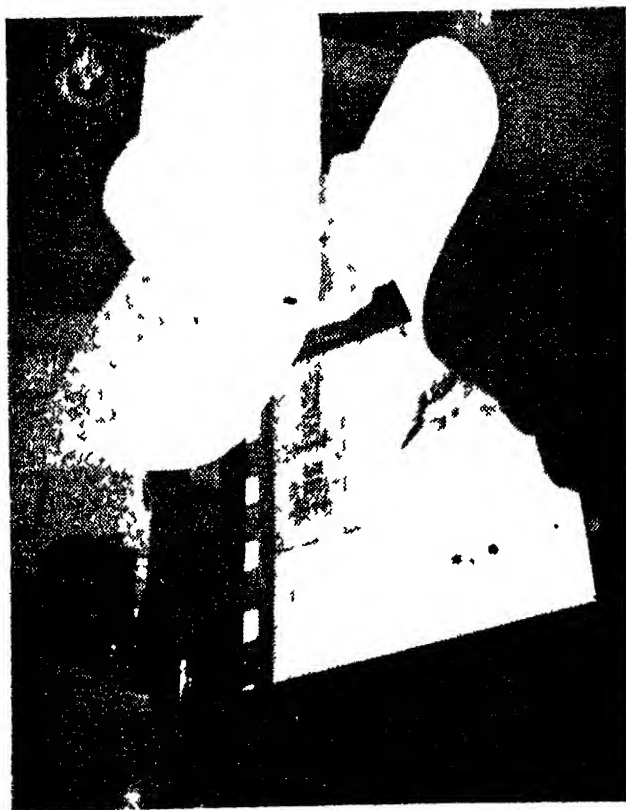
The history of America is now being recorded in sound as well as in print



Special exhibits of photographic prints and letters and other famous people are displayed in library halls and corridors



The reading room one of the library's 21 specialised reading rooms contains the largest collection of Russian books



Through the use of an automatic device, the reader turns the film to the desired page which is projected on a screen



The library lends books to other libraries in the USSR and

Blind has books printed in Braille or Moon type which are made available to blind persons throughout the United States and its overseas territories. For those who cannot use Braille there are entire books and poetry readings on phonograph records.

Among the Library's staff of almost 2,400 persons are employees proficient in one or more of 60 languages. No matter what country a reader is from, there is someone at the Library who can help him find what he is looking for.

In 1870 a law was passed in the United States requiring all publishers to deposit two copies of a book in the Library's Copyright Office before a copyright claim could be registered. A large percentage of the books currently published in the United States are acquired by the Library in this way.

The Library offers not only the printed page to the visitor, but appeals to his ear as well. Each year there are a series of concerts, lectures and literary readings in the Library's auditorium. Five Stradivari instruments and Tourte bows, gifts to the Library, are frequently

used in performances by the Budapest String Quartet. Their donor did not want the instruments to be only show-pieces, but rather wanted them to be heard by music-lovers.

Today, the Library continues to perform important services for members of the U.S. Congress. As requested by them, the Legislative Reference Service compiles data and statistics, produces translations of articles and documents, makes graphs and charts, prepares analytical studies of complex problems and supplies other background material and facts essential in congressmen's daily legislative work and in filling a wide variety of requests made by their constituent.

While history is being made, it is also being preserved. Therefore, at the Library of Congress the public is welcome to inspect today's newspaper as well as the five-century-old Gutenberg Bible. This enormous, diversified fund of knowledge on the 250 miles of shelves in the Library continues to grow as man's knowledge of himself and his world grows.—
L.S.S.

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SITA RAM SHAH (1877-1957) **An Obituary Tribute**

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

IN November last year, the hand of death has snatched away an old resident of Benares, belonging to an old aristocratic family who was held in very high esteem in the society of the United Provinces. He did not quite belong to the present generation, but to a generation which has now passed away. He was the last representative of this older generation and he represented a type of the old educated gentry of the aristocratic society, who did not live a life of idle ease, rolling in the comforts of his own wealth, but as a highly cultured man of education and breadth of outlook, gracefully taking his part in the life of the society in which he lived, and which he adorned by many qualities of head and heart. A handsome person of great beauty, and an individual of great personal magnetism, he was in many ways a

picturesque personality not only by virtue of his personal charm and brilliant social virtues, but by virtue of his many accomplishments and cultural interests. He came from a family with high intellectual traditions and traditions of great public service. One of his ancestors, Monohor Das, who was a successful businessman in the City of Calcutta more than a century ago, is still remembered with respect for his many charities and public services, one of which still survives in the large tank in Chowringhee opposite the New Market. Before the Corporation of Calcutta was established, good drinking water was in great demand amongst the residents of a growing city and this act of charity of Monohor Das was long forgotten until three years ago, when a marble tablet was set up on the east bank of this tank commemorating his great public service.

From this family have come Dr. Bhagwan Das, the great sage and philosopher, Dr. Sri Ranjan, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad and Hon'ble Sri Prakash, the founder of the famous Vidyapith of Benares, and the present Governor of the State of Bombay. Another member of this family is a great champion of women's education and a famous collector of ancient Indian Coins.

But Sitaram Shah was a brilliant luminary in his own light and did not shine in the reflected glory of the other members of his family, distinguished as they are in many spheres of activity.



Sita Ram Shah

Son of Sri Madhav Das-ji, Sitaram Shah was born in October 1877. Educated in the Queen's College, Benares, he passed his B.A. Examination from the Allahabad University in 1896, and joined the Jammu and Kashmir State Service in 1901. His many talents were rewarded by the State and he was appointed as the Private Secretary and, thereafter, a Minister in the service of H. H. Maharajah Pratap Singh, a position which he resigned in 1910 to come back to take his place in the city life of Benares, where he was appointed an Honorary Magistrate, an office which he resigned as a protest against the adverse policy of the

Government towards the new National Movement. His stay in Kashmir invested him with two charming phases of his personality. He became fond of physical exercises and developed as a sturdy young athlete—a rare accomplishment amongst aristocrats. From his early years he became a trained shikari, well-known for his fine marksmanship and his house is still loaded with numerous trophies of animals' heads and tiger-skins. He was an all-round sportsman shining equally in cricket, tennis, polo, and billiards. He was a close associate of Dr. Annie Besant in the Theosophical Movement in Benares and he helped in many ways the founding of the Central Hindu College, which institution he served in various capacities. He took an energetic part in many educational, social, philanthropic and cultural organizations, e.g., Kashi Vidya Pith, Central Hindu College and School, Kashi Club, Agatwal Sports Club, Agarwal Samaj, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Ramakrishna Mission Hospital, Bharat Kala Bhavan, and the Benares Hindu University. His literary activities were no less distinguished and are recorded in his translation of the *Gita*, and several *Upanisads* in Hindi verse and in a book on Animal Life, based on his experiences in many hunting expeditions.

But Sitaram Shah will be best remembered as a collector and connoisseur of Indian Painting, a unique accomplishment and a role of national services, which is now assuming a great significance in the history of the study of Indian Art in the new setting of a free and nationalist India. In the days of his youth the products of Indian Art were looked down upon by even the educated section of Indians and it is a matter of wonder how, an athlete, pre-occupied with games of hunting and other branches of sports, could develop a love for mediaeval Indian painting. In the present context in the many developments in the fields of Indian Art is great service in collecting and amassing a formidable assembly of great masterpieces of Pahari painting is a service of valuable national significance. It is the highly gifted connoisseurship in Indian painting and the critical eye of Sitaram Shah which could pick out the choice masterpieces and gather them in a storehouse of great national treasures. Considering the large number of Indian paintings that have been exported out of India to

enrich European and American Museums, thus denuding the wealth of Indian Art-treasures during the last fifty years, Sitaram's services to the cause of national art cannot be too highly praised. Carried away by blazing emotions in the struggle for political freedom, our great leaders had no time to take steps to stop the tragic drain of the Art-treasures of India for several generations. If Sitaram Shah had not collected and preserved a very large number of the chosen masterpieces of Moghul painting, India would have been much poorer in her national assets and historical records and we should have to travel to Europe and America to study the Great Masters of our great historical epoch. Nobody in India knew of the great art-collection of Sitaram Shah before 1907, when Coomaraswamy examined the collection and pronounced it as a unique hoard of great masterpieces of supreme value for the understanding and appreciation of India in the sphere of painting. Since Coomaraswamy's appreciation the fame of this collection has travelled across the whole world and the residence of Sitaram Shah has become a temple, visited by hundreds of tourists and connoisseurs of art and a place

of great attraction to all pilgrims to the sacred city. There are thousands of industrial magnets, rich bankers, and merchant-princes in India today, but there are hardly more than a dozen collectors of the art-treasures of India. And the name of Sitaram Shah as a collector and connoisseur of Indian painting will be for ever cherished in national memory for his great service to a great national cause and, it is hoped, will inspire our future citizens to make equal contributions to the study of our national culture, now considerably impoverished by the continuous drain of its art-treasures for a period of more than a century. Appreciation of the Fine Arts and the scholarly study of our Art-history have not yet found its place in our Universities and hundreds of students are filing out from the portals of our temples of learning, year after year, completely oblivious of the supreme spiritual values of our national art. If our educated citizens are able to recover their national consciousness in Art in some future time, they will be able to realize what services Sitaram Shah has rendered to the cause of national art.

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SYRIA—THE CRADLE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

BY Z. H. KAZMI

THE cradle of Arab nationalism, Syria or Suriya as it is called by the Syrians, has during the past ten years, occasionally made headlines in the world press. The present tension in West Asia has once again turned the spotlight on this strategically situated country.

Stretching along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, Syria occupies the North-Western part of the great Arabian Peninsula. It has an area of 66,046 square miles and is inhabited by nearly 4 million people. The country has the usual Mediterranean climate and is sunny, dry and healthy.

The 'veil of antiquity shrouds the exact time when the human race first set its foot on this fertile land, yet the Semitic tribes with their flocks of sheep and goats are known to have wandered on the Syrian pastures centuries

before the dawn of civilization and they were in all probability its first settlers.

Flanked by the ancient empires, Syria has, except for a few golden epochs, seldom enjoyed complete peace and prosperity throughout its nearly five thousand-year-old history. In 2,750 B.C. Akkadians, of Semitic origin, under their great leader, Sargon I, founded an empire over the vast region now called Syria and Iraq.

With the decay of the Akkadian Empire, Syria was occupied by the Babylonians. They were followed in turn by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians again, the Persians, the Romans, the Muslim Arabs, the Turks and the French. In 1944 the Syrians wrested independence from their French exploiters after many a blood-bath and declared their country a republic.

Syria has a unicameral assembly elected by the people every four years. The assembly elects the president and appoints the Council of Ministers for the majority party.



Historic bridge over the Euphrates at the city of Der-al-Zor

Now a bone of contention between the world's two power-blocks, this young republic was repeatedly shaken by the internal disorders and foreign intrigues during the years 1919 to 1954 and its capital Damascus has during this short period witnessed as many as four *coup d'etats*. President Shukry Bey Alkuwatly was forced to resign by Col. Husni Zaim who installed himself as president in March, 1949. In a military uprising led by Hanavi, Col. Sami, Col. Zaim was overthrown, arrested and executed on August 11, 1949. Col. Hanavi, however, soon restored the power to the political leaders. The Greater Syria Scheme—formation of a single state consisting of Syria, Jordan and Iraq—sponsored by the late King Abdulla of Jordan in 1951, sharply divided the

public opinion in Syria, and paved the way for yet another coup in which Lt. General Adib Shishkly seized the power. In January, 1954 Sultan Altarash, the leader of the warlike Druze tribe of Jabl-e-Druze (Southern Syria) raised

the standard of revolt against Shishkly's regime. He was later supported by a number of military officers headed by Captain Mustafa Hamaduni. Finding the situation out of his control, General

Shishkly fled to Saudi Arabia and the country once again returned to the constitutional ways, and the reins of Government have since remained in the hands of the elected leaders.

Sixty-six-year-old Shukri Bey Alkuwatly, the present President of the Syrian Republic, was elected to the post in 1955 for the third time. His career, inextricably, linked with the Arab struggle for liberation from the foreign yoke, is a saga of sacrifices and self-denial. He plunged himself in the nationalist movement in 1915 and though repeatedly arrested, tortured and twice sentenced to death in ab-

sentia, he continued the freedom battle until his country achieved complete independence. During his presidentship, Alkuwatly has initiated many reforms and development projects which have brought prosperity to the people. In foreign

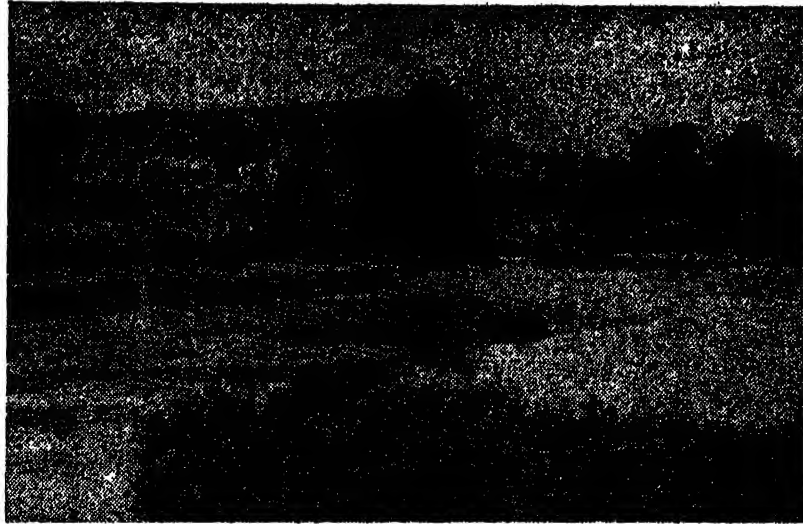


The port of Latakia

affairs, he advocates a policy of close co-operation with other Arab States and non-alignment with any of the world's power-blocks.

Damascus, the picturesque capital of Syria, is the world's oldest continuously inhabited city.

SYRIA—THE CRADLE OF ARAB NATIONISM



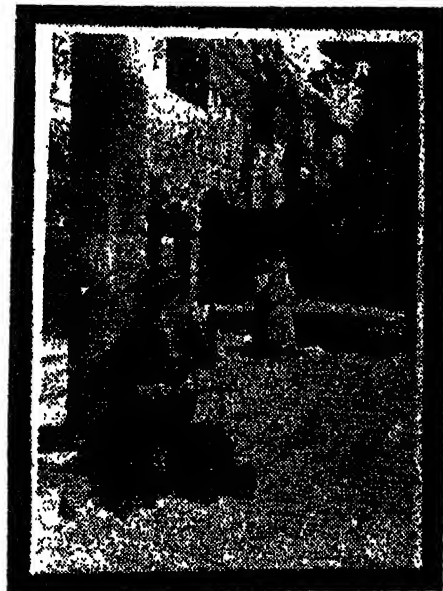
A view of water-wheel at Hama. Such water-wheels irrigate thousands of acres of land in Syria.

Though western in outlook, the Syrian capital still retains a substantial flavour of the Orient. Most of the ancient magnificent buildings of the city have been either burnt down by the accidental fires or destroyed by the French bombardments in 1921, yet Azam Palace, Ommyyad Mosque, Takkiya Mosque, Sultan Saladin's Tomb and Roman Arcade still stand to bear testimony to its past architectural glory. Museum, Parliament House and Railway Station are among the modern buildings worth visiting. Its vaulted and open markets are as fine as in any city of Europe. Stuffs of silk, cotton and wool produced locally, are of lovely texture and design.

Much sung by the Arabian poets and called 'the Golden Brook' by the Greeks, the Nahr-e-Baraza or Baraza Canal passes through the city and supplies the drinking water to its population.

Lying at the crossroads of the ancient caravan routes, Palmyra, the queen of the Syrian desert, attained a high degree of civilization in the beginning of the first century A.D. Her celebrated Queen Zenobia resolutely defied the mighty armies of the Imperial Rome in the third century B.C. but was ultimately defeated and saw her prosperous capital destroyed. Its looted wealth, carried to Rome, dazzled the eyes of the Roman citizens. The ruined palaces, temples and lavish tombs of Palmyra recall to memory its bygone glory.

In fact, the entire country is strewn with the monuments that speak of its past grandeur.

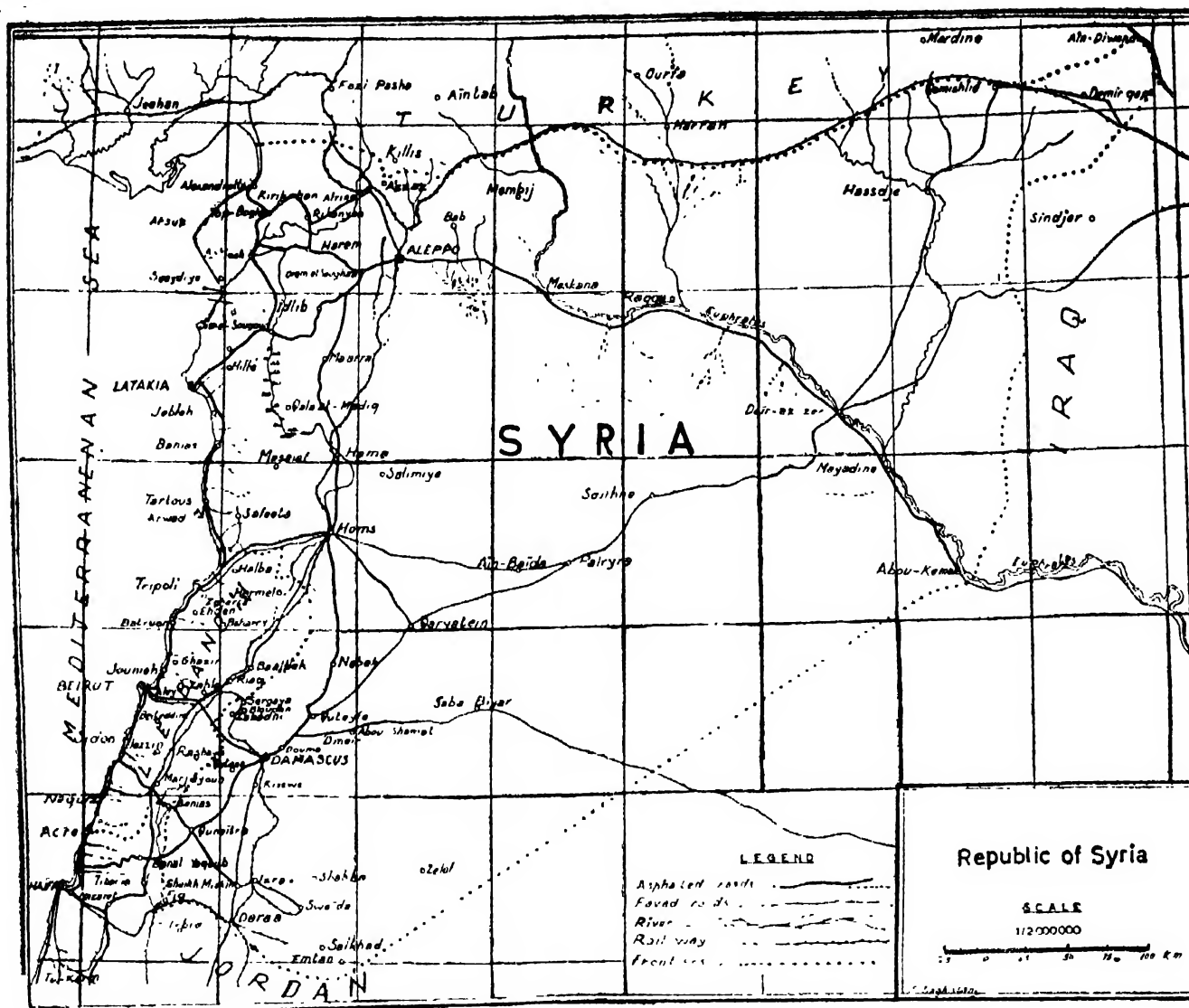


Once again Azam palace at Damascus echoes with music.

Aleppo, Homs, Hama and Latakia are other notable cities of Syria.

The country has a public education system but a number of private and foreign schools also exist. There is a good University at Damascus and agricultural and engineering colleges in other cities. The progress and expansion of agriculture and industries has been mainly responsible for the growing increase in the national income.

Agriculture and textile industry are the



mainstay of the Syrians who are mostly Muslim and speak Arabic.

In short, the different aspects of Syria's glorious past and her awakened present can best be described in the following words of a Syrian :

"Syria made splendid contributions to the development of world civilization, and in Arab history served as torch of a great culture, radiant with principles of humanity and products of man's inventive power; as cradle of ancient civilizations, she led the human race along the

path of progress, disseminating light and combating darkness.

"In Syria's desert are impressive pictures of man's struggle against the forces of nature and his endless exertions to make full use of earth's hidden wealth.

"Syria is a small country of four million people, but in her progressive tendencies—together with sister Arab States—constitutes a rich store of hope for the future of man in an awakened East."



NIETZSCHE'S PHILOSOPHY. A RE-EVALUATION

BY DR. R. C. MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., A.M., Ph.D. (Columbia New York)

"Listen! for I am such and such a person. For Heaven's Sake do not confuse me with any one else!" —Pref., E.H.I.P., 811.

It is easy to read Nietzsche* but difficult to interpret him. It is fascinating and invigorating to read Nietzsche. One is almost swept off his feet by his powerful, brilliant, quick and supple style. He shocks us out of our smug complacency, weak sentimentality and foolish conventionality. We breathe fresh air, shake off the weight of 'dead custom' and enjoy open air atmosphere. Fresh vistas, fresh valuations and fresh insights are revealed to us. In short we regain our spirit of adventure. Herein lies the danger and difficulty of interpreting him. His fast overflowing style, the overwhelming tempo and aphoristic manner do not help us to understand him rightly. Sometimes while seemingly engaged in destroying old values he also in a subtle manner suggests some hidden use in them. If, therefore, he has been misunderstood or not understood at all the fault is as much his as his readers.' Some writers have interpreted him as a Darwinian, an apostle of a cruel will-to-power, a destroyer and subverter of all morality, goodness and decency. Others like Walter A. Kaufmann have painted him in very bright colours by interpreting his references to war, cruelty, will-to-power and the ideal of superman in a symbolic manner. As I understand Nietzsche I feel both these interpretations are onesided: both are partially true and both are partially false.

The key to the understanding of Nietzsche lies in recognizing that he wrote like an inspired man, a genius who had some message to convey without proving, who had some truth to reveal and who could not but overflow with what he had to say. In other words he conceived himself to be a man of destiny. He says: "To think of one's self as a destiny, not to wish one's self

different - this, in such circumstances, is the very highest wisdom." (E.H. Sec. 6, p. 388).

In fact Nietzsche was disgusted with the existing morality of ineffective sentimental pity, hypocritical profession of high ideals, and mere conformity and mediocrity. He saw the danger of universal stagnation and decadence. To pull men out of such decadent uncreative morality he had, in the spirit of an inspired man, to make extreme statements without qualifications and reservations—even at the cost of being misunderstood. He himself said in the Preface to the *Genealogy* that in order to understand him people should read all his works and ruminate over them. However, he had no patience with weak reformist methods or timid half-hearted measures, or cowardly compromise. He wanted to apply the surgeon's lancet and amputate the decaying limb forthwith. With the touch of lightning he wanted to shock men out of their self-hypnosis and self-righteousness. He, therefore, condemned the conventional morality based on pity and weakness outright, threw overboard the entire scheme of valuation and heralded his new task as the "transvaluation of all values." In such a task lies his strength as well as weakness. The strength lies in calling attention to a very important and a very difficult task of overthrowing conventional morality based on deep-rooted, inveterate and long-established traditions. This required super-human strength. But his weakness lies in the fact that in his zeal for destroying he came perilously near "throwing out the baby with the bath."

Let us now see how Nietzsche conceived his task. For him "not mankind but superman is the goal." Now the concept of superman is open to several interpretations. In *Schopenhauer as Educator* he tells us that mankind ought constantly to be striving to produce great men; that this alone is its duty. In *On the Philologists* he says that with the help of favourable

* The references given in the brackets are all the Modern Library Edition of *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*. The abbreviations are after the English titles of the work of Nietzsche as given there.

measures great individuals might be produced who would be both different from and higher than those who heretofore have existed by mere chance. Let us turn to *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. "I teach you the superman. Man is something that is to be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass man?" (*Zara*, Prologue, 3, p. 6). Or again, "What is the ape to man? A laughing-stock, a thing of shame. And just the same shall be man to the superman: a laughing-stock, a thing of shame" (*ibid*). Again, "The superman is the meaning of the earth. Let your will say: The superman shall be the meaning of the earth" (*ibid*). Again, "Man is a rope stretched between animal and the superman—a rope over an abyss." (*Zara*, Prologue (1) p. 31. "What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal" (*ibid*).

Now it is evident from all these quotations that in the beginning Nietzsche thought of the superman as a new species. But the language here is so aphoristic and symbolic that in view of his later statements it would be difficult to uphold this interpretation.

For example he says: "I conjure you, my brethren, remain true to the earth and believe not those who speak unto you of super-earthly hopes. Prisoners are they, whether they know it or not." (*Zara*, Prologue, 3, p. 6).

The superman is not a new species, otherwise it would be too nebulous to be striven for. He implies by it a *possibility*, which men could realize by developing their physical and spiritual potentialities provided they adopted the new scheme of values and gave up the old decadent scheme of Christian values based on pity and weakness. The superman will represent power and strength. All that proceeds from power is good and all that springs from weakness is bad. The truly strong and powerful man will be dignified, generous, gracious, expansive and overflowing. He will be creative of values. It is wrong to think that Nietzsche's superman will be a brutish barbarian though in some passages Nietzsche in his polemic zeal gives such an impression.

The superman is the strong man who has assimilated and controlled his powers and energies and given them a creative form—such as philosopher, artist and even the Saint. In *The Joyful Wisdom* he says:

"He whose soul longeth to experience the whole range of hitherto recognised values and desirabilities and to circumnavigate all the coasts of this ideal 'Mediterranean Sea,' who from the adventures of his most personal experience, wants to know how it feels to be a conqueror and discoverer of the ideal—as likewise how it is with the artist, the Saint, the legislator, the Sage, the scholar, the devotee, the prophet and the godly non-conformist of the old style—requires one thing alone all for that purpose—great healthiness—such healthiness as one not only possesses, but also constantly acquires and must acquire, because one increasingly sacrifices it again and must sacrifice it." (Quoted Introd. p. XXIF).

In the same book he says:

"Another ideal runs on before us, a strange tempting ideal full of danger, to which we should not like to persuade any one, because we do not so readily acknowledge any one's right thereto: the ideal of a spirit who plays naively (that is involuntarily and from overflowing abundance and power) with everything that has hitherto been called holy, good, intangible and divine." (Quoted Introd. p. XXIII). Again, "The ideal of humanly superman welfare and benevolence will often appear inhuman . . ." (Quoted Introd. p. XXIII).

To understand Nietzsche properly we have to take his two ideas of the superman and will-to-power together. He conceived will-to-power as one fundamental principle which expresses itself in the universe. Psychologically also he attempts to explain all human behaviour in terms of such a will-to-power. Now he conceives the superman as not one in whom the will-to-power is working in an unrestrained, brutish manner, but as one who has given form, *direction* and purpose to this will-to-power. In *The Birth of Tragedy* his main aim is to explain how tragic art in ancient Greece was the perfect harmony of the Dionysian and the Appollonian qualities—in which power was controlled, channelized, individualized and given form.

This will-to-power is the *truth* for him. He values *truth* above 'goodness'—nay above everything. Telling us why he chose the name 'Zarathustra' he says: ". . . all history is the experimental refutation of the theory of the so-called moral order of things: the more import-

ant point is that Zarathustra was more *truthful* than any other thinker. In his teaching alone do we meet with *truthfulness* upheld as the highest virtue, i.e., the reverse of the cowardice of the idealist who flees from reality." Again—"To tell the truth and aim straight: that is the first Persian virtue. Am I understood? . . . The overcoming of morality through itself--through truthfulness, the overcoming of the moralist through his opposite--through me: that is what the name Zarathustra means in my mouth." (Quoted Introd. p. XXXIII). He brings out the above point that the superman is a man of *self-mastery* and self-discipline in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, Part II, Aphorism 34 entitled 'Self-Surpassing.' There he says, "And this secret spake life herself unto me. 'Behold' said she, 'I am that which must ever surpass itself.'" (p. 125). Again, "But thou, O Zarathustra wouldst view the ground of everything, and its background; thus must thou mount even above thyself--up, upwards, until thou hast even thy stars under thee." (*Zara.* III Aph. 45, p. 146) Finally:

"My humanity is a continual self-mastery." (E.H. 8, p. 330).

Now this ideal of superman who has transcended and surpassed himself requires breaking of old values and adopting new ones. It involves hard discipline and even pain. In several passages of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* Nietzsche speaks of his task of destroying the existing morality. He tells us that the so-called Christian neighbour-love is a flight from the obligation of perfecting oneself and that all prayers spring from faint-hearted souls. He advocates love of one's own self a wholesome healthy love. Speaking of his task of destroying existing morality he says: "These mediators and mixers we detest--the passing clouds: those *half and half ones* that have neither learned to bless nor to curse from the heart." (*Zara.* Aph. 48, p. 182). Again, "For rather will I have noise and thunders and tempest-blasts, than this discreet, doubting cat-repose; and also amongst men do I hate, most of all the soft-treaders and half and half ones and the doubting, hesitating, passing clouds." (*Zara.* Aph. 48, p. 182).

He thus conceived his task as giving a push to a morality already on the verge of falling

and collapsing. Before we embark on an exposition of how he carries out this task in *The Genealogy of Morals* we shall have a look at what he has to say of his task in *Ecce Homo*. He quotes himself from *The Dawn of Day*, "My life task is to prepare for humanity a moment of supreme self-consciousness, a great *noontide* when it will gaze both backwards and forwards, when it will emerge from the tyranny of accident and the priesthood and for the first time pose the question of the Why and Wherefore of humanity as a whole." (E.H., p. 887).

While criticizing the dominance of priestly morality of decadence and 'will-for-nothingness' he says with great vehemence: "When one is no longer serious about self-preservation and the increase of bodily energy, i.e., of life; when anemia is made an ideal and the contempt of the body is construed as 'the Salvation on the Soul' what can all this be if not a recipe for decadence? Loss of ballast, resistance offered to natural instincts, in a word, 'selflessness'--this is what has hitherto been called morality. With 'The Dawn of Day' I first took up the struggle against the morality of self-renunciation." (E.H., p. 889).

In denouncing the so-called 'good man' he says: "To demand that everybody become a 'good man', a gregarious animal, blue-eyed, benevolent, 'beautiful soul' or as Herbert Spencer wished--an altruist, would mean robbing existence of its greater character, *castrating mankind* and reducing it to a wretched mongolism. And this has been attempted! It is this that men call morality!" (E.H., p. 927). He quotes himself from Zarathustra as saying that the 'good man' is the *beginning of the end*.

In the *Ecce Homo* under the heading "Why I am a Fatality" Nietzsche slashes mercilessly at Christian morality as a crime against life--the will-to-falschhood--which teaches contempt of primal life instincts, which sets up a 'soul' to overthrow the body and which finds sex impure. He implies that in trying to make men self-less Christianity makes men sex-less, decadent and impotent degenerates. He defines such morality as: "Morality is the idiosyncrasy of decadents, actuated by a desire to avenge themselves successfully upon life." (E.H., p. 931). He goes on to denounce all the Christian conceptions of soul, other-worldliness, sin and

finally the good man. "Finally most frightfully of all the notion of the 'good man' comes to mean everything which is weak; ill, misshapen and suffering from itself, everything which must be 'obliterated.'" (E.H., p. 932).

"Have you understood me? Dionysus vs. Christ." (E.H., p. 932).

In the *Genealogy of Morals* Nietzsche reveals himself as a psychologist of acute analytical power and deep penetration into human nature. He develops here some of the notions which he had presaged in *Beyond Good and Evil*. The three Essays of the *Genealogy* are preceded by a Preface by himself. In the first Essay he traces the origin of "Good and Evil" and "Good and Bad" and traces the rise of Christianity to the spirit of resentment as a counter movement to aristocratic values. In the second Essay he gives a brilliant account of the psychology of conscience and in the third Essay an equally keen analysis of the origin and power of the ascetic ideal. The three Essays taken together are conceived by him as a task preparatory to a transvaluation of all values.

In the Preface he tells us that his purpose in writing the *Genealogy of Morals* is to enable us to understand ourselves better shorn of all superficiality and hypocrisy. He points out: "Of necessity we remain strangers to ourselves, we understand ourselves not in ourselves, we are bound to be mistaken, for us holds good to all eternity the motto: 'Each one is furthest away from himself'—as far as ourselves are concerned we are not 'knowers.'" (p. 622). He gave up looking for the supernatural origin of Evil. The problem which confronted him was; "Under what conditions did man invent for himself those judgments of values 'Good and Evil'? (p. 624). He wanted to enquire into their intrinsic value. Have these hindered or helped human well-being? "Are they a symptom of the distress, impoverishment and degeneration of human life? Or conversely is it in them that is manifested the fulness, the strength and will of life, its courage, its self-confidence, its future?" (p. 624).

This brings out clearly the problem of the *Genealogy*. It implies that even for Nietzsche true morality should aim at human well-being which for him consists in strength, courage and self-confidence and an out-going attitude to life. The value of morality itself constitutes the

problem. He questions the value of the so-called 'unegoistic instincts' of pity, self-denial, and self-sacrifice which were extolled by Schopenhauer. He began to realize that it is precisely these instincts which constitute a great 'seduction of nothingness-nihilism.' The entire morality of pity is rotten to the core and is a sign of decay of human fibre. He mentions Plato, Spinoza, La Rochefoucauld and Kant for their contempt of pity.

In section 6 of the Preface he tells us that he has in mind 'a Critique of Moral Values'—the value of these values. Hitherto the 'good man' of the existing morality has been taken for granted as of value for human progress and prosperity. He asks us to suppose the opposite were true that the 'good man' was a sign of retrogression and degeneration by means of which the future was sacrificed to the present. "So that morality would really be saddled with the guilt if the maximum potentiality of the power and splendour of the human species were never to be attained?" (p. 628)

The implications of this quotation are far-reaching. Firstly he is here criticizing the existing morality of the 'good man' as effete and barren so far as the future is concerned. Secondly he warns us that this morality would be guilty if the maximum possibilities of the power and splendour of the human species were never to be attained. Here the goal set by Nietzsche is the progressive realisation of the future possibilities of which the human species is capable. He implies that true power will be attained by the maximum possible development of human potentialities. Hence his will-to-power should not be taken as a barbaric return to unabashed cruelty, exploitation and appropriation—though he tends himself to this interpretation sometimes. That Nietzsche had in mind this idea of the maximum possibilities of the development of the human species is shown also by what he says in *Beyond Good and Evil* in the Essay "The Natural History of Morals." He is there talking about the universal deterioration of man under the whole Christo-European-Morality and says that he who sees this danger. ". sees at a glance all that could still be made out of man through a favourable accumulation and augmentation of human powers and arrangements; he knows with all the knowledge of his conviction how unexhausted man

still is for the greatest possibilities. often in the past the type man lived in presence of mysterious decisions and new paths" (p. 497).

The three essays of the *Genealogy* are a brilliant conjecture and show Nietzsche's powers of keen psychological analysis. But as is usual with him they are full of exaggerations. As I have tried to explain in the introduction he was impatient with the sluggishness and mediocrity of men. He was disgusted with all talk of morality based on submissiveness, weakness, pity and sympathy. He thought that this misplaced emphasis on the softer Christian virtues was causing a loosening of fibre, effeminacy and general decay of men. This was making man weak, and worse still it was justifying his weakness. His aim was to pull men out of their stupor and self-righteousness so that instead of talking glibly and hypocritically about love of neighbour men would devote themselves to the task of self-perfection. I felt that people had ignored this important task of self-development. He says under the heading "The Be-dwarfing Virtue": "Those teachers of submission wherever there is aught puny or sickly or scabby there do they creep like lice; and only my disgust preventeth me from cracking them" (Zar., p. 109). Again, "Do never what ye will—but first *be such as can will*" (Zar., p. 190). "Love ever your neighbour as yourselves—but first *be such as love themselves* . . . Such as love with great love, such as love with great contempt" (Zar., p. 190).

Now it is clear from all this that what he means is that you must first become capable of loving yourself. Then alone *out of fulness* can you really love your neighbour—otherwise it becomes only a flight from ourself—an excuse for sluggishness and torpor.

CONCLUSION

The chief value of Nietzsche's *Genealogy* lies not in displacing fundamental Christian ideals but in attacking the perversity, the sentimentality and the hypocrisy which vitiated them. His sharp attacks, though exaggerated, came like a rushing wind to purify these ideals and to awaken men from their smugness and self-righteousness. He was certainly right in attacking any morality or religion based on fear, cowardice and weakness. No doubt a man who believes in God and professes these moral ideals out of fear and weakness and hope of a future reward for himself is less than man. In that sense the so-called atheist who is manly and courageous and has faith in himself is much better than the cowardly superstitious theist. Nobody who does not believe in himself can believe in anything. This is, to my mind, the permanent deposit of truth in Nietzsche's thought.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. E.H.—*Ecco Homo*.
2. G.M.—*The Genealogy of Morals*.
3. Zar.—*Thus Spake Zarathustra*.
4. Sec.—Section.
5. Aph.—Aphorism.
6. Introd.—Introduction by Mrs. Forster-Nietzsche to *Zarathustra*, published in the Modern Library Edition.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT (1905-1910): By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Jadavpur University. 1957. Pp. 440, Price Rs. 12.

This scholarly, well-documented and comprehensive survey of a glorious, but almost forgotten chapter of the history of modern India has been written by two young but trained students of history, husband and wife, working together on the primary sources for a number of years. It forms the first out of a projected 4-volume study of the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and the following years, which is held to be "for all practical purposes the first stage in India's freedom movement." The authors' thorough grasp of their subject is equalled by their soundness of judgment and their excellent readable style. At the outset we are introduced to the classification of their primary sources (the secondary sources being rightly used mainly for criticism) under five heads comprising published works and unpublished letters and memoirs as well as discourses with living persons participating in the movement (pp. xiv-xvi). The book consists of two Parts, Part I entitled *The Genesis and Development of the National Council of Education*, and Part II bearing the title *The Dawn and The Dawn Society*. In Part I the author begins with a brief but illuminating account of the historical background of the movement (pp. 13-18). Then they trace in detail the swift and dramatic turn of events in Bengal leading simultaneously to the foundation of the *National Council of Education* and the *Society for the Promotion of Technical Education* in the middle of 1906 (pp. 19-48). This is followed by a full and critical statement of the curriculum of studies set up by both institutions (pp. 48-60). Then

comes a complete account of the activities of the *National Council of Education* for the four memorable years of its existence (1906-10) under three heads, viz., organisation and development of Bengal National College and School in Calcutta (with a chronicle of the working of the former institution in its literary, scientific and technical departments (pp. 46-113), the foundation and development of National Schools in various Bengal districts (pp. 113-26), and the spread of the movement outside Bengal (pp. 126-35). We are then treated to what may be called the University Calendar of the National Council of Education giving the subjects of the examination with their number of papers and the names of the paper-setters and the results of the examinations (pp. 135-146). It is interesting to observe, in the light of present controversies, that the council authorities allotted for the equivalence of the Matriculation and the Intermediate in Arts examinations of Indian Universities, two papers to "Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic with an allied vernacular" (viz., Bengali and Hindi in the case of the first, and Urdu in the case of the last two), and two other papers to English as the second language. The further account of the activities of the National Council of Education is followed by the story of the merger of the sister Society into itself in 1910 leading ultimately to its unmerited end (pp. 146-78).

The authors introduce Part II with a very satisfactory life-sketch of Satish Chandra Mukherjee, "one of the chief architects of the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and a mighty prophet of Indian nationalism at the dawn of the present century" (pp. 181-213). This is followed by a detailed and exhaustive history of *The Dawn* (subsequently called *The Dawn and The Dawn Society's Magazine*), of which Sri Mukherjee bore the editorial charge almost

BOOK REVIEWS

from the first, for a length of 16 years (1897-1913), pp. 214-50). Then comes an equally exhaustive and satisfactory account of the foundation of *The Dawn Society* (of which Sri Mukherjee was throughout the life and soul) in 1902, and its varied activities in its "general training" and its "religious training" classes, and afterwards in its technical and magazine sections. The concluding chapter (pp. 315-58) consists of a classified list of articles published in *The Dawn* from 1897-1913. Four valuable appendices with an Index bring this important work to a close. The paper, print and the general get-up are good. The work is aptly dedicated to the memory of three valiant fighters in India's Freedom Movement, Lala Lajpat Rai, B. G. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, while Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji contributes an interesting Foreword. If we have to offer any criticism, it is that the work suffers from a number of repetitions as on pp. 5f and 250f, 13f and 253f, 222f and 289f, 35f and 308f. We can conclude by stating our view that the present work will be an indispensable source-book, for a long time to come, for the history of a most important, but unfortunately sadly neglected, phase of India's freedom movement.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA 1946-1956: A Personal Retrospect: By C. D. Deshmukh. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, July, 1957. Pp. vii + 167. Price Rs. 6.

This is the compilation of Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Fellowship Lectures delivered by Shri Deshmukh in the Bombay University Convocation Hall in February, 1957. In course of these lectures Shri Deshmukh traces the course of economic development in India during the period 1946-1956 when one way or the other he himself was intimately connected with the shaping of vital economic policies. The account is largely from a personal point of view, yet coming as it does from the pen of a man who was intimately connected with economic policies during the vitally important period of our country, it cannot but be of interest to all.

Shri Deshmukh divides the period under review into three component parts: 1946 to 1949, 1950 to 1952 and 1953 onwards. The first four years marked the period of transition. They were years of missed opportunities. There was initially the failure, not peculiarly Indian, to decide on a correct post-war monetary policy: post-war economists and

policy-makers in India, taking their cue from their counterparts in the West, were obsessed with the idea of a depression and therefore suggested a cheap money policy when a more cautious attitude would have been wiser. Following this, the Indian politicians, disregarding expert opinion this time, took another unwise step—that of decontrol at the end of 1947. These two measures went a long way towards aggravating the inflationary trend, ultimately leading to the devaluation of the Indian rupee. In the meanwhile, however, controls had to be re-imposed during mid-1948. The period from 1949 to 1953 was to a very great extent marked by the Government's efforts to check inflation. One step in this regard was the raising of the Bank rate by $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in November, 1951.

Shri Deshmukh considers that the decision to decontrol in the latter part of 1947 and early 1948 was due to the fact that "lay influences prevailed over expert opinion" (he as Governor of Reserve Bank was strongly against decontrol). Nevertheless he recognises the fact that experts are often sectarian in their outlook and must be led by politicians (pp. 140-143, p. 74).

"One thing," Shri Deshmukh points out, "which emerges fairly clearly, particularly from the immediate post-war period, is the greater need of studying the dimensions and nature of our economic problems and the economics of economically retarded countries generally" (p. 131). This is a very wise suggestion as many of our present ills could be minimised if more attention had been given to the specific conditions of the country than has been the case. His other point on the need of the "realisation that controls are a concomitant part of planned economic development" is also very pertinent in the context of the present abnormally high prices. It is, however, nowhere made clear how Shri Deshmukh, as Minister of Finance, holding such strong views on control as he did, could agree to total decontrol as he had done in fact.

It would appear that Shri Deshmukh has imbibed some of the spirit of independent India—it is, indeed, an indication of a great change of outlook for him when from his earlier position of hostility to the nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India he moves to a position advocating "modifications and innovations in the institutional set-up of the economy" including a plea for State trading. Yet his conservatism is evident in more

than one place. We do not know how many Indians would agree with, or how far the facts are in accord with, the statement of Shri Deshmukh when he says that in the case of food-grains, sugar and cloth there is yet scope for curtailment of consumption (p. 138). The implied suggestion for unilateral freezing of wages (pp. 137-138)—he is silent over profits—is another instance of his conservative outlook. Such an attitude, it needs hardly be mentioned, is not likely to go far in creating the proper atmosphere in which only the goals of an optimum production can be reached.

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

NATURE CURE: By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Demy octavo. Pp. 68. Price twelve annas.

Gandhi never advocated anything he himself did not practise. Gandhi was a lover of Nature Cure. And what he loved he wanted to give to others.

Nature Cure with him was not a course of 'treatment' but a way of life. He says: "The Nature Curist is interested more in the study of health. His real interest begins where that of the ordinary doctor ends; the eradication of the patient's ailment under Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease. . . . It is not claimed that Nature Cure can cure all disease. No system of medicine can do that or else we should all be immortals."

Yet we pamper our body to the neglect of the soul and medical men in majority of cases help us on this downward course. That provokes Gandhi to say:

"We want healers of souls rather than of bodies. The multiplicity of hospitals and medical men is no sign of civilization. The less we and others pamper our body, the better for us and the world."

It follows, therefore, that "The meaning of Nature Cure is to go nearer to Nature—God."

Shall we ordinary mortals then despair of Gandhi's Nature Cure? Not at all. Why then did he conceive of and start the Nature Cure centre at Uruli Kanchan? Certainly for the benefit of ordinary people like us. Nature Cure emphasizes that prevention is better than

cure. But when we get ill it runs to our succour and attends to our bodily ills but all the same it ever seeks to quicken in us the awareness that we are not mere body, we are more than that. And that marks it off from other systems of treatment.

Love informed all his actions and the poor claimed the best part of it. And that love made Nature Cure dear to Gandhi for it offered a cheap remedy within the easy reach of the poor. He says:

"I was a fool to think that I could ever hope to make an institution for the poor in a town. I realized that if I cared for the ailing poor, I must go to them and not expect them to come to me."

The book has five chapters: Introduction, Nature Cure Treatment, Nature Cure Experiments, Nature Cure Clinic and Ramanama and Nature Cure. Chapter III where Gandhi records some of his experiments reads like a romance. His experiments point to a new clinical horizon. The book carries a Foreword and opens with a note by the editor, Bharatan Kumarappa. It has four appendices, readable matters all. Gandhi's *Key to Health*, *Ramanama*, and *Diet and Diet Reforms* may be named as companion volumes.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

SOME ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAMPAIGN: By B. N. Majumdar. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Price Rs. 5, (Foreign 10s. 6d., \$2).

Lt.-Col. Majumdar's book has a two-fold interest for the students of Military History. For one thing, written from a first-hand experience, the volume is one of the very few works on the part played by the Administration in Military history though the fate of many an operation is determined by the Administration. For another, the Middle Eastern theatre was one of the most important arenas of World War II. "It was in the Middle East," the author aptly points out, "that we saw for the first time the birth of the technique of combined operations, the tactical use of air power, the flank protection from the sea and the gigantic building up of administrative resources" (p. 4). The author's suggestions for tactical and administrative improvements are well worth a consideration.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

HINDI

NARAK KA NYAYA: By Mohansinha Sengar. *Atmaram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 2.*

The author is one of the leading writers of short stories in Hindi. His heart is so sensitively attuned to "the sad music of humanity" that almost every story of his is a cry of pain. But at the same time it is a plea for compassion and compensatory justice, chiefly economic-cum-social. His characters are mostly urban victims of the cupidity and callousness of the money-minded and the materialist. They are meted out a kind of a judgment of Hell on this earth of ours. In the present collection of thirteen stories, there are types like Joseph, the South Indian Christian; Balai, the wayside 'hotel-keeper's assistant'; Ratanlal, the sweeper-boy; Uma Babu, the pugnacious parochialist, whom one can never easily forget. Maybe, because one meets them so often in daily life. But alas, so steeped in selfishness are we that we seldom think of doing our duty by them. In the field of modern Hindi fiction, Mohansinhaji is doing for cities what Premchandji has done for villages.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RASHTRA SMRITI: By Ramrai Mohanrai Munshi, B.A., LL.B., Ahmedabad. Published by the Navchetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board with a jacket. Pp. 49. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Ramrai has devoted his life to the cause of the uplift of the farmer (*khedut*) and in outlook is both intensely national and patriotic. In this very small book, which bears an Introduction by the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University, Justice Divatia, the writer has held aloft the shining torch of India's past, i.e., old, mediaeval and modern, i.e., till the commencement of the era of Swaraj—Self-Rule—Independence. In twelve sections—in Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi—he has set out the incidents of our glorious past and present, our heroes, our saints, our eminent women, and our outstanding actions. The object with which Mr. Ramrai has indited these lines is fulfilled.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

Religious Festivals Educate Hindu Masses

Moorkoth Kunhappa writes in *The Aryan Path* :

"How much that was intolerable was accepted"—the captious critic may exclaim; while the enthusiast can at the same time retort : "How much that was intolerable was softened !"

Those thoughts are uppermost when one considers the uses and abuses of sectarian religious festivals in India. The religious festivals under consideration are those in Hinduism only; because the writer does not want, for obvious reason, to assign comparative merits to Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh festivals.

The Hindu pantheon has thirty-three crores of gods, almost one god per Hindu; and every one of them has a festival, most of them small, some, microscopically so, but nevertheless a festival, with the result that not a day passes without some festival or other being observed somewhere in India. Add to these the festivals of the full moon or the new moon in certain months; those of the eleventh day of the moon like Vaikunth Ekadashi; the fifth day of the moon, like Vasanta Panchami, etc.; and again the moon enjoys a large share in the festivals of India. Some of the festivals are grimly devoted to prayers and fasting for departed ancestors; certain others are celebrated, like Holi, with boisterous revels, often crude. The sun is honoured at each solstice, and, of course, at every eclipse. Moreover every hill in India,

every river from the Ganges to the Kaveri, every waterfall and important lake, has its own festival, sometimes localized, sometimes widespread.

All these would be enough to make a

mate; a few hundred festivals every day scattered throughout the length and breadth of this vast subcontinent would be more correct.

The rural areas are, however, so vast, their population so great and the means of communication so meagre that very often these festivals pass unnoticed by any except the actual participants in them. Nevertheless the effects of religious festivals on society and on the individual are even today so great in India that anyone who reflects upon the country's future should study them carefully, understand them sympathetically and utilize them wisely for the betterment of the nation.

Eighty per cent of Indians live in villages. Religious festivals are, by and large, their chief source of amusement, colour and communal gaiety. They furnish occasions when men can satisfy their gregarious instinct, their craving for escape from the grimness of the villager's daily life, their supreme need for the consoling faith in some power on whom they can lean in times of stress.

It is around the temples that the festivals are centred. At the chief festivals there are special ceremonies, processions, music, dancing, fireworks, displays of acrobatics, lectures, plays and various other entertainments of a traditional sort. Families reassemble for them; members living in widely separated places make it a point to reach home. Even the prodigal son finds this an excellent time to return to the fold and enjoy unquestioned "the fatted calf," which in any case would be already prepared. Relations who have been having strained relationships, of which they are tired and penitent, can then forget and forgive without losing face. Even the outsider gets a welcome smile; and not very long ago—the writer remembers those days—any stranger could walk into any house in the locality where the festival was being held,

to the mood of the season; and every village has a shrine (some more than one), with a fixed date for its festival. In fact my original statement that not a day passes in India without some festival being celebrated is an underesti-

mate. The festivals, moreover, promote, and are the occasion of, friendliness, forgiveness, generosity, social solidarity, delightful entertainment, the excitement of being in a crowd, the pride of sharing in a grand event, are all promoted by these festivals.

Savitri told Yama, the god of death, that if one walked in step with another for seven

steps, the two became friends; and building upon the claims of that "seven-step" acquaintance she argued with him and wrested her dead husband's life from the very hands of the god of death. Taking part in a common festival has a very strong cementing effect on the members of a society. They feel so strongly united that sometimes communal riots take place on such occasions for trivial reasons, clashes between sections which otherwise live side by side like brothers day in and day out throughout the year. The day after the riot they again continue the even tenor of their lives.

Like all other countries, India has utilized festivals for consolidating the society. Festivals that have an all-India vogue—like the Durga Puja and the Deepavali—have had their share in consolidating India into one country. The Hindu is enjoined to visit the five great holy places of the country once at least in his life. By the time he has been to Rameshwaram and Rishikesh, Kamakhya in Assam and Dwaraka in the West, with Banaras, Vrindaban, etc., thrown in, and has bathed in the Ganges, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Narmada, the Kaveri, as his own holy rivers, he has religiously identified himself with the whole of India. The South Indian may feel out of place in the cities of Allahabad or Patna, but not so in Prayag or Kashi. There he feels that he is in his own native land, the joint inheritor of an ancient culture. The congregation of millions at the Kumbha Melas, and at solar eclipses, in holy places does give the various types of Indians a physical, cultural and traditional sense of unity. Pilgrimages during festivals and on sacred occasions have done much to forge the communities of India into one big family.

Many tears are shed over the sad fact of the large percentage of illiteracy that still exists in India. When one considers, however, the fare provided for reading one sometimes wonders whether illiteracy cannot be a blessing in disguise. Even after learning to read and write, it takes much study and pains, with correct guidance at every step, for a man to absorb real culture, through reading books in the solitude of his house. The Indian method of inculcating culture was through the festivals. Their religious nature is too obvious to be mentioned.

Every Indian, however illiterate he may be, knows the outline of the epics *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagavata*, etc.; he also knows some of the more important inspiring and ennobling episodes like the stories of Nala, of Savitri, of Harishchandra, etc. How does he know? He

knows them because they are narrated at festivals by very interesting story-tellers.

There are certain communities whose men and women learn the Puranas by heart and sing them at festivals. The anecdotes are versified and sung, sometimes to the accompaniment of dancing and music—which is how Bharata Natyam came into being. Specially interesting stories are made into plays, and enacted in *jatras* and *kathakalis* (fairs and dance-dramas). There are castes whose traditional occupation is to narrate stories, with annotations that bring out their applications to daily life and social responsibilities. They do not mind interrupting the thread of a tale to dilate upon the duties of a father, a citizen, a king or a leader. The audience, who already know the tale, do not mind the interruption so long as it is interesting. Humorous asides, dipped in caustic irony, on the vagaries of sophisticated men and women send the audience into roars of laughter, and send them home thinking on those things.

Thanks to all these, the illiterate Indian peasant has a knowledge of philosophy sufficient to make him say, "Thy will, Lord, not mine." He knows his duties as a member of the community. He knows the rudiments of government. He knows enough practical psychology. It is in fact astonishing what an amount of living knowledge the illiterate have; and even more surprising are the opportunities that they get to acquire this knowledge without going to school, without reading books, without being bored and, above all, without becoming high-brows. Indian festivals have played a very important part in keeping alive the culture of India. Before pitying the Indian as an ignoramus merely because he is illiterate let us remember all this.

Unfortunately, however, the culture that is imparted in festivals and which inspires them was suited to life in India some ten centuries ago. In the twentieth century, especially, when the world is moving with the speed of jet-planes, most of what is learnt through these *jatras* and *harikathas* (lay sermons with a mythological basis) has little bearing on modern life. The fundamental values in life do not change, one might say with truth; but when their application is not seen, the common man in the street feels that all this is unreal, outmoded and useless. So the country at large is abandoning these excellent and efficient instruments of culture altogether. If only the contents of those speeches, annotations, songs and dances were suitably adapted, they would spread important ideas, suited to modern life in

cities and in industries, like wild fire. Compared to that the process of literacy is painfully, if not tragically, slow.

"By whatever paths men worship me, they all come to me," says the Lord in the *Gita*. This great truth has been misunderstood to mean that the crudest forms of worship, some of them almost on the level of devil-worship, should be permitted to live long and be preserved like pieces in a museum. The equally important principle that we shall fail to be human beings if we do not help our fellow men to improve spiritually has been very sadly neglected. The belief in reincarnation, in itself a highly intellectual and logical belief, has also contributed to the bad habit of not attempting to raise the spiritual level of our less fortunate countrymen. "When you have plenty of births, there is plenty of time to evolve" is the attitude. On the other hand, Christians believing in only one short life, followed by an eternity of hell or heaven, have naturally no time to be patient with the slow evolution of spirituality. Hence their zeal for conversion, which sometimes degenerates into intolerance. Hindu tolerance unfortunately stopped at non-interference and simultaneously created watertight sects with all their jealousies, animosities, "hatred, scoffing and abuse." The caste system is written in bold letters and

emphasized by italics at every festival. There are respective places in the temples for respective castes, much more rigid than the list of precedence at diplomatic receptions.

Although the festivals and the functions attached to them have, for want of adaptation, lost their significance, and man no longer goes to them to drink of the wisdom of life, the traditional belief in their religious significance, the sectarian pride each sect has in its own festivals, make men cling to them long after they have lost their usefulness.

When Aldous Huxley saw millions of Hindus in Banaras in 1934 bathing in the Ganges during the solar eclipse, he exclaimed: "Four million Hindus will assemble to save the sun god from being devoured; how many will assemble to save India?"

That is just the point. The enthusiasm still shown, the great energy spent by the people, the money lavished on festivities, the extremes of discomfort which they endure to take part in them, the religious scrupulousness with which they perform the rites, all indicate that, if only this vast flow of human effort could be utilized to such purposes as it was when the festivals came into being, we could be a greater nation without regimentation, by the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the masses.

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Human Rights

Prem Kripal observes in *The Indian Review*:

The idea of Human Rights has lived long as a dream of humanity. Down the course of centuries saints and poets, philosophers and statesmen, breaking away from the limitations of their narrow social environments, often felt and expressed the oneness of humanity in their thoughts and ideals. While living within the strict bounds of tribal law and custom and caged in narrow parochial beliefs, the visionaries of all societies dreamt of humanity as one great family, whose freedom, dignity and worth needed to be recognised and protected by certain inalienable rights. It was more than 2,500 years ago that the great Chinese sage, Confucius, predicted:

"When the Great Way prevails, all under heaven will become a Great Commonwealth."

This belief in a united mankind was reiterated by several others. In our own country the great Emperor Ashoka inscribed noble thoughts on rock and pillar to proclaim his vision of human rights. In the West these ideals found practical application in such famous constitutional documents as the Magna Carta and the American Bill of Rights.

With the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945, for the first time in human history Human Rights became a matter of immediate practical concern to national governments as well as international organisations. In Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, the new World Organization was called upon to promote "universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom . . ." The Charter did not define the rights to be promoted.

It was left to a United Nations Commission, headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to elaborate this resolve into a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted on December 10, 1948, by the United Nations General Assembly meeting at the Plais Chaillot in Paris. The Declaration was a statement of principles and was not legally binding on member-States. It was to be followed by the formulation of an International Bill or Covenant of Human Rights.

The content of the Human Rights listed in the Universal Declaration is significant. There are thirty Articles covering civil, political, eco-

nomie, social and cultural rights. Articles 1 and 2 state in very general terms that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and are entitled "to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

These general rights are followed by eighteen Articles embodying civil and political rights such as the right to life, liberty and security of person, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence, freedom of movement, the right of asylum, the right to a nationality, rights relating to marriage, the right to own property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and of assembly, the right to take part in government and the right of equal access to public service.

The social and cultural rights defined in Articles 22 to 27 pertain to social security right to work, right to rest and leisure, right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, the right to education and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. Article 28 recognises that every one is entitled to a social and international order in which these rights and freedoms may be fully realised. The concluding Articles stress the duties and responsibilities which the individual owes to the community. This, in brief, is the content of the Declaration of Human Rights.

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The General Assembly of the United Nations described the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms." The assembly specially recommended that the governments of member-States use every means available to distribute and publicize the text of the Declaration and to have it explained in schools and other educational institutions.

This common standard of achievement for all peoples is being promoted not only by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, but by national governments and all the forces of culture and civilization which mould the life of man today. The General Assembly of the United Nations emphasized very rightly the overriding importance and value of teaching and education for promoting respect for the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Declaration. That is why Articles 26 and 27 concerning the right to education and participation in the cultural life of the community are of greatest importance.

Ultimately the sanction behind all rights must be the public opinion of the community which wishes to enjoy such rights. The Rights of Man will only be enforced universally and effectively when the public opinion of our times becomes more widely and more keenly conscious of the validity and integrity of an international community of peoples. The various organs of the United Nations, and especially the Commission of Human Rights can and do promote the acceptance of these rights, but the progress is necessarily slow and on many questions of vital importance political and ideological obstacles become insuperable.

Among all the organs of the United Nations, Unesco has to play a role of overriding importance in the promotion of Human Rights. Clause 2 of Article 26 says: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Again, Clause I of Article 27 proclaims: "Every one has the right freely to participate

in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." It is this type of education which can promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all peoples and that broad and living culture which is not the monopoly of the few but the cherished right of all, that are the best means of spreading ideals enshrined in Human Rights and guaranteeing their enforcement among all peoples of the world.

The signs of the times are, indeed, hopeful in spite of the deadly grip of an ideological conflict which continues to divide humanity. Already in the forum of the United Nations the conscience of mankind can and does assert itself whenever there is a flagrant violation of human right. At such moments even the influence of Great Powers wanes under the pressure of public opinion. This is the most heartening achievement of the United Nations and the strongest support of Human Rights.

In many ways India has contributed substantially to the development of Human Rights. The representatives of India in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies have often been the foremost champions of Human Rights. The Constitution of India, with its emphasis on justice, tolerance and equality which are the very basis of democracy, provides for the enforcement of almost all the Human Rights at the national level. The secular character of the State does not prevent the shaping of policies and measures deriving their inspiration from the spirit of true religion.

Much of the respect for Human Rights in our country today is, of course, due to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. In a letter written in May, 1947, to the Director-General of Unesco, the Mahatma touched upon the very basis of Human Rights which is also the ultimate condition of their successful enforcement.

He wrote: "I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps, it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Woodrow Wilson: Apostle of American Democracy

David Gittleman writes in *Unity*, Nov-Dec., 1956, as follows, which we consider to be worth reproducing:

Woodrow Wilson, educator, author, statesman and eloquent dreamer, was a man of integrity, industry, and courage. He, too, aimed to conquer anger with kindness, evil with good, falsehood with truth, in the light of reason and human experience. As a private citizen, he was bold, being swayed by convictions based on study which made him champion of political, industrial, and social democracy at home. He loved his country; but this love did not exclude a passionate love for humanity the world over. A good party man, he placed the interests of the country above partisanship when basic principles were involved. He said:

I have been bred in the Democratic Party. I love the Democratic Party; but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic Party; and when the Democratic Party thinks that it is an end in itself, then I rise up and dissent. (January 8, 1915).

His warning against mob rule has timely significance:

I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is after all no protection to the weak? (July 26, 1918).

The United States is of necessity the sample democracy of the world, and the triumph of democracy depends upon its success. As a reformer, his platform was to the point, full of commonsense and workable. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances, he maintained, is to remove the grievances. And in America there is but one way by which great reforms can be accomplished and the relief sought by classes obtained, and that is through the orderly processes of representative government. Those who would propose any other method of reform are enemies of this country. (Message to Senate, December 2, 1919). In particular, he aimed for the advancement of

human conditions of labor for men, women, and children; but that was to be accomplished upon the basis of equality of rights, since mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipolises of power. He stressed upright leadership and was a bitter foe of all dictatorship. "I am not afraid of a knave," he said. "I am not afraid of a rascal. I am afraid of a strong man who is wrong, and whose wrong thinking can be impressed upon other persons by his own force of character and force of speech." (*The New Freedom*).

It was Wilson who reminded the joint session of Congress that "property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be." (April 2, 1917). Next to freedom and justice, there is nothing more precious than human life. He felt that civilization has a spiritual inheritance, breathing freedom and tolerance. He saw progress in diversity. He aimed to set the leaders of men morally aright; for he observed them acting the part of the Sorcerer's Apprentice, who failed to stop the flood a cunning art had revealed to him. The task of a statesman in our day, Wilson said, is analogous to the task of a surgeon. There is a great deal that is necessary to be cut out of modern life, yet we must be very careful not to injure any of the sound tissue in cutting out. (June 4, 1912). He felt that an ethical, national and world leadership would bring class strife and a warring mankind (ever enmeshed in fears and passions and prejudices) to a Democracy Triumphant. He trusted in power of an unfettered public opinion, daring and enlightened. He believed in the policy of live and let live; and he was in possession of a native talent to crystallize his ideas in the classroom and on the platform. "It is for this," said Wilson, "that we love democracy: for the emphasis it puts on character; for its tendency to exalt the purposes of the average man to some high level of endeavour; for its just principles of common assent in matters in which all are concerned; for its ideals of duty and its sense of brotherhood." (*Atlantic Monthly*, March 1901). What was the man's background?

Born and reared in the South, son of a devout Presbyterian scholar and minister,

Woodrow Wilson saw the physical ravages left by the Civil War (he was already a sensitive lad eight years old when Lincoln was shot); and he actually observed from close hand the ramifications—psychological, economic, social and political—that plagued the country after the war. A graduate of law, he gave up law practice at the age of twenty-seven and went to Johns Hopkins University, where he received his Ph.D. at the age of thirty. At thirty-four, he became professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton, his *alma mater*, and became its president at the age of forty. His progressive ideas began to make history. He introduced the now famous *preceptorial system*, stressing intellectual incentive by intimate tutoring and honor courses. He also labored (unsuccessfully) for the *quad plan*, which would coordinate the social and intellectual life of the student body on the campus with the principles of applied democracy, minus bias. Early in his career as teacher, he made it clear that his aim was to help men, not to delude them; for it was his conviction that the object of liberal training is not learning, but discipline and the enlightenment of the mind; and a college education should give our young men and women an insight into the things of the mind and of the spirit, a sense of having lived and formed their friendships amidst the gardens of the mind where grows the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.



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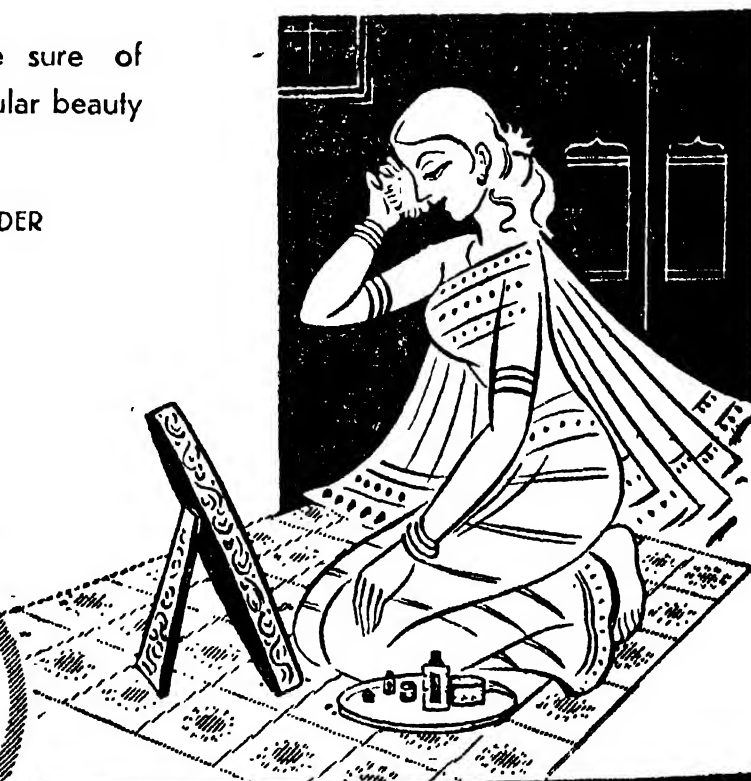
In capsule form, for the world at large Wilson offered a formula based upon the twin-rock of Liberty and Justice; and he held that it was the business of civilization to get together by discussion and not by fighting; that there could be no other foundation for peace than is laid in justice without aggression; that if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of friendly intercourse, the means of constant watchfulness over the common interest. He fervently believed that the only force that outlasts all others and is finally triumphant is the moral judgment of mankind—a judgment that is always opposed to provocations of aggressors and can never condone policies leading to acts brutal, cowardly, ignoble, and dishonorable. Permanent peace, he held, can grow in only one soil. That is the soil of actual good will, and good will cannot exist without mutual comprehension. The firm basis of government, Wilson taught, is justice, not pity. And no matter where, when and how the man reacted, his motive always reverted to this cardinal principle: justice on the college campus, justice among the conflicting interests stirring the ire of his fellow citizens at home, justice in the

international arena among the nations of the world. To him, it was manifest that progressive Government has a vital organic function to perform. Government should serve society, by no means dominate it. The State exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of the State.

The greatness of a man is judged by the undying timeliness of his message. Woodrow Wilson veered steadily toward freedom married to responsibility. He sought the free development of the individual and the group, which was to be attained by means of education, gradual evolution, and voluntary association; equality of opportunity and respect granted to all. His civic aspirations and activities inspired social justice and enjoyment of civilized and moral life. As a scholar, philosopher, and statesman, he aimed toward ordered human co-operative living and a world peace erected upon the appreciation of the dignity of man and the sacredness of human life the world over. Thus the practical dreamer and apostle of American democracy was a lighthouse in a foggy world, one who looked at his fellow Americans, to use his own words, as custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed

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What made the Prussian collections so unique was the survey they afforded over all art and cultural epochs of all times and peoples. Far outgrowing the level of local museums, the collections had been enlarged to cover many spheres of human activities in the international field. Thus the Egyptian section offered a complete historical picture of this ancient civilization, ranging from its primitive beginnings in the fourth millennium to the monuments erected in its final stages. The art treasures of the Near East section were so numerous and varied that no other collection of this type throughout the world could vie with them. For its completeness the Islamic section had a world-wide reputation and could well bear comparison with similar collections in London, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul, Kairo and New York; in some respects it could even serve as a model. The Collections of the Ethnological Museum embraced all continents and contained a great number of the most rare and valuable exhibits; before World War II the catalogue comprised some 400,000 items. The Far Eastern section, with its fine samples of paintings from the classical periods, was one of the finest museums of its kind in Europe. The world-famed Pergamon Museum was the first museum attempting to recreate in their original size ancient buildings, or at least parts of these buildings.

These are only a few examples to prove that in some fields the Prussian collections had no match in the world. They were all interconnected with one another and mutually supplementary, with one museum furnishing the necessary information another was lacking. If torn apart, the whole cultural entity which these collections represented, would break up.

And indeed, this was done after World War II although, fortunately, the greater part of the art treasures remained intact. Until hostilities ceased in May 1945, the losses incurred were relatively small. The heaviest losses were due to the fact that directly after the German surrender—and before the British and Americans arrived in Berlin—the Russians shipped off many valuable art objects from the former German capital. These included all the reliefs of the Pergamon Altar as well as all large pieces of sculpture from the Antique Collection; in addition, important art objects, including Priam's Treasure from the Museum for Prehistoric and Early History, and from the Far Eastern Museum. The Numismatic Collection, too, was taken away by the Russians

from the "Island of Museums" to an unknown place of destination.—*Deutsche Correspondenz*, February 16, 1957.

Progressive Manufacture of Jeep in India

H. N. Mukerjee writes in the *American Reporter*, October 23, 1957 :

Bombay.—As an automobile roared past me at high speed here the other day, I startled and stared. Next moment the car was braked to a screeching, trembling stop. It was not quite 9 in the morning, in a quiet suburb of the city.

The driver, stepping down, paused to light a cigarette. Inhaling, he stooped to examine the brake drums.

Curious as a cat, I walked up and asked the driver what was going on. "Nothing," he said, "I'm on a test run."

The vehicle, I saw, was a Jeep. It had just come off the assembly line of Mahindra and Mahindra, who are manufacturing the entire range of this rugged vehicle. No vehicle leaves the plant without undergoing a gruelling test on all kinds of road surface, good and bad. Records of defects or deficiency are carefully kept and steps taken to rectify them.

The tough little Jeep, as everybody knows, made its bow in World War II as a "general purpose" (g. p., thus jeep) vehicle, able to withstand terrific strain over all kinds of rough country. The versatility of the Jeep was proved in India, as well as in some other places.

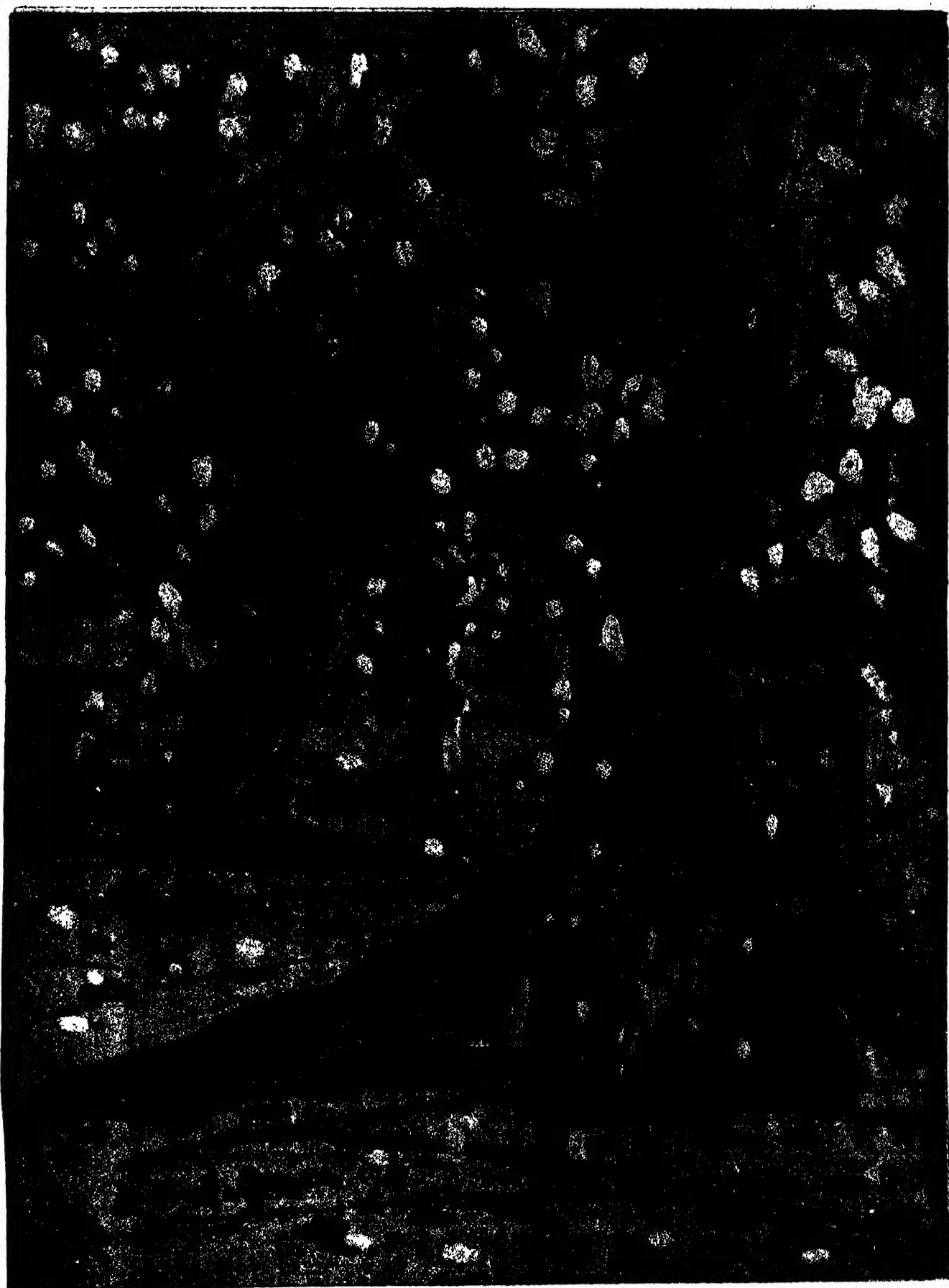
With the advent of independence, the car uses in the field of development in taking survey teams over rugged terrain and to inaccessible regions of the country for planning purposes, made it the logical mobile weapon in India's growing development plans.

It was back in 1947, at the dawn of India's independence, that Mahindra and Mahindra Limited of this city decided to start assembling the vehicle in this country. It entered into an agreement with the American manufacturers of the vehicle, Willys Overland Export Corporation of Toledo, Ohio, through which an assembly plant was set up in Bombay. Mahindra and Mahindra technicians and engineers were trained in the United States to supervise and man the Indian plant. Jeeps were imported in a completely knocked down condition and assembled here.

(To be continued)



Labor Omnia Vincit
Sculptor, Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury



AT THE END OF THE VILLAGE

By Chunilal Bhattacharya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Fiddle and the Fire

The month of February has been a month filled with accidents—major and minor. The most terrible has been the Chinakuri Colliery holocaust with its grievous toll of human lives. There have been railway accidents, in one of which a large number of people lost their lives due to an explosion during the unloading of munitions for the army.

There was a humorous interlude at the Lok Sabha when a Congress member made a pun on the name of the Minister of Railways, Shri Jag Jivan Ram. The Lok Sabha was convulsed with laughter when the member said that the purchase of a ticket for a railway journey meant renunciation of the world and life and only *Ram-nam* was left.

It was an apt remark, but the meaning goes far deeper than perhaps the witty member himself understood. For, it means that the degeneration in public life and morals, that the Congress government has brought in, with its stupid and corrupt practice of party rule in all matters, is now sapping deep at the roots of all the services. As a consequence, it is about time *Ram nam satya hai* was uttered by the pallbearers of Gandhiji's beloved Congress.

We have no doubt there will be Commissions of inquiry galore, and that floods of whitewash would be poured from the witness-boxes, in an attempt to exonerate all who are guilty. And we have no doubt if any straight-forward and forthright judgement is pronounced, indicting some party-boss, as in the Chagla Commission, there would be the same display of hysterics and histrionics as in that affair. The whole

truth or a fair modicum of truth, would not be got at, for, if it did then the entire basis of the corrupt party-system, that is gnawing at the vitals of public life like a malignant growth, would be laid bare.

The spirit of levity, displayed in the Lok Sabha by the members of that august and effete body, is typical of our politicians, of all colour and creed. It is in this spirit that an exceedingly ornamental and useless Constitution was passed and it is in this spirit that major mishaps, that are clear indications of the collapse of all discipline and moral values in the administration, are looked at, by the small men who have managed to fool the trusting masses and are out to enjoy a five-year fancy fair in the legislatures.

The Railways and the fighting forces have a rigid code where explosives are concerned. Both have to function efficiently in times of stress, as in a war or a revolt. We make no comments on the Pathankot explosion. But the Commission must go deep into the matter to see if the procedure laid down for the loading and unloading of explosives was fully carried out and whether all precautions against sabotage were taken.

The same applies to the Chinakuri Colliery accident, where the terms of reference are concerned. The truth must be got at, regardless of consequences to the party-caucus which has a wonderful system of shifting responsibilities on to the most helpless. It is about time this rot in the political circles was laid bare before the public.

The Chagla Commission Report

The affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India with regard to the Mundhra Deal and the report of the Chagla Commission are now too well known to call for any comment. Still however we take this opportunity to state our views on certain specific aspects of developments, namely, the question of Ministerial responsibility, the method of inquiry in such affairs and the relationship between the Government and the autonomous Corporations. As regards the responsibility of the former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Commission finds that he was responsible, at least constitutionally. The Commission has come to the conclusion that clearly there was acquiescence on the part of the Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, in the role played by the Principal Finance Secretary of the Ministry, Mr. H. M. Patel, in bringing about the transaction of June 24 last. It observes: "The lack of repudiation on the part of the Minister would go to support Mr. Patel's story that the Minister had approved of the transaction in Bombay on June 24." The Minister is constitutionally responsible for the acts of the Secretary. On this Mr. Justice Chagla says: "In my opinion, in any case, it is clear that constitutionally the Minister is responsible for the action taken by his Secretary with regard to this transaction. It is clear that a Minister must take the responsibility for actions done by his subordinates. He cannot take shelter behind them, nor can he disown their actions The Minister has complete autonomy within his own sphere of authority. As a necessary corollary he must take full responsibility for the actions of his Secretary." The Minister will lay down the broad policy of his department and his subordinates will reflect that policy in their actions. "If any subordinate fails to do so, he may be punished or dismissed, but however vicariously, the responsibility of his action be assumed by the Minister."

Pandit Nehru has not practically accepted the findings of the Chagla Commission in so far as it holds the former Finance Minister responsible for the deal, either vicariously or constitutionally. In his letter to the Finance Minister he has expressly stated that personally the Minister was not responsible for the deal. He even expressed his dissatisfaction at the

procedure of inquiry so adopted by the Government because truth was not fully disclosed by the inquiry. During the debate in the Rajya Sabha over the matter, the Prime Minister retorted to Pandit Kunzru, "What finding?" In other words, Pandit Nehru repudiated the Chagla Commission's finding that the Finance Minister was responsible for the deal. Pandit Nehru almost made a martyr of Mr. Krishnamachari and his appreciation of work of the former Finance Minister borders on indecorum and overacting. Mr. Krishnamachari's parting speech in the Lok Sabha was not only graceless and undignified, but it was unconvincing too. His statement leaves the impression that the Prime Minister should not have accepted his resignation. But how the Prime Minister could do that in the face of the finding of the Chagla Commission, although he might not have accepted the finding? The Minister was constitutionally responsible for the acts of his subordinates and that principle has already been accepted in India. The resignation of Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri over the Ariyalur railway disaster created a constitutional precedent which could hardly be ignored, particularly over such an affair like that of the Mundhra deal which evoked much public resentment. That a minister is constitutionally responsible for the activities of his subordinates is a well-recognised principle of parliamentary democracy and it is also followed in Britain. Mr. Austen Chamberlain had to resign in 1917 for the military debacle in the Mesopotamian war. Mr. Chamberlain was at that time the Secretary of State for India.

But was the Finance Minister innocent in the strict sense of the term? He averred that he was innocent and was quite unaware of the deals. Pandit Nehru also in his letter to Mr. Krishnamachari and by his subsequent actions supported this contention of the former Finance Minister. Pandit Nehru's arrogant fling at Pandit Kunzru in the Rajya Sabha was unbecoming of a responsible Minister. Assuming that Mr. Krishnamachari did not acquiesce in the deal when it was being mooted, but he was certainly responsible for approving it *ex postfacto*, simply because he did never repudiate it. In his speech he stated that he was told that only scrips of Jessops and Richardson and Cruddas were going to be purchased and he was

not informed of transactions in other scrips. But the mention about the scrip of Jessops and Richardson and Cruddas must have taken aback an alert Minister like Mr. Krishnamachari. It is surprising enough that he did not at all ask his Principal Finance Secretary as to why he was going to purchase the shares of a person whose financial integrity is questionable. Further, why did not the Finance Minister express his surprise as to why the Investment Committee of the Life Insurance Corporation was being overridden? What was the urgency for this deal? The Finance Minister finished his duty simply by saying, "Be careful." Is that enough we could expect of a responsible Finance Minister? He acted in such a way that a boy of five would not have ordinarily acted. He knows well that it is not the business of the LIC to stabilise the stock exchange. Who gave this responsibility to the LIC? Why the Principal Finance Secretary took upon himself so heavy a burden? These questionings would have struck a man of ordinary intelligence, but they did not strike the Finance Minister who was of course above the level of ordinary intelligence. The Finance Minister was certainly guilty of negligence and he failed to exercise that common prudence which could be expected of a man of his position and responsibility. The evidence before the Commission transpires that Mr. Krishnamachari was aware of the nature of Mr. Mundhra even as early as 1954 when he was Commerce and Industry Minister. Besides, a Finance Minister is expected to know about important personalities in Indian industry and also about their integrity or otherwise. To plead ignorance as was done by Krishnamachari is to admit inefficiency. Mr. Krishnamachari stated in the Lok Sabha that "man-eaters" were around him and he was a victim of their conspiracy. But this argument is also untenable. Every man has his enemies, especially if he is placed in a position of power. But the former Finance Minister had the Parliamentary privilege and he could have disclosed the name of the persons whom he thought to have conspired against him. But he did not do that. Therefore his charge is baseless, or at least this is not of much importance. The former Finance Minister tried to make a saint of himself by evading the real issue. After all he was responsible constructively for the deal.

The affairs of the Mundra deal by the Life Insurance Corporation brings out the need for clear definition of the relationship between the Government and such autonomous corporations. The Government will certainly lay down the broad policy within which such Corporation must function. But in matters of administration the corporation itself is responsible and cannot be expected to abdicate such responsibility in favour of anybody. Both Mr. Vaidyanathan and Mr. Kamat failed to perform their duties in that they should have asked for written direction from Mr. Patel and they should have insisted on Investment Committee's considering and approving the deal.

Another thing that crops up in this connection is whether such Enquiry Commissions are adequate enough to find out official laches and omissions and commissions. Such a Commission cannot always find out the truth and it was felt by all concerned that in this Enquiry Commission truth was the first casualty. But legal proceedings cannot also be started on such insufficient data. The suggestion is that Parliament itself should conduct investigation by its own committee. But Parliament cannot constitute itself a court of law and it is beyond the capacity of such a committee to drive home the truth behind official laches. The answer certainly lies in the setting up of administrative courts which are fit institutions for proceeding against official omissions and commissions. But Pandit Nehru's attitude is deplorable in so far as he tried to brush aside the findings of the Commission against Mr. Krishnamachari. What better evidence has he got to skip over the Commission's findings. Had the Government of India better evidence in this respect, then why did they rush to appoint a Commission? They now seem to have grown wiser enough to sniff at the Commission's findings simply because the verdict of the Commission was not so pleasant as was expected to be by the Government.

Export Promotion

India has been running chronic trade deficits in her foreign trade. The latest report given by the Reserve Bank states that during the first half of 1957-58, the gap between current receipts and payments more than doubled from Rs. 126 crores in April-September 1956 to Rs. 298 crores. The main source of finance for this large deficit

was chiefly the foreign exchange reserves which were drawn down by Rs. 174 crores. PL 480 facilities and the stand-by credit of Rs. 34.5 crores from the IMF were other important sources of finance. The continued high rates of imports was the principal reason for the deficit. A seasonal decline in invisibles including official donations were also responsible to some extent for the widening of the deficit. Most of the increase in imports arose under the combined impact of the development expenditure in the economy and the unfavourable turn in the food situation. The aggregate imports during April-September 1957 reached the high level of Rs. 622 crores, representing an increase of nearly Rs. 145 crores over the corresponding period of 1956. During April-September 1956, the aggregate imports stood at Rs. 476 crores. This rise is mainly attributable to the imports in the public sector. Exports during this period of 1957 showed a decline from Rs. 288 crores to Rs. 267 crores. Excluding official donations and other invisibles, the real deficits come to Rs. 355 crores for this period of 1957 as against the corresponding period of 1956.

The deficit with the sterling area rose sharply from Rs. 13.6 crores in the second half of 1956-57 to Rs. 18.8 crores during the first half of 1957-58. Indian imports from this area were lower by Rs. 21.3 crores and the exports also declined by about Rs. 45.8 crores. The payment position with the dollar area also showed a marked decline; from a position of near balance in the first half of 1956-57 the deficit mounted to Rs. 71 crores in the first half of 1957-58. This deterioration is mainly on account of higher imports of foodgrains under PL 480 and T.C.A. programmes. Export receipts from the dollar area were lower as compared to either half of 1956-57 principally because of lower offtake of tea and jute manufactures. The payment gap with the OEFC countries deepened further from Rs. 95 crores in the first half of 1956-57 to Rs. 135 crores during the half year under review (that is, April-September 1957). Rising import payments were mainly responsible for this worsening situation. The increase of Rs. 44 crores in imports from the OEFC over the corresponding period of the preceding year was mainly on account of large payments for machinery, electrical goods and drugs and medicines.

Transactions with the rest of the non-sterling area resulted in a deficit of Rs. 40.3 crores in April-September 1957 as against a deficit of Rs. 9 crores in April-September 1956. The main factor for this deficit was the increased payment for imports which rose by Rs. 33 crores to Rs. 99 crores. Most of this rise was in the commercial sector and was distributed over a wide range of commodities. Jute, tea and cotton textiles are the main export commodities from India. Over the supply position of some of these commodities, the report of the Export Promotion Committee tries to bring home the truth. About tea, the report of the Committee supports our view that the tea output in India is not a surplus, rather it is a deficit. The bogey of surplus output raised by a section of the industry is not only misleading, but is also harmful to the interest of the country.

Tea is the foremost foreign exchange earner for India. India is the largest single producer of tea in the world, producing more than 50 per cent of the total world production. In recent years the Indian tea production has been somewhat static at 650 million pounds a year and the average annual export figure being 450 million lbs. In view of increasing internal consumption of tea in India, the prospects of tea exports would depend largely on the increase brought about by the production of tea in the country. For that would be necessary to increase the acreage under tea. It may be possible to take measures which could make for higher production than the 710 million lbs. a year envisaged by the Second Plan. Apart from trying to sell more tea in our existing markets, new markets should also be developed. For example the report points out, the Eastern Europe with a population of 115 million consumes hardly 17 million lbs. of tea a year.

While Ceylon, Pakistan, East Africa and Indonesia have launched nation-wide programmes for increasing the tea acreage and also the production, India adopted a voluntary cut in her tea output in 1956. In view of the short production of tea in this country, the Government of India have to limit the volume of tea for export and this is designed to meet the needs of the internal market where consumption is increasing at a rate of 10 million pounds a year. While the close rivals of India like Ceylon, Indonesia and East Africa are pursuing a policy of increased

output and have also repudiated the International Tea Agreement, India is pursuing an opposite policy of restricting the tea acreage and also trying to revive the tea agreement. The Indian owners of tea estates even unilaterally imposed a voluntary restriction of crop. Pity it is the Government of India is allowing itself to be wrongly guided by such an anti-national policy as to restrict the tea output in this country. The Second Five-Year Plan target of tea production has been placed at 700 million lbs., to be achieved by 1960 and this has been raised to 710 million lbs., by the Plantation Enquiry Commission. But the target of 700 million lbs. a year is still a far-away objective for India as the production has remained static for the last several years. The result is that India is required to export less tea and thereby she is yielding place to her rivals. The Government of India is criminally callous about the prospects of tea industry in India. There is great scope of development of tea cultivation in Kulu and Kangra Valleys on small scale and the all possible incentives and help should be given by the authorities. In the overseas markets, Indian tea is handicapped with high prices. On this point the Export Promotion Committee observes: "Though we have generally been able to sell our tea, as witnessed by the fact that we do not always carry large stocks of unsaleable tea, a reduction of even 12 to 18 nP a lb. in the cost of production would make a substantial difference to the grower. Even though we can really never hope to compete with East Africa in cost of production, a measure of relief from the present high level of costs would be of assistance to tea exports. Apart from the Plantation Labour Acts, various taxes and levies inflate the prices of Indian tea. The taxes and levies which get reflected in our export prices are: (a) the tea cess at 4 nP per pound, (b) the Assam carriage tax and West Bengal octroi each at one anna per lb., and (c) the export duty which now stands at 6 annas a lb. Indian common teas deserve relief in taxation for the purpose of increasing exports. The earnings from Indian tea exports constitute about 30 per cent of our total export earnings.

In the case of export of jute manufactures, India today faces many difficulties. The export of jute goods contribute on an average some 20 per cent to India's total foreign exchange

earnings every year. Time was when jute, being the cheapest packing material available, could be readily sold in every part of the world. India was then the sole producer of this fibre and could easily afford to export raw jute abroad for processing. But now the position is very different. The partition of India deprived the country of its chief source of supply of this important raw material. Moreover, India has now to face competition in the jute manufactures trade and this competition is becoming stronger with the passing of time. Another development that has come as a strong rival to jute industry is the substitute packaging material which is fast growing. The substitute packaging materials have ousted the jute goods to a great extent. But in recent years the cost of production of substitutes has become very high and as a result there has been a switch over to the use of jute goods again.

Cheapness being the strongest point in favour of jute textiles, it is essential that raw jute prices are kept at the lowest levels practicable. India is however not self-supporting in the production of raw jute and she has to import large quantities from Pakistan. Dependence on Pakistan for supplies will not be very expedient because that country has already set up a number of jute mills and as such she will try to process her own raw jute. India at present requires about 70 lakh bales of raw jute, but she produces only 42 lakh bales. The balance quantity has to be imported from Pakistan. Pakistan either charges higher prices for export of raw jute to India or does not at all export raw jute to India on some pretexts or other. Anyway, Pakistan is not very co-operative in this respect. India shall have to depend on her own domestic production of raw jute in order to keep her mills going. Every effort has therefore to be made to step up the production of raw jute in this country itself. Jute and paddy being competing crops, the main direction of efforts to increase raw jute production should be more towards intensive cultivation and not merely an expansion in the area under jute. The development of special strains which yield a larger quantity of fibre per plant than at present should be attempted. India is very short of paddy acreage and she cannot afford to expand to an unlimited extent either the paddy or the jute fields. Balance between these two

competing crops is essential and for that purpose intensive cultivation of both is called for.

The increasing competition in the world market can be countered in two ways, says the report of the Export Promotion Committee. These two ways are: (a) by reducing our cost of production of the ordinary lines of jute goods, namely, hessian and sackings; and (b) by increasingly concentrating on the production of specialised jute fabrics, such as, narrow fabrics, linoleum hessian, bitumenised cloth, backings for tufted carpets and also by finding out new uses to which jute fibres can be put. In regard to costs of production, modernisation of jute mills is essential. A number of jute mills have already been modernised with the assistance National Industrial Development Corporation. It is very unfortunate that so long the Government of India was totally undecided about the rationalisation of the technique of production in jute mills. Pakistan with her latest technique of production can compete favourably against India in the overseas export market. India has awakened to the danger of such competition, but it is belated recognition of her needs. On account of shortage of raw jute production, the Indian jute mills cannot work full time and this means idle installed capacity and results ultimately in higher costs.

The cotton textile industry comes third in the earning of foreign exchanges for the country. As an organised industry of major importance, Indian cotton textiles have an important role to play in any programme of expansion of Indian exports. The Second Plan provides for an export target of 1,000 million yards of cotton textiles a year. The cotton textiles produced at present are not sufficient enough to meet the needs of the home market as well as of overseas markets. The mill-made textiles do not exceed 5,000 million yards a year and the hand-loom textiles stand at about 2,000 million yards. India's internal needs are fast growing and it is essential that there should be rapid expansion of cotton textile mills. But the Government of India hitherto discouraged further expansion of mills with a view to developing the hand-loom industry. But this was a retrograde step and increased production of mill-made textiles will improve India's earnings of foreign exchanges. Indian textiles enjoy a good market in the countries of the Middle East and also in the U.K.

As in other export commodities, price and quality are important determinants of the volume of our cotton textile exports. A considerable part of the existing equipment in the cotton textile industry is old and outmoded. In consequence, in the highly competitive export markets of the world Indian cotton textiles have had to lose grounds, particularly to the cheaper varieties of Japan. The Export Promotion Committee, therefore, rightly points out that unless India benefits from the latest machines and techniques, our cotton textiles will have to struggle hard to maintain markets it has now, let alone increasing exports. About 90 per cent of India's export of cotton cloth are of the coarse and medium varieties. Apart from India's high cost of production, another reason why it is hard for this country to compete in fine and super-fine varieties is that India has to import most of her requirements of long-staple cotton from abroad.

Developments in the Middle East

The developments in the Middle East have quickened the pace of world tension in the war of nerves. The Union of Egypt and Syria is being tried to be countered by the union of Iraq and Jordan. Syria in recent years has been suffering from political instability. She has become the ground-bed of diplomatic manoeuvres by Russia on the one hand and the USA and Britain on the other. Russia is pursuing her historic aim of expansion to the Mediterranean through Syria and the USA is trying to foil that plan. The dominant features of Syrian politics in recent years are embittered Nationalism and anti-colonialism, a savage hatred for a neighbourly State, Israel, and political instability. Syrian Governments have changed with bewildering rapidity and revolutionary tactics. Since the attainment of Syrian independence in 1943, governments have changed more than 24 times, and these include 5 military *coups d'etat* in the last eight years. Economic progress is very slow and poverty is widespread. Soviet Russia is very quick to utilise this situation and she has been able to wean off Syria from the influence of the Anglo-American bloc. The United Arab State of Syria and Egypt is the result of political expediency, rather than that of natural sequence. Egypt and Syria share no common border, Israel and Jordan standing

in between them. Egypt, the more powerful and prosperous of the partners, covers an area of 386,000 square miles with a population of more than 23 million. Syria, covering 72,000 square miles has about 4 million people. This is more in the nature of a personal union than a real union.

Apprehending that Syria was turning to the USA sent Mr. Loy Henderson, Assistant-Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs to Syria in September, 1957, to investigate the matter. The report submitted by Mr. Henderson stated that Syria was being influenced more and more by Russia. The USA accordingly took a tough policy towards Syria with the object of frightening it with serious consequences. The aim of the USA was also to prevent Russia from making deeper involvement and inroads in the politics of the Middle East. The shipment of arms to Jordan and the concentration of troops on the Syrian border by Turkey were a part of this policy of the USA. Britain, however, suggested moderation in the attitude of the USA, otherwise the situation would have further worsened. The US threat to Syria bore the opposite result. Both Syria and Russia reacted and Syria went further nearer to Russia in diplomatic relations.

At the recent meeting of the Baghdad Pact countries held in Ankara in the last week of January of this year, agreement was reached on the unification of the command of the member-countries. A Turkish officer, Lt.-Gen. Ekrem Akalin, was appointed on January 28 as the Chairman of the new military planning staff under the Baghdad Pact for one year. The U.S. Air force Major-General Daniel Campbell was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Staff. Mr. Khalidy, Secretary-General of the Pact, said: "The main objective of the Pact is collective security. Collective security means that if there is an aggression against one, it is an aggression against all. That is my understanding."

These events hastened the process of union between Egypt and Syria as a defensive measure. Syria apprehends attacks from Turkey and by this Union attack on Syria will constitute attack on Egypt and this will give enough scope to Russia to intervene. The Union between Egypt and Syria will counteract to a great extent the

importance of the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East. The union is an answer to the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East and it will try to ease the tension among the countries belonging to the opposing groups.

Political Changes in the Middle East

The political map of the area of West Asia commonly known as the Middle East underwent a great change with the merger of Egypt and Syria into one single State, named the United Arab Republic. The plan to unify the two States was announced during the latter part of January. The proclamation for the union of the two States was ratified by the Parliaments of the two countries in the first week of February, and by the people in a referendum on February 21. The capital of the new State would be in Cairo and President Nasser would be its first President. The popular vote in Egypt was 99 per cent in favour of the union and President Nasser. In Syria, over 90 per cent of a total of 1,431,000 voters turned up at the polls. Only 139 voted against the union whilst 1,312,859 said "we agree"; 1,312,808 voted in favour of President Nasser and 187 against.

The United Arab Republic would be administered under a 17-point Provisional Constitution announced by President Nasser on February 5, 1958. According to the announcement, the United Arab Republic would be a democratic, independent, sovereign republic with liberties and suffrage for the people. Legislative authority would be vested in a house to be called the National Assembly—members of which would be specified and appointed by decree of the President of the Republic (Nasser). Half the members would be selected from among the existing members of the Syrian and Egyptian parliaments. The executive powers of the new State would be vested in the President. The judiciary would be independent "with no power over them save that of law." Internationally, all the existing treaties would remain valid for the areas they covered.

The Egyptian-Syrian Union was welcomed by a large number of States. Yemen actively supported the merger and itself wanted to join the new United Republic under an arrangement whereby it would retain its monarchy within

the UAP. The new State was promptly recognised by many States, including India. However, the pro-Western Arab States were critical of this merger. As a counterweight to the influence of the new Republic it was even proposed to effect a merger of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Nothing concrete was, however, done in that direction.

In an age where the craze of the politicians for partition—look at Korea, India, Palestine, China and Indo-China—it was certainly very reassuring to find two independent States agreeing of their own volition to merge themselves into one entity. We could not but praise in the highest terms the political sagacity and selflessness of the Egyptian and Syrian peoples and leaders, more particularly of the Syrian leaders headed by the President, Shukri el Kwaitly.

No doubt, the new State with a complicated and interrupted national boundary (in this it bore some resemblance to Pakistan) would be faced with a great many problems to solve. Its strategic location in an area where the two military colossi were aligned against each other in a race of gaining political and military supremacy only tended to add complexity to its problems. But the unification of the Arab States would undoubtedly brighten the prospects of peace and stability in the area—the two things which had been conspicuous by their absence in that area for over a century now.

Chinese Troops to Withdraw

The Chinese Government has decided to withdraw its troops from North Korea where the Chinese military forces have remained for over seven years and three months officially as Chinese People's Volunteer Corps. This was announced in the Sino-Korean joint statement issued on February 19 from Pyongyang, the North Korean capital on the occasion of Premier Chou En-lai's visit to that country. The withdrawal of the Chinese military forces from Korea would be completed by the end of 1958. Referring to this point the Sino-Korean joint statement says:

"During the talks, the two parties (China and North Korea) exchanged views especially on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both North and South Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. They agreed

that the proposals made in the statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of February 5, 1958, not only represent the national aspiration of the Korean people for the peaceful unification of their motherland, but are also timely and realistic proposals in the present international situation. In line with its consistent stand of actively promoting the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the Chinese Government expressed full support to the Korean Government's proposals in a statement issued on February 7, 1958, and now, after consultations with the Korean Government, has further proposed to the Chinese People's volunteers that they take the initiative in withdrawing from Korea. The Chinese People's volunteers have fully concurred in this proposal of the Chinese Government and have decided to withdraw completely from Korea by stages and to complete the withdrawal before the end of 1958. The first stage of the withdrawal will be completed before April 30, 1958. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has agreed to this decision of the Chinese People's volunteers and is willing to assist in their complete withdrawal."

The decision of the Government of the People's Republic of China to withdraw its forces from Korea has been welcomed by many, including the British Government. While some has tended to minimise the importance of this step by pointing to the fact that even after complete withdrawal of its troops the Chinese Government would not have much difficulty in sending its troops to Korea again, should the situation so demand, the significance of the present Chinese decision cannot but be felt by all. It is again beyond doubt that the move of the Chinese Government is in the right direction. There certainly is a lot of difference between the fact of the existence of foreign troops and the possibility of its returning after withdrawal. In this context the United States Government's decision not to withdraw its forces from South Korea cannot but appear in an unfavourable light before the people everywhere. No international dispute can be expected to be solved from a position of obstinacy for that mutual compromise is required. The Chinese gesture should have been reciprocated by the West.

Korean Proposals

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Korea headed by Kim Il Sung in its statement of February 5, 1958, outlined a 4-point plan for the re-unification of Korea. The points are immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; holding of elections for an all-Korean Government under the aegis of "a neutral nations' organ" (not under the auspices of the United Nations); resumption of mutual relationships between North and South Korea on the basis of equality to decide on matters concerning the all-Korean elections and encourage economic and cultural exchange; and the reduction of the armed forces in both parts of Korea.

The Chinese Government endorsed these suggestions in its declaration of February 7. The United States Government indicated that it would not agree to any proposal to hold all-Korean elections unless the elections were held under the auspices of the United Nations. It also declared that it could not agree to withdraw its troops from Korea without being sure of future political stability there.

Change in the Chinese Foreign Office

There was a major change in the Chinese Foreign Office on February 11, 1958, when it was announced that Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, had been relieved of his concurrent post as Foreign Minister. Mr. Chou had been known as a specialist in foreign affairs since the early forties and his skilful diplomacy in the Indo-China talks in Geneva and the Asian-African Conference at Bandung had earned him laurels even from his political opponents in other countries. There was no indication of his impending departure and the news was understandably received with surprise in the foreign capitals. Mr. Chou was replaced as Foreign Minister by one of the Vice-Premiers, Marshal Chen Yi.

To understand the significance of this change it was necessary to know who it was within the Politbureau of the Chinese Communist Party who was directing foreign policy—in so far as the real ruler in a Communist State is not the formal Government—nor the Parliament, but the Communist Party. Judged in this context it at once struck one as signi-

ficant that it was Marshal Chen Yi (and not Mr. Chou En-lai as Foreign Minister) who reported on foreign policy to the last Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1956.

Some tended to see in this change an index of Chou's political decline. Others were inclined to see in Chen Yi's selection Chou's effort to strengthen his position by placing a trusted lieutenant in a key-post.

The weekly *China News Analysis* writes: "It is possible Chou En-lai is required for the internal affairs of the country now passing through a rather critical period after the great purge which is not yet ended. Chou En-lai is particularly suited to deal, in a shrewd but not soft way; with the educated classes and students whose revolt may be traced back to his speech in January, 1956, for the existence of a revolt against the Party leadership is now a commonly admitted fact. It is not impossible too that his help in economic affairs is needed . . ."

Referring to Chen Yi's rise as a foreign affairs man, the *China News Analysis* adds: ". . . In October, 1954, he (Chen Yi) visited Eastern Germany. In November, it was he alone who received the Polish Cultural Delegation and the Vietminh Communications Delegation.

"In 1955, in March, he received the Russian Minister for Public Health. In May, he reported after Chou En-lai to the Standing Committee (of the National People's Congress) about the Bandung Conference. He was at the side of Chou when he received a delegation from India. He himself received minor delegation from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Egypt. Further, in the same year, he received delegations from Poland, Mongolia, Sweden, France, Soviet Russia, England and Korea. Most of these delegations were cultural or artistic groups or groups of scientists. He gave addresses to the Chinese Academy of Science and on the reform of writing. In September, he was among the first Marshals named by Peking.

"In 1956, he continued his cultural activities both inside China and in his contacts with foreign cultural delegations. In March, he was made the chairman of the newly-established scientific Committee of the Cabinet. In April, he was the delegate of the Government and the (Communist) Party in Tibet. There he

presided at the summit meetings and met the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. In June, he flew from Lhasa to Sining in Chinghai province where he visited the Chaidam Basin works. In August, he received Japanese veterans and delegations from Singapore, Syria and Western Germany. In September, he reported on foreign affairs to the Eighth Party Congress. In October, he escorted Sockarno and accompanied him from Shanghai to Kunming, he took part in the Chou En-lai-U No negotiations about the Burmese border. He again became prominent in foreign affairs in the second half of 1957."

"A natural conclusion to this list of activities of Chen Yi," the *China News Analysis* adds, "would be that his activities ran on two lines, foreign policy and cultural, particularly scientific matters. This does not prove that Chen Yi would be better qualified for the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs than any of the Foreign Affairs Vice-Ministers or professional diplomats, would have been. Chen Yi, however does not take up his post untrained and uninitiated. but, above all, he is a military man."

The Army in China and India

A Chinese Military Mission led by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying came on a friendly visit to India in February. In this context the role being played by the army in the national construction of China would be of some interest to the Indian public. An idea of the tasks undertaken by the People's Liberation Army (the official name for the Chinese Army) is given by the report of the official *Hsinhua* (New China) News Agency quoted below:

"Peking, February 7: How the Chinese People's Liberation Army units in Sinkiang have been building irrigation works in sub-zero weather, at times 20 degrees below freezing point, was described by General Tao Chih-yueh, Deputy Commander of the PLA Sinkiang Military Region, at the National People's Congress this afternoon. Their work in irrigation and in accumulating fertilizer, he said, was in preparation for a great leap forward in agriculture that was now being planned in Sinkiang.

"In the Second Five-Year Plan period, the General said, Sinkiang would be built up as a centre for cotton-growing, pedigree breeding, sugar beet-growing and sugar production.

In this, the PLA units were playing a big part, he said. They were aiming to reclaim another 530,000 to 660,000 hectares of virgin land during this period, a four-fold increase over what they had done in the First Five-Year Plan. Per-hectare grain output would be increased to an average of six tons . . ."

"During the past five years, the General told the Congress, the men had already opened up large tracts of land in what used to be deserts, north and south of the Great Tianshan Mountain, and made them fertile crop lands. They had built 44 State farms, 16 State animal-husbandry centres and 99 big and small processing plants. These provided good foundations for the future agricultural development in Sinkiang, General Tso Chih-yueh said.

"This year alone, the PLA men aimed to sow crop on 226,000 hectares, to yield a quarter of a million tons of food-crops, 65 per cent more than last year, and 25,000 tons of cotton, 78 per cent more than last year, and to reclaim 146,000 hectares of wasteland."

In India also consideration should be given whether the jawans could not be employed for nation-building purposes during a part of their normal peace-time duties.

The Middle-East Tangle

Power politics is in full play in the Arab States of the Middle East. The cold war has now shifted its focus thereon. The latest development has intensified the political rivalries, which reflected in the following editorial in the *New York Times* of February 2, under the caption "Cairo vs. Baghdad:"

"The turbulent Middle East is an arena of intense political rivalries. The Soviet Government, like the regime of the Czars, has pressed to gain a foothold in the Middle East. The West has been equally intent upon keeping the Russians out. Many Arab statesmen, for their part, have been trying to unify the region under the banner of a 'United Arab State' in the belief that the salvation of Arab nationalism lies in federation.

"The impact of the cold war on these Middle Eastern rivalries has split the Arab world. Egypt, Syria and Yemen, strongly anti-Western, have espoused a brand of 'neutralism' which is openly pro-Soviet. Lebanon, Jordan

and Saudi Arabia are anti-Russian but have avoided aligning themselves with the West. Iraq's government is staunchly pro-Western.

"Last week the interplay of these powerful forces was in evidence in a dramatic move in Cairo—the proclamation of the union of Egypt and Syria—and in a meeting of the pro-Western Baghdad Pact powers. This was the background and the development last week in the two areas:

"Eight hundred years ago Saladin the Great, the Arab conqueror, made himself the Sultan of Egypt and Syria and defended his domains against the Crusaders of the West. Ever since the crumbling of Saladin's empire, some Egyptian and Syrian leaders have dreamed of the day when both countries would reunite under a single Arab flag. Egypt's President Abdel Gamal Nasser has cherished the idea of such a union as a first step toward the unity of the Arab world from 'the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf.' Shukri al-Kuwatly, the 65-year-old President of Syria, has nourished the same idea since his youthful days in the Arab nationalist movement.

"Three years ago Egypt and Syria signed a mutual defense pact which placed their armed forces under a joint command headed by an Egyptian general. Two years ago the Syrian Parliament voted unanimously to approve plans for establishing a committee to negotiate with Egypt for a federal union of the two countries. Talks on the federation have been in progress ever since.

"Yesterday, as wildly cheering crowds marched through Cairo, President Nasser and al-Kuwatly signed a joint proclamation which announced the merger of both nations under the name 'United Arab Republic.' The new country embraces an area of 500,000 square miles (386,000 of them Egyptian) and 28,000,000 people (24,000,000 of them Egyptians). Like Pakistan, the new state will have two parts separated by alien land, in this case Israel. Although full details have yet to be made public—and must be ratified by plebiscite in Egypt and Syria, probably February 20—the new state is to have a single flag, Cabinet, Parliament, Army and President—Egypt's Nasser. Mr. al-Kuwatly will be Vice-President. It will also have one foreign policy—'positive neutralism.' All other Arab states will be invited to join."

The Baghdad Pact

The *New York Times* gives in the same context a review of the position of the Baghdad Pact alliance. The effect of the delegation led by Mr. Dulles, is not yet fully apparent. But a summary of the U.S. stand is given in this note:

"The Middle Eastern Treaty Organization, which became known as the Baghdad Pact after it established its headquarters in the Iraqi capital, was formed in 1955 by Britain and four of Russia's southern neighbors—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. Although the pact was conceived by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as a 'northern tier' for the Middle East and a bridge between the NATO alliance in Europe and the SEATO alliance in Asia, the United States did not become a full-fledged member. Washington felt that membership in the alliance would complicate its relations with Egypt and other non-member Arab states.

"The alliance has other limitations. The pact itself is loosely worded and the members are not firmly committed to act against aggression. Iraq is the only Arab member of the alliance and most of the other Arab states have denounced the alliance as an instrument of Western 'colonialism.' Moreover, the Russians leapfrogged over the 'northern tier' almost as soon as it was set up. They gave military and economic aid to Egypt, Syria and Yemen and began an intensive anti-Western propaganda campaign in the Middle East.

"Last year, in response to the growing Russian challenge in the Middle East, Congress adopted the Eisenhower Doctrine which authorized the President to use U.S. armed forces to help defend any Middle East nation requesting support against aggression by 'international communism.' The U.S. has also joined the Baghdad Pact's military, economic and political committees. Nevertheless, pressure on the United States to become a full-fledged member has been heavy, and in recent weeks the entire alliance was reported in danger of dissolution as a result of an Iraqi threat to pull out in order 'to preserve Arab unity'.

"It was in this atmosphere of crisis that the Baghdad powers met in Ankara last week for the fourth meeting of the Pact Council.

"Mr. Dulles headed the U.S. delegation of

'observers.' On Monday, at the opening session, he declared:

"The United States stands firmly behind the resolve of all Middle East nations to remain free and to reinforce the peace. We wholeheartedly support the Baghdad Pact. . . . The Baghdad Pact . . . can be confident that (U.S.) mobile power of great force would, as needed, be brought to bear against any Communist aggressor.

"Mr. Dulles made no mention of full U.S. membership in the organization but the renewed—and strengthened—assurance of U.S. military intervention in the event of Communist aggression went far to allay the feeling of the pact members that the U.S. 'had only one foot' in the alliance."

Indonesian Affairs

Indonesia is in turmoil. Part of it is the natural outcome of bitter political rivalries in that country. But it seems that outside influence has very much intensified the trouble. The following news-report in the *Statesman* supports that view:

"Djakarta, Feb. 21.—President Soekarno declared today that foreign countries were exerting pressure to force Indonesia, or part of it, to join one of the Power blocs, Reuter reports.

"President Soekarno was broadcasting to the nation six days after the province of Sumatra had proclaimed an independent Government. He announced his support for the Djakarta Central Government and appealed to the people to safeguard Indonesia against divisions and maintain national independence.

"Speaking to mark the occasion of his resumption of Presidential duties, Dr. Soekarno referred to the pressure from 'foreign countries holding important roles in international politics'.

"Since the recognition of our sovereignty this pressure has been on our State. Every misunderstanding and difficulty of the country—political, economic or military—has become a political target for outside nations'.

"The object of these nations was to include Indonesia, or part of it, in one of the Power blocs. The misunderstanding and revolt in the provinces had given foreign nations the opportunity to play their parts.

"If it were true that the demands of the provinces were sincere, then the question of relationship between the Central Government and the provinces could have been solved long ago. But there are signs that the demands of the provinces have become the instruments of outside nations."

"The efforts of a small clique to force the majority of the Indonesian people to submit to their demands had reached a climax.

"I wish to make it clear here that their actions are illegal, and that I am unable to recognize them.

"When I was leaving Djakarta, there was a strong movement to oust me, and I told the people that the President and the Prime Minister, Dr. Djuanda, together with the Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces and Police had made a decision and taken a firm stand. That firm stand is being maintained."

"Indonesia today announced an economic blockade of Central Sumatra and said sea and air links and telegraph and postal communications had already been cut. Dr. Djuanda, the Premier, told reporters the Central Government would increase its naval strength and air and coast patrols in the area. The blockade was a first step, he said. Military strategic measures had not yet been taken. The Government would try to avoid an armed clash, but this could not always be guaranteed."

The Tunisia Incident

The impact of the troubles in Algeria, on the mentality of the French officers in command in North Africa, seems to have been atavistic in effect. Else this bombing of an unarmed open town in Tunisia cannot be explained. We are unable to find anything in this "reprisal" which is capable of explanation in terms of civilized warfare. This is comparable to the atrocities of the last war.

"Tunisia, which won its independence from France two years ago, shares a border of about 500 miles with Algeria on the west. Both countries are largely Arab and have a common desire to see the whole of North Africa independent. But the French consider Algeria a province of Continental France and for three years they have been heavily engaged in putting down an Arab revolt there. The French have fielded an army of 450,000 troops in an effort

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to quell the revolt. The rebels have replied by fighting a hit-and-run guerrilla war, often using Tunisia as a refuge.

"In recent months the French have grown increasingly incensed over the clandestine shipment of arms over the Tunisian-Algerian border and into rebel hands. The French have also accused the Tunisian Government of President Habib Bourguiba of giving the rebels sanctuary and supplies. In recent weeks the relations between France and Tunisia have deteriorated further as border incidents have increased.

Ten days ago the French Army launched a major military operation at the northern tip of Algerian-Tunisian frontier in a determined bid to 'pacify' the country.

"Yesterday, in this charged atmosphere, twenty-five French warplanes bombed and strafed a Tunisian town on the frontier. Casualties were high. The French declared the raid on the town, which was crowded with Arabs from other countries, was undertaken in reprisal for anti-aircraft fire from Tunisia which downed a French plane on the Algerian side of the frontier."

U.S. and Soviet Science

The United States launched its first sputnik named "Explorer" nearly three months after the second Soviet sputnik. The delay in the fruition of the American efforts has naturally been commented upon by many. The United States had initially greater facilities than the Soviet Union to become the first producer of the sputnik. Yet it failed. What was the reason?

Mr. Max Ascoli, editor of the fortnightly *Reporter*, puts forward an interesting hypothesis. Mr. Ascoli writes: "In Soviet Russia, thinking about social problems or man's destiny is out of bounds, and as a substitute for it there are all the stereotypes of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. . . . Yet, this State-imposed atrophy of political or moral ideas may well be one of the causes of the spectacular progress of Russian science. The most vigorous brains find shelter—perhaps, a measure of privacy—in the intricacies of mathematics and of technology. Indeed, the greater the intricacies, the safer the shelter for the men barricaded behind abstractions and able to prove their worth to the regime with their scientific and technological achievements."

Mr. Ascoli says that everybody was "a slave in Soviet Russia but the scientists". In the USA, on the contrary, "everybody is free and only the scientists are kept on the leash. The Oppenheimer decisions have muzzled them. No wonder that in mathematics or in technology the Russians are getting ahead of us," he writes.

The Missile Race

The U.S. satellite has been launched. There has been some face-saving of the U.S.A. as a direct consequence. But does that mean that the U.S.A. has now caught up with the Soviets? The following editorial from the *New York Times* of February 2, gives an answer:

"Where does the United States now stand vis-a-vis Russia in missiles competition and the conquest of outer space?

"The thirty-pound U.S. satellite is a dwarf compared with Suptnik I and Sputnik II. Moreover, the rockets that put the Soviet satellites up were correspondingly more powerful than the Explorer's hybrid Jupiter-C vehicle. Jupiter-C had an initial thrust of 75,000 pounds. American scientists have estimated that the rocket for Sputnik II must have had an initial thrust in excess of 250,000 pounds, or in other words a rocket with an intercontinental range and more powerful than any tested in the United States up to that time. Coupled with earlier reports that Russia had successfully test-fired an intercontinental ballistic missile, the Soviet satellites produced grave concern in the United States over the possible distance of the Russian missile lead.

"The exact size of the lead is still a matter of debate and controversy. The U.S. last month successfully test-fired the first stage of its Atlas ICBM which is designed for a range of 5,000 miles. The success in putting Explorer into orbit has demonstrated considerable know-how in the missile field and larger U.S. satellites will almost certainly go into orbit before the year is out.

"On the other hand, Army witnesses last week told a Congressional committee they thought Russian ICBM's might be operational—that is ready to launch against targets in North America—by July of this year. They estimated that it would take the United States approximately two years to reach the same

point. At a press conference yesterday. Dr. Wernher von Braun, technical director of the Army's Ballistic Missile Agency, said he saw no reason to revise his estimate that it would take five years for the United States to overtake Russia in the missile and satellite art. 'Let's remember that Sputnik II had 1,120 pounds of payload,' he said. 'What we have in orbit now is only a rival in spirit to Sputnik.'"

The U.S. Loan

We append below an extract from the *New York Times* of February 2. It is part of the special report of its New Delhi correspondent A. N. Roenthal:

"New Delhi, India, February 1—The man in the deep ocean appreciates the life preserver thrown to him. But nobody can consider him really greedy if while treading water he entertains the shy hope that a rope will follow.

"That is pretty much the Indian reaction to United States proposals for a new loan of \$225,000,000. This is not the most diplomatically deft government in the world and there has been nothing much said about the loan publicly by high officials.

"But any foreigner who deals at all with the men in the Ministry of Finance or even who reads the Indian newspapers realizes rather quickly that Washington's gesture and Washington's interest are taken warmly to heart by this harried, near-desperate country. Set against these reactions, Prime Minister Nehru's strange outburst, a few days after the loan was announced, that India would not sell her foreign policy for foreign gold is not extremely important except as an indication of the turmoil and sensitivity of one overworked and over-worried man."

Foreign Aid : Its Psychology

The Second Five-Year Plan in India has come up against great obstacles due to the paucity of foreign exchange required to finance the purchases of machineries and goods abroad. The crisis has led some to plead for more aid for India's plan and others to criticise the lack of it. From this perspective foreign governments have been praised or criticised by Indians. Others see in the aid offered by a particular State an antidote to the "threat" of Commu-

nism. Mr. Minoo R. Masani, in an article in the weekly *New Leader* of New York, even proposed for another U.S. "Marshal Plan"—this time for Asia. In this context the editorial article of the *Vigil*, February, makes some thought-provoking points:

"Mutual aid among nations and the lending of a helping hand by the stronger to the weaker," the *Vigil* writes, "are not only commendable but may even be regarded as obligatory on the highest principle of brotherhood of man. But like all good principles this one, too, is capable of being debased. By giving, neither the giver nor the receiver is always blessed. It can do harm as well as good to both, depending on the circumstances, the nature of the gift, the motives and the mental attitudes of the parties concerned. In the world's prevailing climate when 'foreign aid' is regarded by the governments of the giver-nations—whether they say so or not—as an instrument of policy the dangers, moral and other, should be obvious. Such dangers are simply courted by a government which in any planning of economic national reconstruction allots to foreign aid (on expectations of it) a *crucial* part, whatever may be its size in relation to the whole. This has been one of the main grounds of our objection to the Government of India's Five-Year Plan."

The Chinakuri Mine Disaster

On February 19 occurred one of the worst mine disasters in Indian history in which nearly two hundred people lost their lives and many more were injured. There were two more mine disasters in the wake of this great tragedy. The Central Bhowrah mine in Bihar was flooded drowning twenty-three people. In the Mahalbani mine, fifteen miners were trapped as water rushed in from the Damodar.

The tragedy defies consolation. The men who died were doing their duty. Death came to them by surprise and they had not the slightest opportunity to save themselves. The Government has ordered for an enquiry to be held to determine the causes of the accident. If the enquiry discloses any negligence on the part of anybody, it is to be hoped, the person or persons through whose fault these men lost their lives would be dealt with in the most severe manner.

The Chinakuri mine disaster has aroused the sympathy of many governments and some of them have made financial contribution for the rehabilitation of the family of the dead. Indians naturally feel grateful for this act of sympathy. The West Bengal Governor has also started a Relief Fund. We join her in the appeal to the people to contribute to the fund liberally.

Relief Fund for Miners

Shri Padmaja Naidu has issued the following appeal to the people of India:

"The whole of India must have heard with a sense of profound sorrow the news of the terrible disaster in the Chinakuri Collieries near Asansol which brought swift and sudden death to nearly two hundred persons. The peculiarly poignant circumstances that prevented the rescue operations aggravated the long-drawn out agony of the bereaved women and children.

The Government and authorities concerned have already started relief measures but the public dare not stand aloof at this moment and remain content with offering mere lip sympathy. Let us therefore express our sympathy in a concrete form which will give some small measure of comfort to the tragically stricken women and children in their hour of bitter need.

I have started a relief fund known as "The Governor's Relief Fund for Colliery Disasters" in aid of the families of the victims of the Chinakuri Colliery disaster. I appeal to the public to contribute generously to it. No contribution will be too small to be welcome and no contribution can be too big for the purpose of helping to rebuild the homes that have been broken. Contributions may be sent to me or my Secretary at Raj Bhavan, Calcutta, or direct to any Branch in any State of the State Bank of India."

The Chinakuri Explosion

This terrible accident that has shocked the nation, is now subject to an enquiry. The following report gives the reaction in the West Bengal Council:

"When the West Bengal Council met on Friday, Dr. Roy made a statement on the colliery explosion at Chinakuri. The statement was almost on the same lines as in the Assembly

on Thursday. The House observed two minutes' silence to mourn the miners' death, members rising in their seats.

"Dr. Roy said the Governor had opened a relief fund for the victims of the accident. In giving adequate relief to them, the Government needed the fullest co-operation of all.

"Their primary tasks now were to give relief to the victims and to take steps to prevent recurrence of such incidents. Although the State Government had no direct control on the management of the collieries—a Central subject—it had some responsibility in regard to things happening within the State, the Chief Minister added.

"His statement was followed by a controversy in the House over the members' right to discuss the statement. The Chief Minister having left the chamber, Mr. P. C. Sen, Food Minister, said: 'At this stage we have nothing further to add. Let us wait for a fuller report. Our Labour Minister has gone to the spot and on his return we shall be able to give you more information'."

Water and Power Resources

Every year vast areas in West Bengal are ravaged by flood—destroying life and property on a wide scale directly or indirectly. This naturally leads to the necessity of an examination of all the factors involved in the problem. It is, therefore, a pleasure to see the West Bengal Power and Water Resources development symposium number of the monthly *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development* which reproduces twenty-three papers by leading experts which were originally read at a symposium held under the auspices of the Indian Science Congress and sponsored by the *Journal* itself. The symposium and the publication of the discussions denotes a new awareness to the gravities of the situation. The symposium brought to the fore several important problems and issues which demand serious consideration by all. Several experts stressed the need for adoption of immediate protective and rehabilitative means in North Bengal where the catchment areas of the rivers were denuded of forests and vegetable cover and its topsoil loosened by harmful agricultural practices to an alarming extent. Some experts also stressed the role of meteorological factors in the North Bengal

floods. The suggestion that meteorological factors might be a primary cause of floods implies that protective or preventive measures should also visualise controlling or influencing the weather. Another important problem underlined in the discussions was the inadequacy of drainage conditions in lower Damodar which tended to aggravate further water-logging and salinity of cultivated areas in the context of the net-work of canals of the Damodar, Mayurakshi and Kangsabati Project. Should this happen on a large scale the utility of the capital construction in the area would be partially vitiated.

The efforts for the control and development of rivers and water resources in any State in India intimately affects the position in neighbouring States. It is more so in the case of West Bengal rivers—most of which originate outside and pass through several States before reaching Bengal. Any lasting plan can, therefore, be drawn up and executed only against the background of mutual co-operation between the States. Sadly enough such co-operation is not always forthcoming easily. We fully endorse the editorial remark of the *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development* that, "If the politicians care to go through this documentary material their first reaction should be to take this mighty problem as a non-partisan issue. Even, if this be done, and action taken on a large enough scale, in co-operation with adjacent States, it will take decades to recover the lost ground. But the more we delay in this, the greater and more proximate the danger becomes."

Public Health Problems

The 25th anniversary of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was held in Calcutta about the middle of the last month. We append below a special report from the *Statesman*. We agree with all the remarks made by the dignitaries present at the function. But we would point out that Dr. Roy's remark that medical students should get training in the villages in rural health, is curious. He is still oblivious of the fact that students trained in colleges and hospitals of the great cities of India very seldom voluntarily go to the villages. This work was being done formerly by the students from the Medical Schools of the dis-

tricts. Dr. Roy has hastily destroyed the schools and very effectively prevented their being raised to college status. His remarks are quite futile therefore.

"Dr. Roy in his presidential address at a meeting in observance of the 25th anniversary of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health in Calcutta on Sunday emphasized the need to co-ordinate urban health measures with health services in villages.

"Such a function, he said, was being ably done by the Institute which was making a valuable contribution in research on public health problems. Medical students, he felt, should get training in villages in rural health services before they obtained their degrees.

"The Chief Minister said that with the advancement of medical science the necessity for a health institute to protect and improve the health of the people was being increasingly felt. It was essential to eradicate the root of a disease for a permanent solution of health problems.

"The Union Health Minister Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, urged health workers to give up their 'feeling of estrangement' and make a more human approach to the people.

"Emphasizing the importance of the institute, the Minister said that an increase in the number of hospitals was not enough to cope with diseases. The Institute was trying to improve the people's health by trying to find the reasons for which diseases originated and spread.

"Referring to the contributions of the Institute's research workers, the Director of the Institute, Dr. N. Jungalwalla, said that their work on epidemic dropsy, cholera, plague, black-water fever and endemic typhus had won recognition throughout the world.

"Careful investigations into causes of maternal and child mortality and nutritional disorders of children had contributed greatly to evolving practices which had considerably reduced the death rate of mothers and children.

"Other work of the Institute, he said, included analysis of Indian diets and the value of certain local sources of food, prevention of water pollution through industrial wastes and evolving techniques of health survey now accepted throughout India. Subjects of present research were studies in family planning, plague, diphtheria, cholera, smallpox and on industrial

waste disposal, environmental sanitation, industrial health, nutrition of infants and organization of public health services.

"Dr. Jungalwalla said that altogether 921 students had obtained diplomas in public health and hygiene since the first course for the diploma started in 1932. Sixteen courses were now offered at the Institute, eight of which were for University degrees and diplomas and the rest for certificates.

"The shortage of health workers, he added, was being seriously felt. The Institute was training the maximum number of students in spite of a deficiency of 30 per cent in technical staff. With the increasing population in India health work was making greater demands on trained personnel."

Devaluation

Much has been said regarding further devaluation of the rupee. The following news-report from Bombay gives the view taken by Mr. Jacobsson, Chief of the International Monetary Fund:

"Bombay, February 15.—Mr. Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, said here today that devaluation of the rupee would not be the correct way of solving India's present balance of payments problems.

"Mr. Jacobsson, who was replying to a question at a Press conference, said: 'You should go to the root of the matter. You should tackle the credit problem and the question of the level of internal spending rather than touch the superficial aspect of the exchange rate.'

"When pressed to state his views on devaluation of the rupee specifically, he said: 'I should like to avoid devaluation. If you once resort to devaluation, when similar difficulties arise next time, people begin to expect another devaluation, and you go on from one devaluation to another and the people lose confidence in the currency. Experience in Europe has shown that ultimately, in the words of Voltaire, paper currency returns to its intrinsic value.'

"Asked what he thought of India's creditworthiness, Mr. Jacobsson said: 'My own feeling is that India has a modern banking system, a stable Government, and an efficient Civil Service that can compare favourably with any

other in this part of the world. These are the attributes of creditworthiness. One more great advantage this country has is the general political framework which forms an excellent foundation for creditworthiness.'

"Mr. Jacobsson reiterated that during his discussions with the Government of India no request was made for short-term borrowing from the I.M.F. as what India needed at present was long-term credit.

"I think that the Government of India are pursuing a correct policy. Particularly when they are getting long-term credit from countries like the U.S.A. it is quite correct that they should not seek such credit as has to be repaid in the near future,' he said.

"Asked what he thought of the extent of deficit financing envisaged in the Second Plan, Mr. Jacobsson said that when Lord Keynes advocated deficit financing, he had in mind creditor countries like Britain and the U.S.A. Lord Keynes did not take into account countries with balance of payment difficulties. European countries following Keynesian theory did not give sufficient attention to the balance of payments position *vis-a-vis* the extent of deficit financing and the thought that the same error was made by India while formulating her Second Plan. Deficit financing with an eye on balance of payments should serve the purpose, he said."

West Bengal Development Plans

The staff reporter of the *Statesman* gives the following report about the probability of this State's problems being considered by the Planning Commission:

"Dr. J. C. Ghosh, member of the Planning Commission, will meet Dr. Roy at Writers' Building, Calcutta, this afternoon when discussions are likely to be held on the financial implications of West Bengal's development projects and their working. Some Ministers and senior officers will attend.

"Among the subjects that may come up for discussion are the benefits derived by the State from the two river valley projects—Damodar and Mayurakshi. Money spent on these projects is covered by allocations under the Five-Year Plan.

"West Bengal attaches great urgency to another river valley scheme—Kangshabati—which will benefit mainly Midnapore and Bankura. As soon as the scheme was finalized, the State Government began working to implement it.

"But the Planning Commission has not allocated any money for it yet and the State Government has had to meet the past two years' expenditure, amounting to Rs. 12.7 million, from its own resources. It has been estimated that in the coming financial year expenditure of Rs. 3.5 million will be necessary.

"The scheme will cost a total of Rs. 255 million, which it is not possible for the State Government to meet. It is, therefore, likely that the urgency of allocation of finance for the scheme under the Plan will be emphasised before Dr. Ghosh.

"It is learnt that the German expert, Dr. Hensen, invited by the Centre to study the Ganga Barrage scheme, has submitted a report speaking of its importance, especially for Calcutta Port. The report is being examined by the Centre."

Pilferage of Metals

The following report shows how bold the thieves of railway material have become. The Government must take action against the multi-millionaire receivers of stolen material who are flourishing in Howrah and Calcutta. Until that is done this will continue on an ever-increasing rate:

"Pilferers have extended their operations to the overhead wires of the electric train services in Howrah Division. The first theft of wire was reported at about 5-30 a.m. on Friday. About 600 yards of wire were stolen between Dearsa and Sheoraphuli stations, about 15 miles from Howrah. The theft was detected by the divisional maintenance staff who replaced the stolen wire at 8-15 a.m. Between 5-30 a.m. and 8-15 a.m. electric train services on the line were seriously disrupted. Four Down trains from Tarakeswar were delayed by about two to 3½ hours. The Up Tarakeswar Local was detained for about 30 minutes.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became a part of our consciousness so much so that it became

exceedingly difficult for any Indian to think he was no more. In the death of the Maulana, India lost not only an astute politician of the front rank—but a good deal more.

He represented a personality of rare combination of qualities. A great Muslim divine and religious thinker, he was one of the most liberal-minded of Indian politicians. No Muslim League leader in pre-partition days could come near him in his deep knowledge of Islamic literature and his attachment and devotion to the religion of Islam. Yet the great Maulana could never be convinced of the need for the partition of the country on the basis of religious affiliations.

Maulana Azad approximated Plato's definition of a scholar-statesman to a great degree. It was said that next to the books by Mahatma Gandhi, it was his works that gained the highest royalty to any author in India. His great scholarship added a touch of humanism to his politics.

Politically Maulana Azad was a member of the Congress Party. Yet his party affiliation never stood in his popularity even among his political opponents. He was one of those few Congress leaders who were respected by all irrespective of caste, community and politics. It was again a measure of his personality and popularity that he defeated his Jan Sangh opponent in an almost absolutely Hindu area by a majority of nearly a lakh of votes. It was an open question if any other Congress member could gain such an overwhelming majority of votes in that area which until then was generally regarded as the stronghold of non-Congress elements.

Maulana Azad was a great leader; yet his greatness never appeared as imposing on others. In his own Ministry of Education he gave the fullest scope for initiative to the officials, intervening only when the situation demanded so. Under his wise leadership the Education Ministry took measures of great foresight and value. The Visva-Bharati University, the Sahitya Akadami, the Lalit Kala Akadami, Sangeet Natak Akadami, the National Art Gallery and such other institutions would always remind the Indians of the foresight and wisdom of the great Azad and how much they owed to him.

"Law of the Sea" Conference

An international conference attended by representatives of eighty countries began in Geneva on February 24 to attempt to evolve a comprehensive international agreement on the law of the sea. The conference was being held on a diplomatic level and would last nine weeks. In this conference the delegates would try to work out one or more conventions covering matters of such paramount importance as the law of the high seas and of the territorial sea, including the controversial issue of the width of the territorial sea, fisheries and the conservation of the "living resources of the sea," and the continental shelf and the right to explore and exploit its natural resources. Included under these main headings were such subjects as the "right of innocent passage," penal jurisdiction in maritime collisions; the slave trade, pollution of the sea; piracy, including piratical acts by aircraft, if these were directed against ships on the high seas; also the nationality of ships and whether there should be a special United Nations registration, entitling a vessel under certain conditions to fly the U.N. flag and to receive U.N. protection.

In addition the conference would also discuss the question of the free access of land-locked countries to the sea.

The discussions on all the subjects except the one dealing with the access of land-locked countries to the sea which was recommended for discussion by the Legal Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly in 1956, would be based on seventy-three article draft prepared by the 15-member International Law Commission during the preceding eight years.

Both the International Law Commission and the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly said, the conference should be held "to examine the law of the sea, taking into account not only of the legal but also of the technical, biological, economic and political aspects of the problem and to embody the results of its work in one or more international conventions, or such other instruments as it may deem appropriate."

One of the most controversial matters before the conference would be the question of the limit of territorial waters of a country. Traditionally international law held up the three-

mile limit, but of recent many countries expressed their dissatisfaction with that rule. India was in favour of a twelve-mile limit; Indonesia also wanted 12-mile limit plus all waters, of whatever width, between the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. The British Government was one of the chief opponents of any change in the three-mile limit.

India's position was made clear by the leader of the Indian delegation to the conference, Shri A. K. Sen, Union Minister for Law. He said, India was interested in extent of territorial waters and rights of coastal States, navigation on and fishing in high seas extent of continental shelf and rights of the adjoining coastal States, and access to seas of the land-locked States. India agreed with the recommendations of the International Law Commission that a ship should be permitted to ply the flag of only one State and there should be a "genuine link" between the flag of the ship and the State.

About the determination of the limit of contiguous areas India's suggestion would be that the 12-mile limit must be subject to reasonable and customary rights with regard to certain ports. For example, in respect of the Calcutta Port, to ensure the safety of ships and clearance of channels, India was already exercising the right up to a limit of about 90 miles.

India agreed with the Commission that the continental shelf of a coastal State should be the limit where the depth of the sea was about 600 feet and that the coastal State would have the exclusive sovereign right to exploit the resources in this continental shelf subject to the right of other States to lay submarine cable. Where two States had a common continental shelf (India and Ceylon, for example) the Commission's recommendation was mutual agreement, failing which, arbitration.

UNESCO Discrimination

The Bombay Chronicle writes:

Not for the first time an Indian representative has protested against the inadequate representation of Asians on the staff of international organisations. This time it was Professor Humayun Kabir with respect to UNESCO.

Professor Kabir who was speaking at the third conference of the Indian National Com-

mission for co-operation with UNESCO said that he had been "advised that none of the Asiatic countries finds a place in any of the senior posts in the UNESCO's Programme Department." Very rightly he urged that if increasing mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultures was desirable, there should be adequate representation of the different cultural traditions in the UNESCO Secretariat.

India itself has not done too badly in certain departments of the UNESCO generally. Both at Avenue Kleber and in different countries like Cyrenaica, Ceylon and Philippines, Indians have served with distinction. The real trouble is with senior executive posts.

As with the U.N. departments, so with UNESCO, a mere periodical protest or appeal to Director-General seems insufficient. The Government must pursue the matter and see that suitable persons are seconded to the organisation.

Apart from this, it is well that India voices the grievance of all the countries of Asia and does not make a narrow national approach. The possibilities of a joint effort to secure the desired result should be fully exploited.

Automation and the Future

Automation is the talk of the day. How it would affect man and society? The following news report sent from Stockholm by *Nafen* on February 24, may represent one aspect. The report says:

Stockholm February 24.—What is believed to be the world's most complete automatic pulp processing mill, the Marma-Langror bleaching plant, is now in full-scale operation at Gavle, Sweden, after a test period of six months.

Automation has been applied to such an extent that the plant, which produces 70,000 tons of pulp annually, is virtually operated by one man.

The entire process, divided into 70 phases, is kept under constant supervision by automatic devices. Mixing of raw materials and the control of temperature are among the jobs done entirely by instruments.

Thirty-five miles of wires connect the processing towers with the control room.

"Abdullahs" in Goa

Recently twenty-three Goans residing in India issued a leaflet entitled *Manifesto* in

which they claimed *autonomy* for Goa, the Portuguese rule or sovereignty remaining unimpaired. This was a far cry from independence and integration with India.

Commenting upon this move the fortnightly *Goan Tribune* of Bombay writes:

"This is a clever move to support certain interests in Goa whose single aim is to secure some more powers for themselves, sheltered under the Portuguese umbrella. That's all there is to it.

"The men who are demanding more autonomy for Goa," the magazine continues, "are no nit-wits. They know perfectly well that under the present corporative system Dr. Salazar cannot grant such powers to Goa as would involve complete decentralisation. Salazar cannot give Goans what he denies his own countrymen in Portugal itself. Apart from the fact that any such large devolution of powers, even under Portuguese sovereignty, will have serious repercussions in Angola, Mozambique, and Cabo Verde. Salazar is not going to destroy the very basis of the structure of his quasi-Fascist regime, which he considers his political masterpiece, and the cohesion of the colonial empire which he considers the historic mission of his nation to preserve, for the sake of a handful of Goan aspirants for loaves and fishes of office."

Undoubtedly some of the signatories were mere self-seekers, the magazine writes:

"And yet, to our great astonishment, we find, apart from the chameleons who change their colour according to circumstances, several names of men who are known to be nationalists and some of whom have in the past suffered for the cause. They—men like Dr. Juliao Menezes, Prof. S. R. Salkar, Mr. Armando S. Pereira, Mr. Prabhakar Dalal, Mr. Arsenio Jaques, and Mr. L. M. Henry de Souza—should come out clear where they stand.

"What is even more astonishing is to find the name of such a shrewd public man—an ex-Mayor of Bombay to boot—in the list of signatories. Dr. Simon Fernandes is an Indian national and prominent member of the Indian National Congress. And yet he finds no difficulty in signing a document which demands something for Goa which is flatly against the whole policy and principles of the party! Dr. Simon may yet find that running with the hare and hunting with the hound doesn't pay."

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM AND DEVALUATION

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

THE value of the unit of money depends on what it can purchase in terms of goods and services. The value of one rupee is said to have risen if the same rupee can command a larger quantity of goods and services and conversely, its value is said to have fallen if it commands a smaller quantity of goods and services. We value the rupee for what it can buy; foreigners also value the rupee for what it can buy. If Americans require Indian goods (tea, jute, mica, manganese, etc.) and the Indian rupee can buy these goods, then, the Americans will value the Indian rupee. The Indian rupee may be an inconvertible paper note, it is not the legal tender in America and as such it will not pass from hand to hand in that country but if its *purchasing power over goods* in India remains stable, traders of America will accept it.

At what rate will the rupee exchange for the dollar and when will that rate fluctuate? If A is equal to B, and B is equal to C, then A will be equal to C. On the same basis we can say that the rate of exchange fundamentally will be determined in the same way. If five rupees can purchase X quantity of goods and services in India and the same amount of goods and services in America can be bought by one dollar, then Rs. 5=X quantity of goods and services=dollar 1. Obviously, an American values the rupee for what it can buy. If he finds that one rupee can buy one-fifth of what a dollar can, in terms of actual goods, he will then consider one dollar as good as five rupees. Temporary disturbances in demand and supply may cause fluctuations but essentially the rate of exchange between the rupee and the dollar will tend to remain at this point.

The value or purchasing power of money in one country seldom remains stable. The value of the rupee in terms of actual goods and services was one thing before the war, it is a different thing today after the war. The price has risen some four times which means that the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen to one-fourth. Now, if the rise of price in America takes place in the same proportion, i.e., four times, then the relative position remains the same and hence the rate of exchange will remain at dollar 1=Rs. 5.

Let us suppose that the rise in prices in India and in America is not of the same proportion. Let us suppose that in India the price has risen by 400 per cent and the price in America has risen by 200 per cent. Relatively, the Indian price is, therefore, double and the value of the rupee is half. In terms of goods and services, therefore, the rupee in India can, now, buy one-fourth of what it did before and the dollar in America can buy half of what it did before. It, therefore, follows that the real worth of one dollar is now double compared with the real worth of the rupee. Against this new position of the rupee *vis-a-vis* the dollar, if the currency authority in India keeps the external value of the same as before, i.e., at Rs. 5=dollar 1, then the over-valued rupee will give rise to certain complications. An Indian will find that with his five rupees he can buy less in India, whereas if he can convert his five rupees into one dollar, he can buy more from America. An American, again, will find that with his one dollar he can buy more in America but if he converts his dollar into five rupees, he can buy less from the Indian market, because the value of the rupee has fallen in greater proportion.

In such a case, Indians will gain by buying more from America, because in terms of the rupee, American goods are cheap and Americans will gain by selling to India because in terms of the dollar Indian goods are costly. Everybody gains by selling in the market where the price is high and everybody gains by buying from the market where the price is low. The net result will be that the Indian imports from America will increase whereas Indian exports to America will decrease.

The rupee has an internal value; it purchases one-tenth of X quantity of goods and services in India. It has an external value; it can buy one-fifth of a dollar. But one-fifth of a dollar now can buy one-fifth (and not one-tenth) of X quantity of goods and services in America. The rupee's external value, i.e., when converted into dollar at the rate Rs. 5=1 dollar is higher and is not in harmony with its internal value. The rupee is said to be over-valued.

What is the wrong if the rupee remains over-valued? Or, why not change the rate fur-

ther and make it Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ =one dollar. In that case the price of American goods in India will be halved. We shall be able to get, at this new rate, American wheat, cotton, radios, fountains, plants, equipments, etc., at half the price. Will not India be gainer thereby?

In such a case, the difficulty, however, will be that the currency authority in India will not be able to maintain the new ratio. The ratio of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ =one dollar, or to go to the extreme, the rate of one rupee=one dollar will be very attractive to us. We shall be able to purchase all American plants, equipments, food, medicine, etc., at one-fifth its present price. We shall purchase a Parker pen at Rs. 16, instead of Rs. 80, a radio at Rs. 100, instead of Rs. 500. But who will give American dollars at this new rate? If American goods become cheap and Indian goods costly, imports into India from America will increase and Indian exports to America will stop. But unless we sell to America and earn dollars how can we have dollars with which to buy from America? We have to earn them, and the only way to earn dollar is to sell our goods to America and receive from Americans their money. In the long run, an export pays for the import. Nobody can purchase from the foreign country unless one has earned foreign money by selling goods to the foreigners. The rate Re. 1=1 dollar will be very attractive to us but the supply of dollars in India being small, because Americans do not purchase from India, this rate Re. 1=1 dollar cannot be maintained.

In our example, things are, therefore, moving in this way. Americans do not value our rupee because a rupee can buy less. Its purchasing power has fallen, due to rise of prices in India. The official exchange rate of the rupee is kept artificially high and it is over-valued. Inside India a rupee buys less but when we exchange the rupee into the dollar, through the dollar we can buy more in America. We value the dollar more because its purchasing power in America has not fallen so much. Our total purchases from America, therefore, increase. When we sell to America, we get dollar in return. The supply of dollar to us comes from our sale to America and as this sale has decreased our stock of dollar is decreasing but as we buy more from America we have to pay in dollar and hence our stock of dollar is exhausted. We are

drawing heavily on our dollar stock which we are unable to replenish. This is known as the dollar crisis.

One remedy in such a case will be to prohibit American imports in India. If our stock of dollar is less, let us purchase only essential things from America. But who will decide and how to decide which commodities are essential? All these will give rise to the inconveniences of import control, quota, license, permit, etc. It gives wide discretionary powers to the government officials and leads invariably to corruption on a wide scale. This solution, again, is really no solution at all. If I require food and if I am unable to earn money to buy food and one advises me to keep fasts, then, that advice really is no solution of my food problem. Here also, we require foreign goods but we are unable to earn foreign money by selling our goods to the foreigners. The advice *not to buy or to buy less* does not solve my difficulty. Another solution will be to raise the internal value of our rupee. This can be done by lowering the price level. The price level can be made to fall by adopting a disinflationary policy. The banks will have to issue less credit and the Government will have to spend less. Not only wasteful expenditure by the Government has to be prevented but many of the so-called developmental works have to be stopped. Secondly, the price level can be made to fall by either reducing the salary and wage, or by increasing the efficiency of production. If the technique of production is improved and there are discoveries and inventions in the system of production the cost of production will fall, goods will become cheaper and our exports will be stimulated. This is the ideal solution but this is a question of time. The other remedy, lowering the salaries and wages, will be effective in reducing the cost of production no doubt, but such a policy will be vehemently opposed. In whatever way we go, the best solution will be to lower the price and cost within the country. This will stimulate our exports and earn more foreign currency. When the price level has fallen internally, it means that the internal value of the currency has risen and is in "harmony with its external value."

There is another solution. If the present external value of the rupee (Rs. 5=1 dollar) is high and is not in harmony with its internal

value which has fallen, why not lower the external value at, say, Rs. 10=1 dollar. Our currency authority cannot easily increase the external value of the rupee. For one rupee it cannot give in return one dollar. At this rate wherefrom will it get dollars? It has no control over the supply of dollar. But it has fuller control over the supply of rupees. Therefore, against one dollar it can offer ten or more rupees.

This is devaluation and it means reducing the external value of money. Today the external value (in dollar) of the rupee is Rs. 4½ =1 dollar. If it is lowered and made, say, Rs. 9=1 dollar, let us see what will happen. The price of American goods will be high in India and import from America into India will decrease. For an article worth one dollar we used to pay Rs. 4½ formerly, but now for one dollar we shall have to pay Rs. 9. The American goods thus become costly. And in the American market the Indian goods are cheaper. For an Indian article worth Rs. 9,

an American formerly gave two dollars but now he will pay only one dollar. The net result will be that Indian exports to America will improve and American imports into India will decline and the difficulty of the balance of payments will disappear.

But an increase of our exports to America on balance, may not be a gain to India. Whether our total exports *in value* will increase depends on the elasticity of demand for our goods in America. Secondly, our main problem is not solved by such devaluation. We shall be able to import less from America because of the high price of American goods. Has it solved our difficulty? American goods will remain costly and we shall go without them. Keeping fasts is no solution of the food problem. Lastly, how frequently shall we devalue our rupee? Once in 1951 we devalued the rupee. If five years after, the price level in India rises again and the internal value of the rupee is not in harmony with its present external value shall we devalue the rupee again?

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PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESS

By S. C. SETHI, M.A., B.Sc., C.S.S., Sahitya-Visharad

THE evolution of parliamentary democracy in all its manifold aspects has been the greatest single phenomenon in the realm of modern politics. It is a movement that today permeates the body politic of more than half the world and thereby registers the triumph of the principles of democracy. It is in fact an institutional effort towards reconciling the ever irreconcilable—the particular will of the individual and the *Volante Generale*—the General Will, of the society as a whole.

It is known at all hands that the problem of Parliamentary democracy has two very important aspects—the one is Socio-political and the other is the Politico-constitutional. The first concerns itself with the formation of the Public opinion whereas the second pertains to the field of legislation. We submit that the Press belongs to the realm of the former and the Parliament to that of the latter.

The Press is the standard vehicle for the dissemination of public opinion which is nothing but “one of the many manifestations of the social mind—one of the many ways by

which individuals think, will and feel together.”

The Parliament is the instrument that constitutionalizes the social judgement called public opinion after a conscious and rational discussion.

Thus both the Press and the Parliament serve the individual and the society, and consequently the cause of democracy. Obviously, in spite of their distinct field of action they are inseparably connected with one another. As a matter of fact it is the Press that is the main stay of a democratically-minded people. The work of legislation for a moment can be possible even without the Parliament but the work of Parliament will be incomplete without the Press. Taken together the two are not only indispensable for a live Democracy but they are equally indispensable to each other. In fact the two constitute the most important elements that go to make Parliamentary democracy an ideal success. If the Press on the one hand screens the prevailing thought in the country; if it suggests the way in which the political consciousness of the people of a particular Society should

go; if it provides an opportunity for the practical exercise of the fundamental right of liberty of thought and expression then on the other hand it is the Press alone that is the real medium which conveys back to the people the fruits of the Parliamentary Legislation. It once again screens back to the people the true form in which their aspirations, their urges, their needs—whether social, economic, cultural, religious or political—have been given a due enactment by the Sovereign instrument, viz., the Parliament of a particular nation. Thus the Press acts both ways. It would not be wrong to say that the role of the Press is that of a screen between the people and the Parliament. It is a screen which gives a picture to the Parliament and once again reflects the same picture in its constitutional form to the people.

Clearly, therefore, the role of the Press is a very delicate, a very difficult and a very important role. It is delicate because it has to be true and accurate in its interpretation of the wishes of the people to the Parliament and the views of the Parliament to the people. It has to correctly give vent to the voice of the people and also to give equally true representation to the legislative echo.

It is indeed a delicate work, because it would not be wrong to imagine that the Press may fail to be true to both the people and the Parliament. The story of the two men in the railway carriage, one of whom was reading *The Times* and the other of whom was reading the *Manchester Guardian*, is quite suggestive in this respect. The conversation went as follows:

Manchester Guardian reader: I'm very sorry to see that this actor fellow, John Gielgud, has got into trouble.'

The Times reader: 'No, no, it is not the actor. The fellow is a clerk.'

Manchester Guardian reader: 'Not at all' It says quite plainly here that it is the one who is an actor and who was knighted recently.'

Daily Express reader (breaking in from corner): 'That's right. It is what it says here.'

Daily Telegraph reader: 'That's what the *Daily Telegraph* says too.'

The Times reader: 'Thank goodness you told me. I was just about to ask him to become the patron of our Boys' Club.'

The above might be a wonderful example

of four-penny journalism, yet the fact remains that time and again the Press has failed to come up to the standards that the "freedom of the Press" envisages.

It is this "freedom of the Press" that brings all the delicacy, because quite often it is misused. As C.E.M. Joad says:

"This is a freedom exposed to attack and hard to retain. It is exposed to attack precisely because it is, or can be, peculiarly offensive to governments. It is hard for a government which has the power of suppression not to use it against a press which continues in season and out of season to criticise and to oppose, twisting the utterances of ministers, printing extracts from their speeches without the contexts in which they occurred, including some facts and omitting or playing down others, so that the fact included assumes a false meaning, setting itself, in a word, to discredit the government by every device of innuendo, misinterpretation, falsification, omission, commission, or sheer fabrication in the armoury of skilful and unscrupulous journalism—it is hard, I say, for a government not to use its power to remove such a gadfly. And because the stings of the press can be so galling to the government, the first act of every non-democratic government is to curtail its liberty."

The above is not an academic possibility, but history amply bears it out that the Press has often faltered miserably. It has not only led to social disruption and disharmony but it has occasionally led to international schism.

Nevertheless, since a free Press is essential to free democracy the role of the Press becomes an extremely delicate and difficult role. It becomes difficult because the Press has to work under certain limitations. These are both internal and external. The internal limitations are caused by the dictates of the pressure groups and the vested interests who set the 'Press-line,' which has to be toed, irrespective of its consequences and the impact on the members of the society.

Externally, although the Press feeds the Parliament not unoften it becomes a slave to it. Parliamentary legislation does not spare the Press. History can be cited to prove that the voice of the Press has been gagged and stifled not once but a thousand times; not in one country

but in most of them; and not in one society but almost in each one of them. It is apparent that these natural and unnatural curbs make this important architect of the modern democracy a complete failure.

The role of the Press in its particular relationship to the Parliament being so delicate and so difficult, obviously, becomes extremely important. It is important because with all its inherent and adopted vices, in the world of today the Press remains one of the greatest civilizing forces. It performs a function which if it steps to do the great edifice of Parliamentary democracy will fall from its glorious heights. It is the Press alone that provides the background needed to make the work of the Parliament a real success and in tune with the demands of the time.

Carefully examined, the Press, in relation to the working of Parliamentary democracy, performs three main functions:

1. The first important function of the Press is a moral function. I call it moral because firstly, its functioning has an aspect of duty about it and secondly, because the Press helps every citizen to make up his mind about the rival policies and programmes which different parties put before him. It puts forth facts as also the standards of right and wrong not only in the field of politics but in the multiple aspects of the human activity. The Press by enabling the people to decide the way in which they may exercise their freedom of choice assists them in performing a moral function.

2. Secondly, the Press is a great educational force particularly in the realm of politics. A free Press forms the main channel of people's information. For millions the Press provides the only reading in the newspapers, which are for them, "the only window which opens upon the world, the sole means of escape from the prison whose walls are private interests, personal ties and domestic concerns."

It is the Press alone that today mirrors the totality of our society as also imparts sufficient knowledge to an average citizen to appreciate and understand the working of its own sovereign, viz., the Parliament. It is obvious that the educated and enlightened people can alone in their turn return parliamentarians worthy of the trust and responsibility given unto them.

It need not be stressed how much a few

young democracies today need the help of the Press for the above purpose.

3. However, the most important function of the Press lies in its role of a guardian—the role of a saviour of the liberty of the people. It is here that the Press keeps a check even on its master, viz., the Parliament. The Parliament if it so desires can go in a direction which may not be the direction in which the society wants it to go. The Press by its constant vigilance points it out to the people as also to the Parliament if the latter has deviated from its original trend. Thus the Press keeps both the people and the Parliament awake and informed and thereby it also strikes an equilibrium between the public opinion and the political legislation.

Assuming therefore, that, in an age which has made the individual its corner-stone and which is wedded to the concept of social welfare as its prime objective, the Press has to play an important role, it would not be wrong to say that it is up to the Parliament to see that the Press is given those conditions which may enable it to fulfil the above laid objectives. But here a very pertinent question can be asked, whether it is correct to assume that there exists a conflict between the Parliament and the Press?

This question is a misfit today. In the history of the evolution of Parliamentary democracy there did pass a time when there certainly existed a conflict between the Parliament and the Press. If we look back to the eighteenth century England, we come across a very funny situation which reflected a curious ambivalent attitude of the Parliament towards journalism. The freedom of the Press was counted to be one of the three great principles upon which the superiority of the British Constitution over all others depended—the other two being the right to petition Parliament and the right of public meeting. Not even in the period of a crisis such as the Napoleonic wars, was any attempt made to re-impose the censorship abolished in 1695. Yet such a free Press was denied an access to the proceedings of the Parliament. The publication of Parliamentary reports was treated as a grave issue of privilege. However, this attitude of Parliament received an indirect challenge from Edward Cave, the founder and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who made use of a reporter on his staff named Guthrie,

who possessed to a high degree that attribute of all good reporters, an excellent memory. By judicious bribery of the door-keepers Cave used to get Guthrie smuggled into the House of Commons. Once inside Guthrie's phenomenal memory enabled him to secure a substantially accurate record of the main subjects debated, the names of the members taking part, and the chief arguments advanced on either side. However, it did not eliminate the danger of prosecution for a breach of Parliamentary privilege. Cave used to avoid it by delaying the publication of Guthrie's material until the end of the Parliamentary session and by publishing only the initials of members.

All this evinced a great public interest in the Parliamentary affairs and simultaneously caused a great confusion in the political circles and immensely disturbed the Parliament. The result was that in 1738 the publication of the reports of the Parliamentary proceedings was expressly prohibited under the most serious penalties not only during Parliamentary sittings but at any time thereafter.

This was certainly a case of conflict between the Press and the Parliament, and the struggle continued. Cave was a man of great journalistic ingenuity. He was not prepared to relinquish so valuable a feature of his magazine. He paid higher bribes to the Parliamentary door-keepers and smuggled Guthrie into the House of Commons as before, and the reports were now presented in fictitious shape as a record of the proceedings in the senate of the Lilliputians and provided the various speakers either with Roman names to suit their characters or with fictitious ones in the form of anagrams of their real names.

It is interesting to note that the great Dr. Johnson also served as a sub-editor with Cave for a number of years specially to add polish to Guthrie's rough notes of the Parliamentary affairs. In Dr. Johnson's house one evening at dinner when discussions turned to oratory the guests kept on lauding a speech by Pitt. For a while Johnson remained silent until the tributes were ended and then he surprised his audience by remarking, "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street." What! Dr. Francis, Murphy and other guests received a little setback. When

they expressed their amazement and asked for an explanation Dr. Johnson replied:

"Sir, I wrote it in Exeter Street. I never had been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once. Cave had an interest with the door-keepers. He, and the persons employed under him, gained admittance, they brought away the discussion, the names of the Speakers, the side they took, and the order in which they rose together with notes of the arguments adduced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary debates."

Only a few are aware, yet till today, such revised versions are the only records available of the Parliamentary proceedings of that time and form part of the Parliamentary history which Cobbett edited before Hansard.

"I am certain," comments Francis Williams, "many a member of Parliament of those days must have had occasions to be grateful to the then Press reporters for translating their stumbling sentences into passable English with a beginning, a middle and an end."

Be it as it may times have tremendously changed today. Now the Press need not bribe the door-keepers of the Parliament in any part of the world wherever free democracy prevails. The Press today is a welcome guest of either house.

The truth is that the present relations between the Press and the Parliament reminds one of the prophecy of Croker, one of the most talented of the now all-pervasive family of public relations officers made in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which has now come true in every democratically-minded country.

Croker declared:

"The times are gone by when statesmen might surely despise the journals, or only treat them as inferior engines which might be left to themselves or committed to the guidance of persons wholly unacquainted with the views of the Ministry.

"The day is not far distant when you will (not see or hear) but know that there is some one in the Cabinet entrusted with what will be thought one of the most im-

portant duties of the State, the regulation of public opinion."

The relationship between the Parliament and the Press is now to be determined by the extent of the 'regulation of public opinion' on the part of the State.

Whereas it should be seen that the Parliament through its Legislative measures creates those conditions which are a pre-requisite for the successful and true working of the Press, it is also essential that the Press does not misuse those facilities and concessions and avoids being dubbed as a propagator of sensational and scandalous falsehood.

Glancing at the position of the Press and its relationship with the Parliament in India and comparing it with other countries, we can certainly feel some sense of satisfaction on the most congenial and constructive lines on which the Press is doing its job.

The Parliament of free India does not think in the old imperialist terms which were once described by Sir Thomas Munro in his minute entitled "Danger of Free Press in India" in the following words;

"I cannot view the question of a free Press in this country without feeling that the tenor with which we hold our power, never has been and never can be for the liberties of the people . . . A free Press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together."

The Indian Parliament wedded to true principles of democracy and co-existence does not suffer from any such apprehensions. Today the Press is an honoured and progressive element of the Indian society which is endeavouring its very best to serve the larger interests of the people and the Parliament. The Indian Press certainly abhors the assumption that the "greatest lie is the greatest national service."

When all is said we have to admit that the limits of the control of the Press cannot and perhaps can never be specified. The Press as they say is the fourth estate but it is also true that it is a very dangerous estate. Its scope is unlimited. From sex to sputniks, it covers everything conceivable under the sun and as such in any politically organized society, however, important the position of the Press may be

it has to live under certain limitations that the Parliament may envisage from time to time.

It has neither to corrupt public taste nor to blackmail the Parliament. Its objective is moreover to serve both the people and the Parliament.

The Press should now "no more think of itself as an instrument of opposition than as part of the mechanism of government." It need not play a judicial role but it should certainly attempt to give "a voice that even the largest administrative monster will hear above the grinding of its own machinery." Yet it cannot possibly be true to itself or to the creed of social service if it does not work free from doctrinal and commercial limitations. It has to emancipate itself from the wire-pulling of the vested interests. The Press must have its own soul. The Press has also to raise its moral stature before it can perform any moral function unto the people and the Parliament.

It need not for once follow the instructions incorporated in the journalistic code devised by one Mr. Christansen, the Editor of the *Daily Express*, who among all other things recommended that

"There is no subject, no abstract thing that cannot be translated into terms of people; our feature pages should be sprinkled with star dust or whatever it is that women wear that catches the light at first nights and whenever possible print a woman's age."

I do believe that the Press can well afford to ignore or to go hysteric about women's dress and age. But when it deals with the affairs of the supreme instrument of the State, it should try to remember the classic statement on journalism by C. P. Scott that "Comment is free but facts are sacred."

The freedom of the Press is the possession of the community, not of the proprietor. Yet this demand for the freedom of the Press will be meaningless if the Press does not act as a good screen—a screen that not only truly reflects the two worlds—the people and the Parliament, but also acts as an honest interpreter.*

* The paper was read at the Second All-India Seminar on Parliamentary Democracy held under the auspices of the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies at the Central Hall, Parliament House, New Delhi; on December 7th, 1957.

INDIA'S MORAL COMMITMENT

BY DR. J. EDWARDS, M.A., L.T., A.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (N.Y.U.)

INDEPENDENCE Day or Republic Day is a reminder of India's moral commitment. On such day we pledge once again our whole-hearted support to all the unfree, down-trodden and exploited nations of the world in their fight for freedom. Our support to Egypt in her hour of trial when she was a victim of Anglo-French-Israel aggression was in keeping with our belief that "where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place we cannot be neutral." The storm of protest all over India when the Indian Representative remained neutral in the voting on the resolution condemning the Russian intervention in Hungary and actually opposing the proposal that the Soviet troops should be asked to withdraw, was because that conduct appeared inconsistent with our diplomacy of Truth and Non-Violence.

Three hundred and seventy million people, one seventh of the human race, have committed themselves to a democratic way of life. The Indian National Congress bases its foreign policy on Panch Shila and aims at the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, both emanating from ethical democracy. A dozen or so minor political parties claim to base their programme on democracy. For instance, the Praja-Socialist Party desires the establishment of an equalitarian social order; the Revolutionary Socialist Party wants to achieve complete socialist transformation of the country; the Communist Party of India approves Panch Shila and wants social equality, political freedom and abolition of economic privileges; the Akhil Bharat Hindu Maha Sabha wishes to establish "a really democratic state in India"; the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation hopes for the scheduled castes to have a status equal to that of others in all walks of life; Bharatiya Jan Sangh insists on the freedom of the individual and the functioning of the rule of law; the Bolshevik Party of India aims at complete civil liberty; the Mazdoor Kisan Party desires the establishment of socialism; the Peasant Workers Party wishes women to have equal rights with men, etc. The significant thing is that no political party dares to dispense with democracy. The logical outcome of universal acceptance of democracy should be a

drawing closer together of all political parties in India in an ever-increasing degree and making India an effective spearhead of genuine democracy.

We who have stuck to Panch Shila with dogged tenacity in the past and do not mean to give it up 'either for money or out of fear' now or in the predictable future should find some satisfaction in the fact of ever-growing Panch Shila-mindedness of the world. In the beginning it was India and China. Then U.S.S.R. The Bandung Conference attracted more votaries. The Cairo Conference increased their number still further. On 19th Dec., 1957 the United Nations declaration embodied and affirmed the five principles of Co-existence. Only in 1956 India the largest democracy in the world and the United States the second largest agreed 'to share common dedication and devotion towards developing the kind of world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent and in which peoples can live together in peace.' The recent visit of the British Prime Minister to India should lead to further extension of the area of application of Panch Shila. Not only satisfaction but unbounded encouragement and invincible faith in the universal acceptance of Panch Shila should make India press forward with humility and determination towards the goal which appears most likely to contribute to the moral enrichment of the human race.

Addressing the 63rd Indian National Congress, Dhebar noted the great jump from 'a hundred per cent imperialist framework to a hundred per cent democratic one.' This complete right-about-turn is the inevitable result of a long historic process. Today we reap the fruits thereof in terms of a comprehensive democratic Constitution suited to the needs of a Democratic Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth, in terms of a new direction to life 'with a definite goal and ideology' so necessary to meet the challenge of casteism, communalism, provincialism and narrow nationalism and all other isms that enslave man to the local and deprive him of the enjoyment of the life universal in regions of *Satyameva Jayate* (Truth Alone Conquers), the

metto of the Indian Republic. It is the compulsive power of the democratic urge that liquidated six hundred odd princely states, evolved a united Republic in which each citizen is expected to respect not only his own rights and views but the rights and views of everybody else including his opponents. The individual who was hitherto a victim of unthinking obedience to authority and external dictation is today placed at the centre of an equalitarian social order as of worth and dignity. He is recognised as being unique, possessed with an individuality, capable of making his own peculiar contribution to the good of society and for whose growth and development society is morally bound to create an atmosphere of genuine freedom, so that the genius of each may have fullest opportunity for growth and development.

India's moral commitment not only obligates her to keep clear of international entanglements through her policy of 'non-alignment' but make non-alignment positive and dynamic so that an all-out effort may be made to free all enslaved peoples and nations of the world anywhere. During the past ten years or so nineteen new nations, including Gold Coast becoming Ghana, have become politically free, thus enfranchising over 704 million people altogether. But much still remains to be done, for freedom is indivisible and 'the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject.' We also need to be clear in our mind in regard to methodology. Ours is 'Non-Alignment'. Hence India made "no secret plots or arrangements formal or informal with any country. The only kind of treaties India has made with other countries are treaties of friendship or cultural or trade treaties which have been published." Those who disagree with our methodology, for example, U.S.A., and believe in the importance of military alliances "to keep free nations strong and to maintain their independence" and in pursuance of this policy make collective defence treaties with as many as forty-two nations during the past ten years are welcome to their own point of view even though India is unable to agree with them.

India's 'secular and non-sectarian outlook, her faith in democratic values of life and her determination to work for her destiny through those values,' "approaching problems in an

atmosphere of good will, seeking peaceful objectives by peaceful means" has made it incumbent upon her to leave the solution of the Goa problem to the pressure of world opinion. The Portuguese need to revise their policy if they think that the Russo-American Treaty of Alliance provides moral justification for practice of colonialism. The tragedies in Egypt and Hungary show that countries much more powerful than they are, cannot revert to old colonial methods and impose their domination over weak countries. World opinion has shown that it can organise itself to resist such outrages.

The preservation of peace being the central aim of India's policy and India's faith that nations can solve their differences across the conference table, have made her desist from armed aggression against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. In the present context India is obliged to inform Pakistan that 'the talk of demilitarisation and plebiscite is irrelevant in the context of continuing aggression.'

On the credit side, in addition to the above, India has had two nation-wide elections, the largest that the world has ever seen. She carried out successfully the First Five-Year Plan and framed an even more ambitious Second Five-Year Plan. In trying to march towards the ideal of socialist pattern not only has she awakened to the need of taking practical steps to eradicate untouchability but also to the need of establishing equality between the sexes through Hindu Succession Act which provides for "the right of succession to daughters as well on par with the sons." One only wishes that the Act could be extended in its application to non-Hindus also. The flexible and practical approach to the language problem, giving equal encouragement to fourteen of them at present may possibly lead to the recognition of English as the fifteenth after 1965, because English is international, our own inter-provincial and language of educated Indians, surely replaceable by Hindi or any other language which really replaces it in the fullness of time. Our efforts in the cause of world peace trying to persuade Russia and United States to "stop the present plunge towards more and more destructive weapons of war and turn the corner that will start our step firmly on the path towards lasting peace" have been fully in keeping with our cultural traditions coming down from

Buddha 2,500 years ago to our own day of Gandhi, the Prophet of Peace, and Nehru, the Angel of Peace. These efforts admirably fit in our adherence to moral and spiritual approach to life leading ultimately to the creation of a world order, a genuine Commonwealth of Nations.

On the debit side may be mentioned a few of our striking failures from which we ought to learn a lesson for future guidance. India's moral commitment requires consistent application of the elective principle to every aspect of life, not accepting that at the top where 'nomination' still operates. We have still to dispense with governors that don't govern. The salaries that we give to ourselves, particularly at the top rung of the ladder are still extremely disproportionate with reference to salaries at the lowest rung. Shall we wait for more Nambudripads to show us the way? Our mixed economy is still cring on the side of capital and calls for accelerated nationalisation. We have grievously erred in the matter of religious liberty by letting Madhya Pradesh proceed with Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry. The Committee managed to draw a red-herring of proceeding "in an open, public, impartial and judicial manner to find out the truth" following "the usual *modus operandi* of Law Courts" across the path of the Central Government and then contravened all the rules of democratic procedure though its chairman, Dr. Niyogi, was an ex-Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court. The Committee did not care to cross-examine witnesses nor permitted the accused to cross-examine them. Protests against this procedure went unheeded. The final report published in 1956 is a masterpiece of bigotry and religious fanaticism. It evoked universal protest both by Christians and non-Christians all over India and its repercussions were felt even by the United Nations, the world's guardian of human freedoms.

The Indian Prime Minister naturally refused to act as the Grand Moghul in the earlier stages of the inquiry but suggested widening its scope to make it more representative of the various interests involved but the

Committee promptly refused to accede to his request. And how could it permit the widening of the scope of the committee? It would have jeopardised comfortable arriving at predetermined conclusions.

The criticisms of the report which appeared in the *Leader* of October 14, 1956 by Justice James of Allahabad High Court are worthy of note:—1. The Committee violated the fundamental principle of judicial process by accepting testimony of witnesses without adequate cross examination. 2. The Committee preferred the interested evidence of obviously interested individuals. 3. Odd actions of individuals were interpreted as characteristic of an entire class. 4. The report is not a judicial document. 5. The methods used are reminiscent of the Inquisition.

The report in two volumes produced by the Committee can only be consigned to waste-paper basket. "Under freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantee it will be open to any religious community to persuade other people to join their faith," points out K. M. Munshi. Dr. Niyogi after recording his recommendation against conversion became converted to Buddhism, becoming a living refutation of his own recommendation.

The Madhya Pradesh Government do not seem to realise that India is a Secular State of which they are a part. The kind of inquiry they started and the manner in which they allowed the Committee to proceed and finally to make the recommendation subversive of religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution hardly reflects credit on them. Finally, it is baffling indeed to note that after "the Rajahs and their kingdoms were gone, their liberal enactments against Christian missionaries were kept alive by the Congress Government of C.P. and Berar" (the present Madhya Pradesh). In such a climate one can only expect repetition of religious hooliganism, desecration of Churches, burning of "Gass Memorials" and blackening of the fair name of the Secular State. Wake up Madhya Pradesh! Your destiny is rising to the moral stature of the Secular State of which you are a part.

THE LEFTWING IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

By DR. L. P. SINHA, M.A. (Phil.), M.A. (Pol.), Ph.D. (London)

THE undaunted, heroic and self-sacrificing participation of the Left-wing elements in the mighty struggle for Indian freedom has only rarely been seen in its true perspective; not often attempts having been made to belittle their role in that movement. It is indeed one of the tragic paradoxes of the modern Indian history that the forces of the left, who suffered so much and offered so much to the cause of the national emancipation, should find so little a place in the niche of the Nationalist Movement. It is surprising also in view of the fact that throughout the turbulent years of the national struggle the predominant urges of the Left were concentrated on the speedy realization of national Independence.

Be that as it may, the Leftwing, first in its communist variant, arose immediately after the World War I against the background of the Nationalist Movement. The situation in post-war India was marked by a number of new and important features which combined together to produce an atmosphere favourable to the development of the Left. These were: the impact of the Russian Revolution bringing forth a new vision of freedom, peace and prosperity before the Colonial peoples of the world, thus shattering the ideological monopoly so far exercised by the West over Asian's mind; the growing industrial unrest leading to an epidemic of strike in 1919-20. It was this period of militancy which gave rise to the first trade unions leading ultimately to the formation of A.I.T.U.C. in 1920. In the political field the nationalist movement, under Gandhian leadership took a challenging attitude and assumed a mass character.

At this stage a few educated Indians, inspired by the ideals of the Russian Revolution, started groping towards Marxism, their motive at the outset being a desire to promote more effectively the national struggle. They had all participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement and were enthusiastic supporters of Gandhi's technique of struggle. But as the movement was drawing to a close without having brought the desired result despite Gandhi's slogan of 'Swaraj within one year,' a sort of scepticism came over the youth regarding the method of struggle. Dange's book *Gandhi-vs.-*

Lenin was written in 1921 in this vein, the path formulated being a compromise between Gandhi and Lenin.

The Hijrat Movement provided, along with other Indian exiles in Europe and Asia, a group of educated Indians who were indoctrinated in communist strategy and tactics in the U.S.S.R., and were later sent back to India. The first communist groups were established in 1921, their programmatic basis being provided by the Colonial Thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in 1920. The thesis called for support to the revolutionary National Movement, as against such movements that were not revolutionary, though simultaneously the organisation of peasants and workers, and formation of Communist Party were also advocated.

The emergence of this group moving towards Marxism was an expression of a certain dissatisfaction with current political ideologies and methods and was indicative of a search for a more revolutionary outlook. It came in with the slogan of complete independence at Ahmedabad Congress (1921). It appealed to the National Congress to adopt a more revolutionary programme by making immediate demands of Trade Unions and the programme of the Kisan Sabhas its own demands. From 1921 onwards it started bringing labour problems before the National Congress though the Congress never encouraged the idea.

The suspension of the non-co-operation movement in 1922 provided specific direction for criticism and discussion. Like other leftwingers that took concrete shape later on, the communists were against its withdrawal. They wanted the Non-Co-operation movement to be carried to its logical conclusion; to them non-co-operation meant suspension of the operation of all productive forces, carrying with it the implications of a mass movement supporting the no-tax campaign and leading upto a general strike all over the country.

Material for criticism of a more severe nature was provided by the Bardoli resolutions of the Congress which were seen more to satisfy the vested interests. This does not mean that they regarded the Congress as reactionary,

rather they were still loyal to the movement and believed that it should be supported. To them criticism of the Congress did not mean antipathy to it. They started work in both the trade-union field and the political field; the purpose of both being to make the national movement more effective and revolutionary. This policy continued upto 1928.

After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (1928), the communists adopted a new tactical line, keeping aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-32) and leaving the Indian National Congress, calling it a bourgeois organisation. The other factors contributing to this estrangement of relationship with the Congress were the indifferent attitude of the National Congress towards the great strike-wave (1928-29), and the withdrawal by the Congress in 1930 from the National Defence Committee formed to conduct defence of Meerut Conspiracy case prisoners. However, the adoption of this line led to their isolation from the Nationalist movement.

Meanwhile a third force moving in a Socialist direction began to take shape as a Left-wing inside the Indian National Congress largely under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was very much an amorphous group rather than a well-organized and coherent leftwing and it consisted of Nationalists whose primary allegiance was to the Indian National Congress. They felt that the goal of national freedom as defined by the Congress was vague and unrealizable, unless the Congress was brought in touch with the masses (peasants and workers). They came gradually to believe that mere political concept of freedom devoid of social and economic concepts was not enough.

Their starting point was dissatisfaction and disappointment with the programme of the Indian National Congress and in point of time they started coming to surface after the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922. Their point of departure was that the Movement should not have been withdrawn simply because an infuriated band of peasants in a far-off village had committed an act of violence. Most of them were believers in non-violence. There might have been an undercurrent of sympathy with the methods of armed struggle, but it was explicitly ruled out because it was an impossible path to pursue under the circum-

stances existing in India. But while most of them believed in non-violence as an ethical virtue they were not prepared to keep their political behaviour on the same unqualified 'ethical' plane as Gandhi; to them, in politics, non-violence was rather to be a policy than a creed as with Gandhi.

They opposed Gandhi's withdrawal of the Non-co-operation movement because they regarded it as predominantly peaceful and non-violent. Thus in his *Autobiography* Nehru wrote:

"Were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out of the way place going to put an end, for sometime at least, to our national struggle for freedom. If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle. For it seemed to us to be impossible to guarantee against the occurrence of some such untoward incident. Must we train the three hundred and odd millions of India in theory and practice of non-violent action before we could go forward? If that was the sole condition of its function then the non-violent method of resistance would always fail."

Their other point of departure was a difference over the concept of *Swaraj*, which they criticized as something that in practice imparted weakness to the movement. The Leftwing believed that the Congress should set itself the aim of complete independence, with no equivocation on this fundamental matter of policy. They commenced an agitation to bring this about. In the economic field the Congress suffered from a lack of definite policy. They wanted the Congress to define its goal economically and declare itself to stand up to the economic grievances of the masses; for the support of the masses was necessary for the strengthening of the nationalist movement.

It is from 1927 onwards that this leftwing started taking organized stand on all these issues. At Madras Congress they successfully moved a resolution for complete independence. In 1928 this group of Nehru, Bose, Iyenger, Nariman, etc., founded 'Independence League' whose object was, (a) achievement of complete independence for India, and (b) reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of social and economic equality.

Under the influence of the League the U.P.

Provincial Congress in April 1929 passed a resolution in favour of making revolutionary changes in the present social and economic structure of society. The A.I.C.C. adopted this resolution in 1929.

Nehru's nomination for Presidentship of the Lahore Congress in 1929 was a reflection of the growing importance of this Left group inside the Congress. It was here that Congress came in for *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence).

The same process of radicalisation led to the emergence of various other organisations of the younger section of Indians, such as All-India Youth League, Swadhin Bharat Sangh, the Socialist Youth League, All-India Volunteer Corps. The Left leaders of the Congress were prominent in these, and they came into prominence in connection with demonstrations organized for boycott of the Simon Commission (1929). During the Civil Disobedience movement it is this group which was in the vanguard and which bore the main brunt of imperialist repression.

The activities of the Congress Left were markedly seen at the Karachi Congress held in 1931. This Congress was being held immediately after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact to which the Left was opposed. The feeling of the left also ran high because of the execution of Bhagat Singh and Guru Dutt. As a concession to the left this Congress passed the now famous resolution on 'Fundamental Rights and Economic changes' by which, for the first time in its history, the Congress tried to define the economic and social concepts of *Swaraj*.

This third force found organisational expression in the founding of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 as a Leftwing of the Indian National Congress. It professed faith in Marxism, class struggle and revolution but valued national freedom above all and regarded the Indian National Congress as the only organization capable of leading to that goal.

But like other leftists the Congress socialists saw fundamental weaknesses in the Congress as an organisation which rendered it ineffective, as an instrument of the national movement. Congress was not a mass organisation in the proper sense of the term. Ideologically speaking the Congress really had no socio-economic programme for the uplift of the masses of peasants and workers, except vague

utterances. Hence the latter could not be enthused into the nationalist movement. Therefore as nationalists the Congress Socialists felt the need of a more dynamic orientation in the outlook and programme of the Congress and to bring it into organic relationship with the organisation of peasants and workers.

During the mid-thirties there came on to the political scene in India, as in a number of countries, a new political alliance, the United Front. This United Front was mainly directed towards the creation of a broad Anti-Imperialist United Front. The situation in India, heightened by the failure of the successive Congress movements, was peculiarly favourable for this move. A feeling was growing among the left elements that the unity of all genuinely anti-imperialist forces was a condition for the success of the nationalist movement. It was this over-riding interest of the nationalist movement, more than anything else, which produced the unity-atmosphere so characteristic of this period. The main issues on which the United Front was sought to be forged were: To establish a United Anti-Imperialist Front; to start work on the basis of the National Congress for that purpose; to make National Congress a truly mass organisation; to advocate for this purpose association of mass organisations of peasants and workers through collective affiliation; to compel the Congress to adopt a minimum programme for that purpose; to check the drift of the National Congress to constitutionalism, and to oppose the New Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act (1935). The participants were: the C.S.P., the Communists, Roy Group, A.I.K.S., A.I.T.U.C., and to a lesser degree a few left Congressmen like Nehru and Bose.

The real concerted action of all these left elements became clearly discernible from the time of the Lucknow Congress (April, 1936). The Congress was presided over by Nehru who was in agreement with their aims. The Lucknow Congress brought the opposite wings in the National Congress in clearer definitions.

One of the issues that came before this Congress was the policy to be adopted regarding the New Constitution. Both the Right and the Left were opposed to the Constitution but differences arose when it came to deciding how it should be

opposed in practice and as to whether participation in the legislatures and acceptance of offices were suitable methods of opposition to it. The Leftwing was not opposed to parliamentarism as such provided it was backed by extra-parliamentary force and involved no acceptance of offices. Nehru, Bose and Leftwing held that any acceptance of office was a compromise with imperialism. They came out with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. In the end a compromise resolution, moved by Gandhi, was accepted, though not without protest from the left, which authorised policy of fighting elections but postponed decision on office-acceptance till the next Congress.

Another issue that the left raised at the Congress was the desirability of the Congress establishing close contacts with the masses and mass organizations. The left was putting emphasis on mass struggle. For the first time All India Kisan Sabha was formed. The left was also insisting on the collective affiliation of the organizations of peasants and workers to the Congress. Nehru himself proposed such an affiliation but the resolution was defeated in the subjects committee and a mass contact committee was formed instead for further consideration of the problem. Under the pressure of the left the Congress also re-iterated the fundamental rights resolution.

The Congress having decided to contest the forthcoming elections to the new legislatures, the next duty of the left was to see that it adopted a really radical Election Manifesto as according to it election was one of the means of increasing contact with the masses. A battle royal raged over the preparation of the Manifesto, and though the Manifesto which was issued in August, 1936 was not satisfactory to the leftwing, it nevertheless welcomed it as a sufficiently positive document and pledged to fight elections in full support of it.

It was in the midst of preparation for elections that the Faizpur session of the Congress met in December 1936. The Congress was again being presided over by Nehru. During his first year of Presidentship, the leftwing had considerably strengthened its position so that by the Faizpur Congress it not only had its four members on the Working Committee but it also constituted roughly one-third of the A.I.C.C.

The question of collective affiliation was practically shelved at Faizpur.

When the postponed question of office-acceptance came before the Congress, the leftwing again opposed the idea. Its amendment was to prepare for mass struggle in order to make possible the realization of the Constituent Assembly.

However the Congress fought the election as a united body. The broad democratic programme embodied in the Manifesto played a big part in mobilizing the over-whelming mass support that won the elections. In spite of the opposition of the left, the A.I.C.C., in March 1937 authorized office-acceptance. The three socialist members of the Working Committee resigned in protest and the left organized a Protest Day on 1st April, 1937, the day on which the Constitution was to be inaugurated.

The assumption of office by the Congress set a wave of joy and enthusiasm throughout the country. The Congress Ministries, in their earlier period, had some praiseworthy achievements to their credit to justify this unbounded enthusiasm of the people. But these measures fell far short of what the people expected or what even the Election Manifesto had promised. Hardly a year had passed when the workings of several ministries came in for severe criticism by the left nationalists, socialists and labour and peasant leaders. They criticised them for restricting civil liberties and adopting repressive measures. The effect of disillusionment became clearly discernible inside both the peasant and labour movements. The peasantry was not satisfied with the inadequate measures that had been taken. There were a number of protest meetings, conferences and demonstrations organised by Kisan Sabhas to bring pressure on Governments. A similar wave of unrest was to be seen among the industrial workers.

The period from Haripura Congress (1938) to Tripuri Congress (1939), both presided over by leftist Bose was marked by this atmosphere of mutual mistrust and suspicion. On the burning issues of policy to be pursued in agrarian and industrial fields, the attitude to be adopted towards Federation, the attitude to States Peoples struggle, and the general policy towards imperialism, the left criticized the right for reformist and compromising outlook. The left generally was in favour of preparing a mass struggle. Its

feeling was that the Congress was settling down to working the constitution.

The Tripuri Congress which saw the high water-mark of the leftwing inside the Congress, also marked its decline and disunity. For four years the left groups worked in a united manner on many issues and the election of Bose to Tripuri Congress was a measure of its strength. But it had not been under a fully united leadership and when it came to deciding issues at critical and crucial moments, it could not come to an agreement.

With the declaration of World War II, the leftwing, with the exception of the Royists, came out with the slogan of launching a mass struggle for capture of power, but in the beginning the Congress gave little support to the idea. With the German declaration of war on the Soviet Union the Communists came forward with the slogan of People's war and when the August, 1942 movement came, the spearheads of struggle were the Congress socialists and the Forward Blocists. Their leadership of the movement earned for them undying fame.

In their treatment of the various negotiations for the transfer of power that took place in 1947, all the left groups except the Radical Democratic Party of Roy took their stand on the fundamental assumption of all left politics so far, that it was impossible to gain complete independence through any process of negotiation and compromise with imperialism.

This study leads readily to the following conclusions. The different leftwing movements in India first arose against the background of the nationalist movement, their aim being to evolve ways and means of making that movement more effective. They pointed out flaws in the approach of the National Congress and declared that so long as the Congress stuck to it, the National Movement could never be successful. They urged the adoption by the national movement of a comprehensive programme of democratic freedom embracing the immediate basic demands of the masses, and capable of rallying them under the banner of the national movement. They did not draw a Chinese wall between national revolution and social revolution. National freedom to them meant social, economic and political emancipation of the Indian people.

They were convinced that only the adoption of the revolutionary method of national struggle they advocated could end in transfer of real power to the people.

The National Congress maintained that it stood for the unity of the entire nation in the cause of freedom and independence. The leftwing movements, however, emphasized the social and economic problems of the Indian peasantry and workers, and sought to bring them to the front of the national movement. Here, therefore, lie two different conceptions concerning the character of the national movement.

The particular contribution made by the leftwing in the approach to the national problem was the inseparability of the struggle for the national freedom from the struggle for the interests of the working people. It was their main purpose to emphasize this, and to shape the policy and tactics of the nationalist movement in accordance with this. While, of course, there were a great many differences of outlook, which separated the one leftwing party or group from the other, it is the application of their socialist beliefs to the national problem that gives to them a distinctive part in the evolution of Indian politics. *Ipsa facto* the same characteristic breeds a common difference with the standpoint of the Indian National Congress, which opposed the entry of these questions into the national movement.

Their emphasis upon the social and economic pattern that would succeed the achievement of independence gave rise to an acute anxiety that power should not be transferred in a manner that would strengthen the position of Indian vested interests. They all opposed the agreement that was reached in 1947 between the British Government and the Indian leaders, and they did so because they believed that a settlement of the kind that was being arranged would serve to strengthen and promote the development of capitalism in India.

A contribution of all the left groups was their emphasis on secular and scientific outlook. In a country like India where religion and traditional moral values bordering on dogmatism and fanatic superstition play so predominant a part, this was an uphill task. The leftwing elements in India generally moved very cautiously in this matter because not only had they to keep

in view the susceptibilities of the national cause they were trying to secure, but also they had to guard against the criticism of the Right which always was eager to rouse the passion of the people on these issues.

Closely connected with this attitude and following from their socialist world outlook was their attitude towards the communal problem that besmirched the face of India, and was ultimately to result in the partition of the country. They regarded the communal problem not as a problem intrinsic to India, but as an artificial growth with definite historic roots; the communal problem having been connected with the speci-

fic features of development in the modern Indian history under the aegis of imperialism.

True, the leftwing movement, neither singly nor collectively, exerted a decisive influence on the nationalist movement. An outstanding reason for this was the very diversity of outlook between the left group themselves. The very number alone of left groups is evidence of a general weakness that afflicted the leftwing movement. But that does not detract from the fact of their selfless service and sacrifice in the cause of national freedom. That could only be done by distorting facts and twisting history.

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MEDIAEVAL METHODS IN A SCIENTIFIC AGE

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

INDIA uses much less cloth per capita than the average consumer in the world. There is much to do in connection with the manufacture of cotton fabrics to meet the entire requirements of an already huge population and that also growing at a tremendous rate.

Yarn is essential for the manufacture of woven cloth. In all the countries except India it is obtained from the spinning machines and this is in turn woven in factories or mills. This is the trend in modern production technique and it has eliminated all other methods as they have been found to be slow and comparatively expensive. The world has reached the atomic age and speed is now the creed of life.

This is a background which cannot be overlooked. But the more cautious economists find in this explosive situation possibilities of a great danger where speed, a by-word for mechanisation, is allowed to overshadow every form of human labour especially where there is plenty of men (and women) with no work to keep them engaged even with a mere pittance.

India is faced with both the problems,—shortage of woven cloth (and other consumer goods) and plenty of idle labour. She has passed the stage when spinning, sometimes exceedingly fine, was done with the help of fingers followed by an "instrument" in the shape of *takli*. *Takli* held its place for long when in due course it was replaced, and rightly too, by a

highly efficient—considering the age when it made its appearance—machine, the *Charka* or the spinning wheel. On the other side, weaving was done by the crude method of interlacing warp and wool which operation was later on transferred to looms, another marvel of invention demanding more ingenuity than the *charka*.

In India, there is a mixture of the mediæval days and the scientific era. She has both the *charka* and the handloom against highly mechanised spinning and the weaving mills.

It would have been an ideal combination, a model to be copied by every country or State with a vast unemployed population, if *charka* could meet all the requirements of the handloom industry. It is a tragedy that handloom has permanently to depend upon a great rival of *charka* for the supply of yarn. Handspun rather *charka* yarn forms only a fractional part of the total yarn used in the handlooms. The weaving mills which produce more than three-fourths of the total production of woven goods have nothing to do with the 'handspun' yarn.

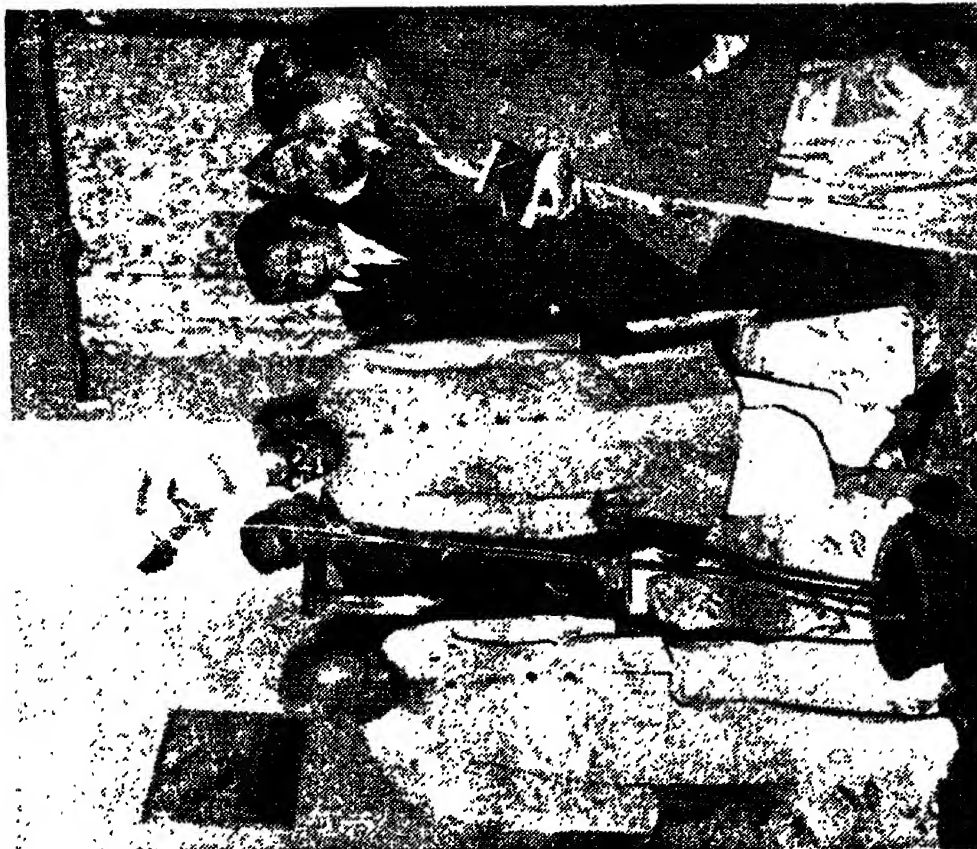
Besides the inherent strength that the handloom might possess, thoughtful men have intervened to save the age-old industry and the workers dependent on it from a threatened existence. Efforts are being made to inject vitality to a weak constitution and it has been able to produce some effect however feeble. But the



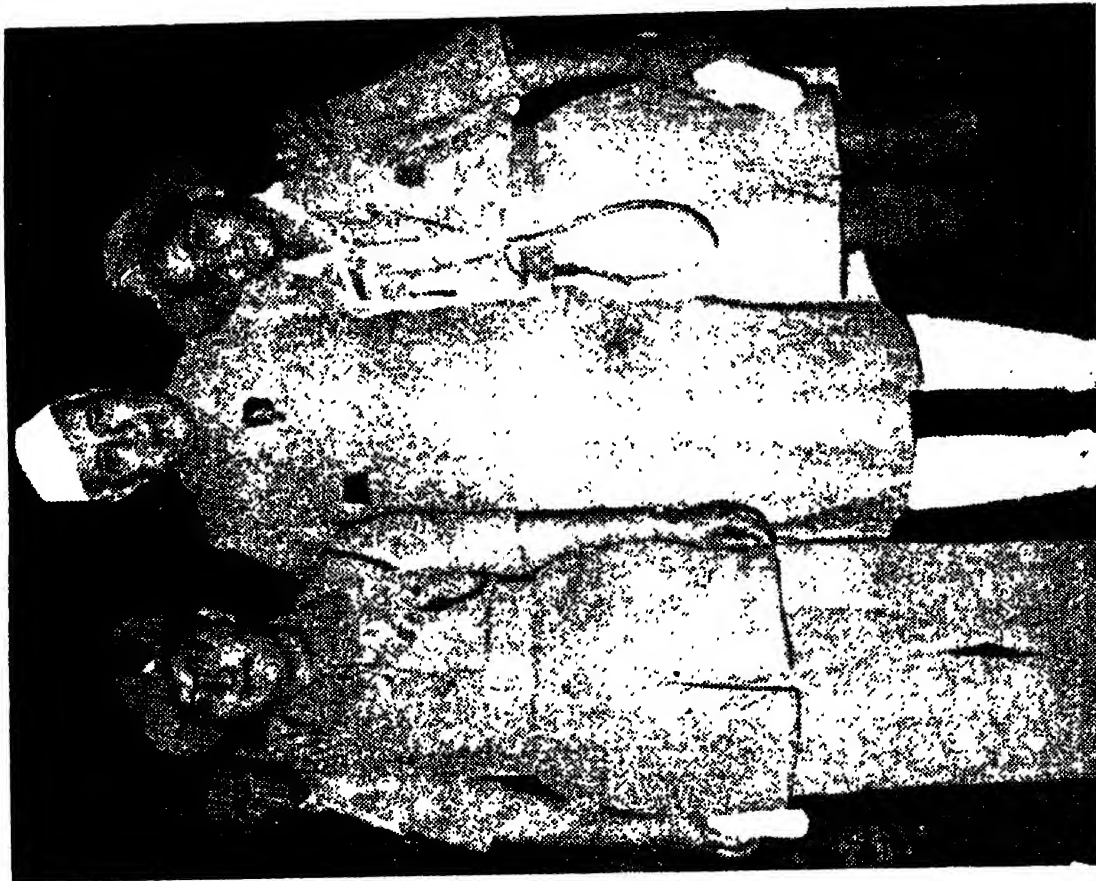
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with the tribal leaders from Tripura



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan receive the King of Afghanistan at the Palam Airport in Delhi



A branch of the famous Bodhi tree was presented to the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Dr. Ho Chi-Minh, by President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi



Avinashi Kaur and Harish Chandra, two school students of Delhi, with the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, after the presentation ceremony of Republic Day Awards in New Delhi

spinning wheel has fared the worse. *Takli* is completely out of the picture. *Charka* is carrying on a losing game. But for Mahatmaji's support during the Non-co-operation Movement and thereafter during his life time, *charka* would have been a specimen of some by-gone days. Still, it could not gather sufficient strength to take care of itself without extraneous help, pecuniary and otherwise, i.e., a good deal of public sentiment for the support of small industries and their half-starved workers. It is also a case with a large number of users of *khaddar* whose main aim is to secure preferment from official circles for his coarse fabric of handspun yarn.

Leaving aside for our present discussion the problem of heavy and heavier taxation making cloth a luxury in a poor and even in a middle class family, it is quite certain that mills could maintain an abundant supply at a cheaper rate if there had been no restrictions on its production and a heavy excise duty to subsidise handloom products. The patent fact is ignored that it is an unwise step to go on pampering industries which would never be able, unless spoon-fed, to take care of themselves. On the other hand it causes imposition of heavy taxes on the essential goods required by the poorer classes forcing them to deny many of the articles without which life is not worth living.

It is a fact that mills will be able to oust the spinning wheels completely and the handlooms largely, throwing out a considerable number of men out of employment. The same question, with a good deal of difference in degree, crops up in relation to all industrial products which are manufactured both in the cottage and the factory. As handloom is the biggest cottage industry and engage the largest number of rural workers in a single group of industry, the light obtained from the analysis of its economy in relation to the common man, may illumine the path of other problems of similar nature groping for solution.

The policy of the Government and the Planning Commission seems to be overweighed by the thought of more unemployment when the efforts of both have miserably failed to touch even the fringe of the cursed problem. It seems to be quite wrong to stick to age-old methods of production which is quite incapable of keeping pace with the march of time. The poor tax-

payers' money is wasted to satisfy the fad of a few influential persons who every now and then use (or abuse) the name of the "Father of the Nation" whose ideals of truth, simplicity, sense of sanctity for public money, frugality, etc., have been drowned in the seven seas. His name has become an instrument of convenience. It may be pertinently asked as to how many of the advocates of *charka* do ply it themselves except on ceremonial occasions (even then, not all) to be photographed and flashed in the next morning's papers and Government periodicals and publications. It is now a big joke to proclaim adherence to old methods in some of the most essential goods required by the masses.

This obstinacy is doing immense harm not only to the economy of the country but spoiling the chances of more income to the workers in the traditional lines of production. The Report on Small Industries in India by the Ford Foundation Team states, "Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology." The Recommendations of "the Team" are for out and out modernisation which might frighten a large section of those who hold the destiny of the millions of people in the palm of their hands.

It is a bad policy to waste money on inefficiency for any reason whatever it might be, and the incalculable hardship it entails upon all concerned should be viewed in its proper perspective. It is absolutely useless to think that the Ambar or any other modification of the present day *charka* can meet the demands of the huge and growing population. It may be that one has to wait till Doomsday for a *charka* that would be able to compete with the spinning mills which have been developed with the ingenuity and efforts of technicians of different lands. Indian technicians have so far failed to produce any *charka* of acceptable design even against a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 offered first by Mahatmaji and then by the Government of India. Other advanced nations won't think of wasting their time over an impossibility. Indian and other technicians would better engage themselves without any further delay in effecting alterations to spinning mills to suit requirements of the rural areas. This is the only acceptable and effective way that lies before the country.

Similar is the case with handlooms. It is really hopeful that permission for starting power-looms is being liberalised but the rate is rather slow for the exigencies of the situation. At the same time some form of power-driven automatic unit may be invented or imported, if needs be, to gradually supplant the handlooms and the power-looms. In the last exhibition organised by Czechoslovakia in Calcutta, the working of a small automatic loom was demonstrated which proved its efficiency to the technologist and the layman alike.

Machines whether it be of the Japanese type or of any other sort, which can fill up the void between the age-old ones on the one hand and the most modernised type of machines on the other, will for some time to come be able to keep the economy of production and employment in the balance. This is not impossible as is evidenced by such machines, to mention only a few, as the chaff-cutter, the blower (in smithy), flour (wheat) milling, the Persian wheel (in water raising), mixers (in road making), printing and binding, sewing, typewriting, peeling (veneer) and saw-milling machines indicate. It is quite necessary that small units for the manufacture of match, dairy produce, metalwares, woodwork, paper and pulp board, etc., ten times more productive than the crude tools of the present moment, should be manufactured and put into use within a very short time. The aid of foreign experts in the line will be of immense value to the country. A nation which wants to protect the old *ghani* and the hand-pounding (of paddy), spinning, etc., by embargo on production of factories for all times to come without substituting them with the modern types of machines, is certainly faced with stagnation of thoughts and ideas, a sure sign of decay.

India has already progressed a good deal after huge expenditure in the way of generating electricity at various dam centres and wants to supply cheap power to distant rural areas. If industrial consumption is lacking, it will be a poor return if it remains limited to domestic lighting (and perhaps, heating) only. India's technologists will be failing in their duty if they, while there is still time, cannot produce small machines to be driven by electrical energy. One is not certain if any attempt is being made in this direction. The great Planners, the architects of India's destiny, are too busy protect-

ing a by-gone and tottering economy and are manifesting superb unconcern about what is most likely to take place in the near future. Small things on which the fate of small and poor people depends have been overlooked by big men who have got big plans for which very big noise that reverberates throughout the world has been generated. They are very big in the manner of begging and let us not hope that their failures would be so big as signs all around signify.

A courageous step, more than anything else, for the adoption of more efficient means of production wherever possible, is needed. The population is growing very fast, the present type of cottage industries bereft of possibilities of expansion have not been able to play its proper role. Agriculture has almost reached the saturation point in respect of employing more men. Further expansion of the fields for growing crops is bound to be slow because there is not much land left for the purpose. Moreover, the present number of persons depending on land will be found more than sufficient for managing such plots and mechanisation is bound to make steady inroads on the methods of agricultural production and causing partial unemployment to many.

New employments are made only in big development projects and for big manufacturing concerns. Unfortunately, due to many complexities in the application of the new laws, small business concerns have suffered depression and more and more people are bereft of their established means of livelihood. The number of the unemployed is swelling rapidly; at least they cannot be offset by the number of persons securing new jobs in governmental undertakings or institutions. Some of the developmental schemes are nearing completion and there is already a problem regarding the employees of the Damodar Valley Corporation and such other schemes. No rapid expansion of new undertakings of like nature can take place due to exchange difficulties. The number of big industrial units to come into being both in the public and private sectors will, by the peculiar nature of the prevailing circumstances, be very limited.

Hope lies in the establishment of small industries. But there must be a change from the traditional type of articles as well as in the

methods of their production. This principle does not apply to goods which are required in small numbers or goods which are so artistic that machine is no match for the deft human fingers. An examination of a few of the old type of industrial products makes the position clear. The earthenware, from the common clay, is rapidly being replaced by aluminium, enamel, glass, porcelain, papier mache, celluloid and plastic goods. Let them hold on to those that have some economic value but at the same time efforts should be made to find gainful occupations for those who are finding it difficult to eke out their existence by pursuing the antiquated mode of production of out-moded articles. They should be trained to switch over to new industries. New ideas are more necessary than anything else at the present moment. The case is not quite different with brass and bell-metal, village iron and steel goods, toys and buttons, sola products, and so on and so forth. It is essential that the new

articles which are replacing the old should be carefully noted and the new line of manufacture with new type of raw materials that they involve should be adopted without any further loss of time.

In going for the new industries or in introducing some new techniques with improved machinery in the present pattern of production, an amount of unemployment may take place at the initial stage. It will certainly be compensated by the opening of bigger avenues of employment and bigger income not only to the industries but will result in an all-round economic improvement to all concerned including the producers of raw materials, stockists, dealers, etc., of finished goods. Sooner or later this risk of temporary unemployment has to be taken and it is much better if it is adopted before any further harm is caused to the interests of small and cottage industries and the workers depending on them.

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FOOD PRICES IN INDIA

Producing and Consuming Centres

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

THE chief source of energy in India being the cereals, they alone represent the staple food of the country. Again, from among the cereals, while rice and wheat account for nearly 50 per cent of the total food-grains consumed, all the other coarse-grains like maize, barley, gram, millets small as well as big and subsidiary foods like tapioca, potato and groundnut are the source of food supply to the remaining half of the population. We would thus restrict ourselves to only wheat and rice in this study.

The other and much stronger reason of restricting the scope of our present study is the relative unimportance of other grains for the country as a whole so that the price quotations of various coarse grains have no significance for the major consuming centres in India. The production of these coarse grains being further intended more or less for local consumption,

they cannot play any important role in a comparative study for the whole of India.

THE OBJECT

Food prices have been playing a major part in the economy of India where as much as 70 per cent of the total cropped area is under food-grains. Ignoring the distant past, a glance over the previous 25 years would show four clear and distant phases in the food prices of India. The pre-war period was marked by a depression when the Indian agriculturist was the hardest hit and food prices were at the lowest ebb. With the breakout of the war in September, 1939, they began to look up and the problem of soaring food prices continued to haunt even after the cessation of hostilities after 1945. This trend backed by the partition in 1947 and the Korean War in 1950 continued right up to 1952. With the launching of decontrol in that year, a new chapter opened in the food

history of the country, the previous two years, 1956 and 1957, again showed an upward swing. While during the war and the period of controlled economy food prices were under the influence of an inflationary spiral, the decontrol experiment in 1952 brought prices toppling down and the subsequent years caused anxiety because of falling prices. The Government had to enter the market to purchase rice, wheat, and gram in order to safeguard the interests of the cultivator. The prices have again had a hardening tendency only recently.

We propose to study in this paper price spreads between the major surplus and deficit States of India during these periods, find out what changes were brought about by the food control on the pricing system in the country, and how far normalcy has been restored.

FOOD TRADE PATTERN

Before we do so it would be necessary to examine the channels along which the movement of food-grains (rice and wheat in our present case) has been taking place. From a study of the rail and river-borne trade of rice and wheat for the period before the war, we find that the chief importing States of wheat were Bengal and Bombay; Bengal being supplied by U.P. and the Punjab and Bombay by the then Central Provinces and the Punjab. Most of the Punjab trade to both Bombay and Calcutta was by sea through the port of Karachi while small quantities of wheat were also moved by rail. The whole of the U.P. and Central Provinces trade on the other hand was by rail.

As for rice, the highly deficit States were Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Bengal while the surplus ones were Orissa, Assam, Central Provinces and the Punjab. Besides these surplus States mentioned above, Sind and Burma which were then a part of India were among the highly surplus provinces. Assam was supplying to Bengal and Bihar, while Orissa along with these two Provinces also met the requirements of Madras. Bombay was mainly being fed by the Punjab and Mysore. All the same there were many a cross movement of rice like Bengal sending rice to U.P. and U.P. to certain other areas. This was due to the particular and specific varieties that were grown and consumed in different areas. A major portion of the crop is locally consumed in practically all the growing

areas. What enters the inter-State trade is only some specific variety with a specific demand in the consuming area.

Besides this, rice was also being supplied to the coastal States of Bengal, Bombay and Madras by Burma, and Sind was also supplying sufficient quantities through the port of Karachi. In this discussion we shall, however, restrict ourselves to only those States which form a part of the existing geographical area of India. Burma and Sind have thus been excluded.

PRICES

Having thus examined the various surplus and deficit States it would be interesting to know how food prices varied from State to State. In the very early period before 1861, when road and rail communications had not as yet developed, there were wide fluctuations in food prices not only over time, but also over space representing local scarcities and surpluses.¹ With the development of communications and the opening of foreign trade, these wide fluctuations were smoothened. Not only that, a sort of stability was established throughout the country, but they were influenced to a great extent by outside prices in the world. Rice and wheat have a world market and Indian prices in these commodities continued to be influenced by those prices.² They had a direct effect on the prices of coarse grains as well which moved in sympathy with the former. The result was that there was a trend towards more or less in the whole of India. We are to examine, how far this one price level was disturbed during the period of controlled economy and to what extent it has been restored after decontrol. The decade before the war has been taken as representative of the normal period.

We have two sets of prices available with us. One is the harvest prices for the various States based on the averages of the district prices during the harvesting period. The other is the average yearly wholesale prices for important centres of trade in the various States. Although harvest prices are only the prices of cultivators and do not represent the actual prices at which the commodity goes to the consumer, yet in the absence of the market

1. Brij Narain: *Indian Economic Life, Past and Present*, 1929, p. 109.

2. S. Y. Krishnaswamy: *Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras*, p. 342.

prices during the controlled period a study based on harvest prices throughout the period will give us a better idea of the local conditions prevailing at different times. Since the external supplies of food-grains from Indian States or outside are intended more or less for the consumption of city population in the respective States, a study based on harvest prices will be a better guide to understand the real food situation in rural India which has mainly depended on its own internal resources.

It would, however, be necessary to have some idea of the definition of the term 'harvest prices,' before we place much of reliance on them. The methods of collection of these prices were till recently governed largely by local customs and usages and as such differed from State to State. In Assam, for example, they were just the wholesale prices prevailing at the four important markets in the State during harvest time; in Madras, they were the retail prices ruling at two or three principal markets in each district except those of rice and some other non-food crops which were based on wholesale prices; in Punjab, they were the prices received by the farmers for their produce during harvest period and were collected from selected villages; in Orissa and West Bengal, they were computed as the average of the prices ruling during harvest time at two or three

principal markets in each district.³ There was thus no uniformity in the country. A new scheme has, however, been introduced with effect from 1950 to bring about this uniformity. Although a number of States have already adopted the new system, there still remains some lacuna and during all our discussions we have to bear this in mind. The study based on such prices will thus at most be only rough.

There is also a second series of harvest prices which are collected through the branches of the Imperial (State) Bank of India. They relate to wholesale prices of different agricultural commodities, prevailing during a period of about two months after the arrival of the new harvest in selected principal markets where the branches of the Bank exist. They are known as "Harvest Season Prices" and wherever used have been termed as such.

THE PERIOD BEFORE THE WAR

The year 1930 opened with a worldwide depression which affected Indian price structure equally. This deflationary phase of the cycle with a short interval continued till the war broke out in 1939. The fact that prices of food-grains in the various States of India for the period before the war were following a steady trend is obvious from a study of harvest prices of rice and wheat for the quinquennium ending 1928-29 and 1938-39. Table I studies this trend.

TABLE I

Harvest Prices of Rice and Wheat in some of the important States.
(All prices are in Rs. per maund)

State	Rice				Wheat			
	Average harvest price* during quinquennium ending.		Index with Orissa as 100		Average harvest price for quinquennium ending.		Index with Punjab as 100	
	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39	1928-29	1938-39
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Assam	6/6	3/0	143	117	..	..	..	..
Bengal	6/15	3/6	156	140	6/1	3/4	133	140
Bihar	6/3	3/6	140	140	6/3	3/11	136	159
Bombay	8/2	4/10	197	190	7/8	4/3	164	180
C.P. and Berar	6/2	3/4	138	134	5/5	3/1	73	127
Madras	7/4	3/13	163	157	..	..	..	..
Orissa	4/7	2/7	100	100	..	..	..	..
Punjab	5/3	2/11	117	110	4/9	2/5	100	100
U.P.	7/5	4/2	162	169	5/6	3/0	118	124

Source: *Famine Commission, Final Report*, p. 480.

3. From (Harvest) Prices of Principal Crops, Supplement to Agricultural Prices in India, 1951-1952.

Columns 4 and 5 under rice and 8 and 9 under wheat show a remarkable degree of unanimity. Although there is a wide variation between the various States, the price parity as between the two periods remains practically the same. The general price-level practically in all the States came down in 1938-39 by half that of 1928-29, but the trend is practically the same throughout India. As regards our general statement of one price-level for the country as a whole, we have to examine the price spreads as between the various States more closely.

According to the *Reports on the Marketing of Rice and Wheat*, the costs of handling and transport together amount in the case of wheat and rice to about 26.3 per cent respectively.⁴

Detailed data is available with regard to these actual costs in the case of wheat during the forties. Such costs per maund from Lyallpur to Bombay *via* Karachi were Rs. 1-5-2, from Lyallpur to Calcutta, both *via* Karachi and direct by rail Rs. 1-7-0, from Chandausi (U.P.) to Calcutta Rs. 1-3-0, and from Indore and Sagour in the Central India to Bombay about Rs. 1-2-0 and Rs. 1-4-0 respectively.⁵

Price differences to the extent mentioned above between the producing and the consuming States would thus be just a normal feature. If it is, however, much more beyond this, the matter will need further investigation.

THE CASE OF WHEAT

Taking the case of wheat first, Table II gives the harvest prices of wheat in the important States between 1931-32 and 1942-43.

We have already seen that wheat supplies to Calcutta were being made from U.P. and Punjab, while the requirements of Bombay were being met by C. P. and Punjab. Table III will study the price spread between these importing and exporting States.

(See Table III, p. 211)

It would be seen from Table III above that up to the year 1940-41 price differences between the producing and consuming centres were invariably less than the cost of handling and transportation which varied from Rs. 1-2-0 to Rs. 1-7-0 as already stated. But for abnormally high prices in Bombay for the quinquennium ending 1928-29 and a very slight margin in the case of Bengal and U.P., the difference in the prices throughout the period remained practically within those costs. These variations may be due to the different varieties quoted. If we could get these quotations for the commoner varieties which enter into inter-provincial trade, the price spreads would, perhaps, have approximated to the costs of transportation, etc.⁶

This, in other words, means that for so long as normal transport facilities were available within the country, wheat prices tended to keep a certain level and moved practically parallel from one centre to the other.

The war broke out in the year 1939 which was followed by a slight increase in the food-grain prices. As the internal transport system remained intact for about 2 years after the break-out of hostilities, the pricing pattern also

TABLE II
Annual Average Harvest Prices of Wheat

1931-32 to 1942-43

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p
Bengal	3 2 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	5 0 0	15 0 0
Bombay	3 12 0	4 4 0	5 0 0	6 11 0	16 6 0
U.P.	2 9 0	3 1 0	3 10 0	5 5 0	10 11 0
Punjab	2 4 0	2 6 0	2 14 0	5 0 0	10 0 0
C.P. & Berar	2 10 0	3 3 0	3 11 0	5 15 0	12 6 0

4. Prices Sub-Committee Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

5. *Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India*, 440-41.

6. JJ Anjaria, DT Lakdawala and Dr. Samant: *Price Control in India*, with special reference to food supply, Bombay, 1946; p. 79.

FOOD PRICES IN INDIA

TABLE III

Price spread of wheat between the Importing and Exporting States

(In Rupees per maund)

States	Average 5 years ending 1928-29	1931-32 to 1934-35	1934-35 to 1938-39	1938-39 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bengal and U. P.	0 11 0	0 9 0	0 3 0	0 6 0	0 5 0	4 5 0
Bengal and Punjab	1 8 0	0 14 0	0 14 0	...	...	5 0 0
Bombay and C.P.	2 3 0	1 2 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	0 6 0	4 0 0
Bombay and Punjab	2 15 0	1 8 0	1 14 0	2 2 0	1 11 0	6 6 0

(Based on Tables I and II)

remained practically undisturbed in all the States under study. Table IV gives a comparative study of railway traffic for this period.

(See Table IV below)

The year 1941-42 saw a further increase in the prices and the strange thing as would be seen from Table III was that the increase in the producing States of the Punjab, U.P., and C.P. was much higher than that in Bengal and Bombay; so much so that the Bengal price was lower than U.P. and equal to that of the Punjab. The Bombay and C.P. difference was also reduced to only a few annas.

We are not in a position to pin down the responsibility for this phenomenon to any specific point. What we find is that after a downward movement of wheat prices for the first five months in 1941, Lyallpur and Hapur markets rose sharply from July, 1941. The wholesale price Index for wheat, for example, went up to 198 in September and 214 in December, 1941, at Lyallpur with August, 1939,

as the base. In the case of U.P. with the same base it rose from 131 in July to 167 in December,⁷ 1941. The only possible explanation for all this seems to be due to adverse war news, the 'freezing' order of Japanese assets and exaggerated rumours about exports to countries in the Middle East. Army Purchases of wheat had also increased and stood at about 88,000⁸ tons in 1941-42. All these factors combined together, coupled with a slightly adverse *rabi* crop of 1941-42,⁹ seem to have created a sort of shortage psychology in the producing centres, the result being a sudden rise in the wheat prices. The U.P. representative at the Third Price Control Conference held on October 16 and 17, 1941, pointed out that all this was due to the fact

7. S. C. Chaturvedi: *Wheat Statistics in the U.P.* Bulletin No. 22, Department of Economics and Statistics, U.P., 1953; pp. 166-67.

8. *Famine Inquiry Commission Report on Bengal*, p. 18.

9. Season and Crop Reports for 1940-41 of the Punjab and U.P.

TABLE IV

Railway and Road Statistics, 1938-39 to 1940-41

	Three years average ending 1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
Railways			
Route mileage open for traffic—			
Broad Gauge ('000 miles)	.. 21.2	21.2	21.0
Metro Gauge " "	.. 15.8	15.9	16.0
Narrow Gauge " "	.. 4.1	4.1	4.0
Rolling stock—			
Locomotives, Steam ('000)	.. 8.4	8.4	8.4

Source: *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1936-1937 to 1940-41*, pp. 439-40.

that "speculators were forcing up prices since producers had disposed of 80 to 90 per cent of their produce and during July and August no exports from the Province were observed."¹⁰ to the consuming ones. Table V will be of interest in this connection.

(See Table V below)

To add fuel to fire, an order was issued on December 5, 1941, by the Central Government fixing the maximum price of wheat at Rs. 4-6-0 per maund at Lyallpur and Hapur and authorised the Provincial Governments to determine the maximum price at other places, having regard to normal parities.¹¹ Naturally this created a sort of panic. A Wheat Commissioner for India was appointed on December 31, whose function was to advise provincial price control authorities, to regulate the distribution of wheat, and to acquire wheat when necessary for sale through provincial agencies.

Before the Wheat Commissioner could do anything in the matter, a period of local scarcities beginning from January, 1942 to April 1942, followed particularly in the producing States. It was only on April 30, 1942 that a wheat control order was notified regulating rail-borne movements of wheat from producing provinces to consuming areas by permits issued by the Wheat Commissioner for India.

The changed relationship of wheat prices between surplus and deficit States in the year 1941-42 may thus be found in greater pressure on the producing States and abundant supplies

Table V will bring out clearly that in so far as the external wheat supplies were concerned, the consuming States were better off in the year 1941-42 and the drain on the producing States was the maximum. Possibly this had the natural effect of reversing the trend of price parity between the producing and the consuming States.

Having examined the position in detail for the year 1941-42, we find from Table III that the year 1942-43 shows a marked increase in the price differential between the producing and the consuming States. This seems to be natural in the presence of hindrances to the normal flow of trade and restrictions. In fact, from this year we enter into a new phase in the food history of India and will discuss the position shortly in detail.

THE RICE POSITION

Coming to rice now, Table VI studies the position with regard to harvest prices.

(See Table VI on page 213)

Besides Sind and Burma which were then a part of India, most of the internal supplies of rice were made by Orissa, Assam, C.P. & Berar and the Punjab. Table VII will study the price spread between the producing and the consuming States.

(See Table VII on page 213)

TABLE V

Rail and River-borne Wheat Trade of India between certain States

Net Import (+): Export (—) in the year

(In thousand tons)

State	Average 1933-34 to 1935-36	1936-37 to 1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
Bengal	+ 12.9	+ 4.0	+ 7.4	+ 8.0	+ 11.1
Bombay	+ 59.0	+ 68.3	+ 67.5	+ 62.5	+ 66.7
U. P.	+ 35.3	—114.6	+ 19.6	—111.2	—117.5
Punjab	—261.5	—507.5	—493.9	—569.7	—507.5
C.P. & Berar	—147.5	—140.9	—213.9	—177.4	—191.6

(Source: Adapted from *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India, 1940*, pp. 86-87).

10. Proceedings of the Third Price Control Conference, quoted by Bengal Famine Report, *Op. Cit.*; p. 20.

11. Proceedings of the Third Price Control Conference.

TABLE VI

Annual Average Harvest Prices of Rice (Winter)

1931-32 to 1942-43

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Assam	3 0 0	5 3 0	4 0 0	4 4 0	8 12 0
Bengal	3 0 0	3 7 0	4 14 0	5 6 0	14 0 0
Bihar	3 2 0	3 6 0	4 6 0	5 7 0	8 0 0
Bombay	4 10 0	4 12 0	5 7 0	8 0 0	12 13 0
C.P. & Berar	3 1 0	3 4 0	3 8 0	6 6 0	9 0 0
Madras	3 11 0	3 13 0	4 8 0	5 6 0	8 6 0
Orissa	1 15 0	2 9 0	3 6 0	4 3 0	6 3 0
U. P.	3 14 0	4 3 0	4 14 0	6 11 0	10 0 0
Punjab	1 12 0	2 0 0	2 6 6	3 9 0	5 15 0

Source: *The Food Statistics of India, Op. Cit.*, p. 139 and *Famine Inquiry Commission Final Report, Op. Cit.*, p. 478.

TABLE VII

Price Spread between the Producing and Consuming States of Rice

(In Rupees per maund)

States	1931-32 to 1934-35	1935-36 to 1938-39	1939-40 to 1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Orissa & Bengal	1 1 0	0 14 0	8 0	1 3 0	7 13 0
Orissa & Bihar	1 3 0	0 13 0	0 0	1 4 0	1 13 0
Orissa & Madras	1 12 0	1 4 0	2 0	1 3 0	2 5 0
Punjab & Bombay	2 14	2 12 0	3 0 6	4 7 0	6 14 0
Assam & Bengal	0 0	0 4 0	0 14 0	1 2 0	5 4 0
Assam & Bihar	0 2	0 3 0	0 6 0	1 3 0	0 12 0

(Based on Table VI)

Table VII reveals practically the same difference in the rice between some of the producing and consuming centres, and the pattern remains unchanged right up to 1940-41. But rice is a peculiar crop in the sense that Bengal, Bihar and Madras which enter into the import trade of India are themselves the major producers of rice. All the three States combined account for nearly 50 per cent of its acreage and

production. The price differential between them may thus be more a representative of the various qualities of rice which are innumerable¹² than the handling and transport charges as in the

12. Orissa alone has more than 1,000 varieties. (Dr. H. K. Nandi: *Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry*, 1948, p. 293). Bengal as against this has 4,000 varieties according to John Kenny (*Intensive Farming*, p. 246).

case of wheat. But for the Punjab, where very few people have rice as their staple diet, a major portion of the crop is locally consumed within a comparatively circumscribed area. This being the case the price of rice in the various markets show a very little tendency to move in close sympathy.¹³ This single factor is also responsible for shooting prices in scattered pockets of the country in case of local crop failure or a break-down of the transport system. Notwithstanding all this, a study of Tables VI and VII would reveal that for the period before the war, rice was the cheapest in the Punjab and Orissa, practically at the same level in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, C.P. and Madras and a little high in U.P. and Bombay.

SUMMING UP

Summing up the position for the period before the war we find that there was a certain price level throughout the country and specific parity between the prices of various food-grains in the producing and the consuming States. We have examined the position in respect of wheat and rice. The prices of coarse-grains like jowar, bajra and maize are generally governed by those of wheat. The exceptions to this rule as stated by the *Report on the Marketing of Maize and Millets in India* are few and far between.¹⁴

It may be noted that the general conclusions reached above remained undisturbed for the decade studied above which was otherwise a period of many disturbances in prices. There are four clear phases to be witnessed.¹⁵ First is the depression period from September, 1929 to March, 1933. With July, 1914 as the base, the Calcutta annual average index of cereals which stood at 133 in 1928 came down steadily to as low a figure as 66 in 1933.¹⁶ A wide disparity was witnessed between prices and cost of production so much so that the prices of agricultural commodities fell by more than 50 per cent while reduction in the cost of production was

only of the order of 15 to 20 per cent.¹⁷ Second was the partial recovery period from April 1933 to August 1937, when prices showed a slight recovery as a result of an improvement in the general economic conditions in India as well as abroad and the gradual depletion of stocks of primary commodities. The effect was felt to a striking degree during the first half of 1937 owing mainly to the influence of heavy expenditure on armaments in many countries. With a sharp recession of prices of primary commodities, which commenced in USA about April, 1937, and which gathered momentum as the year wore on, Indian prices also showed a setback from September, 1937. This recession in prices in the movement continued up to August, 1939, and presents a third phase in the movement of prices. With the outbreak of war in September, 1939, prices again started looking up and entered into the fourth phase. With all these ups and downs the general pattern within the country was not disturbed. The only possible explanation for all this would seem to be the absence of any disturbance in the transport system of the country. There being practically settled conditions not only in India but the world over, the internal trade continued to flow along set channels. Changes in the general price level could not thus affect the set pattern of price parities of various food-grains between the various producing and the consuming centres.

THE PERIOD OF CONTROL

Although the Second World War started in September, 1939, Indian economy, particularly in respect of food, remained practically undisturbed for about two years till Japan entered the war on December 8, 1941. We have seen that there was almost a set pattern of internal as well as external trade in food-grains, guided more or less by the price parities between the producing and consuming centres on the one hand and the importing or exporting countries on the other hand.

The whole system, however, received a rude shock from 1942 onwards for about a period of 10 years. The disturbing factors were a dislocation in the internal transport system, the introduction of food control and rationing system, and the partition of the country. Mr. S.

13. *Report on the Marketing of Rice*, 1941, p. 151.

14. *Report*, 1954, p. 26.

15. For a brief but lucid description of these trends refer to S. G. Beri: *Price Trends During the Last Decade and Their Effects on Indian Economy*, 1940.

16. *Statistical Abstract for British India from 1926-27 to 1935-36*, p. 550.

17. S. G. Beri: *Price Trends During the Last Decade*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

G. Beri while discussing the food situation in 1943¹⁸ thus observed;

"Unprecedented transport difficulties in the country and the excessive pressure on the railways owing to military movements and diversion of traffic from the road and the coast have hampered the free flow of commodities from surplus to the deficit areas and have thus served to intensify local shortages."

A study of rail and road transport during this period would reveal that a considerable number and quantity of wagons, locomotives and rails, were sent from the country to some near theatres of war. Table VIII will explain this.

(See Table VIII below)

This fall in the number of locomotives was not much. But there was a tremendous increase in military traffic. While such traffic amounted to less than half a million tons in 1938-39, it was 12.9 million tons in 1942-43. Some 200 locomotives and 1,000 wagons were sent to the

Middle East. A total mileage of 776 was dismantled to meet defence needs.¹⁹

That was not all, the length of road mileage in the country in 1938 was 54,892 metalled and 220,889 unmetalled. On account of many difficulties of importing new vehicles, the commandeering of many vehicles for military use, rationing of petrol and tyres, etc., the road transport was unable to maintain its pre-war efficiency. Similarly, in the case of coastal transport while the annual average value of coastal transport during 10 years preceding the war was as much as 151.05 crores of rupees, coastal trade in private merchandise was reduced to insignificance.²⁰

In the light of the whole of this, let us examine how far prices parities were disturbed in the country during this period.

THE POSITION OF WHEAT

Taking first the case of wheat, Table IX will give its harvest prices during the period.

TABLE VIII

Rolling Stock as on 31st of March

Year	Broad Gauge		Metre Gauge		Narrow Gauge	
	Locomotive	Wagon	Locomotive	Wagon	Locomotive	Wagon
1938*	5,300	1,49,131	2,323	52,259	296	3,587
1942*	5,313	1,47,947	2,212	46,777	281	3,478
1943**	5,314	1,48,243	2,240	46,626	274	3,369
Difference	+14	-888	-83	-5,633	-22	-218

Source: *Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao: *War and Indian Economy*, 1944, p. 41.

**Report of the Railway Board for 1942-43.

TABLE IX

Harvest Price of Wheat, 1942-43 to 1951-52

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1942-43 to 1944-45 2 Rs. a.p.	1945-46 to 1946-47 3 Rs. a.p.	1947-48 Rs. a. p.	1948-49 5 Rs. a.	1949-50 to 1951-52 6 Rs. a. p.
Bombay	15 8 0	13 4 0	29 12 0	20 8	16 6 0
Madhya Pradesh	11 3 0	10 7 0	26 0	22 8 0	17 10 0
Punjab	9 3 0	10 13 0	15 1	14 10 0	14 4 0
U. P.	11 10 0	12 5 0	17 12	22 14 0	16 0 0
West Bengal	13 2 0	13 4 0	20	25 0 0	24 10 0*

* Average for the two years 1949-50 to 1950-51 only.

Source: *Indian Agricultural Statistics*, 1950 and 1950-51; *Agricultural Prices in India*, 1951 and 1952; and *Farm (Harvest) Prices of Principal Crops*, 1947-48 to 1951-52.

18. S. G. Beri: *A Review of Price Control in India*, New Book Company, Bombay;

19. C. N. Vakil: *Price Control and Food Supply*, 1943, pp. 44-45.

20. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao: *War and Indian Economy*, p. 49.

A comparative study of Tables II and VIII will show wide differences not only from year to year but also between the producing and consuming States. In fact, there were no producing and consuming States as such. The whole of the food trade was under Government control during this period. The surpluses of surplus States were procured by the Government and were moved to the deficit States in accordance with the Basic Plan which was formulated every year. The question of any parity in the prices between the producing and the consuming States would not, therefore, arise on the basis of handling and transport charges as we studied for the period before the war. This would be apparent from Table IX which gives price spreads between the producing and the consuming States.

See Table X

A study on these lines would seem to be all the same useless when we find that U.P., Punjab, and Madhya Pradesh which had been the main surplus States right up to 1943-44, became net importers of wheat from 1944-45 and the position remained unchanged practically for the whole of the controlled period.²¹ The total shortfall

21. Based on the data in *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat, Op Cit, Indian Food Statistics, 1949*; and *Food Situation in India, 1939-53; 1954*. It may be pointed out that Punjab in this discussion refers to East Punjab only.

between the rationing commitments which were represented by the off-take of the particular grain and the procurement was being met during the period from foreign imports. No specific price level could, therefore, exist even in the different parts of one State. Harvest prices given in Table VIII do not represent the real state of affairs in the open market. If those prices could be obtained they would show still wider variations. This is all the more clear from the price data for the years 1947-48 and 1948-49. Food-grains were decontrolled in December, 1947 and they were not recontrolled till late in 1948. There being thus no controlled price for them, Bengal, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh prices went up by even more than 100 per cent, while the rise in the case of U.P. and Punjab was hardly of the order of 50 per cent. All this shows only the existence of local shortages. Prices in the different parts of the country were thus governed not by any sort of normal trade principles under which the surplus of one area could flow to the deficit area and keep a certain price level.

Practically the same was the position of rice or that of other coarse-grains, which invariably failed to keep any parity with the prices of fine grains like wheat and rice. Table XI studies the prices of rice.

(See Table XI, p. 217)

TABLE X

*Price Spreads of Wheat between the Producing
1942-43 to 1951-52*

and the Consuming States—

State	(In Rupees per maund)		1947-48	1948-49	1949-50 to 1951-52
	1942-43 to 1944-45	1945-46 to 1946-47			
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bengal & U.P.	1 8 0	0 15 0	2 12 0	2 2 0	8 10 0
Bengal and Punjab	3 15 0	2 7 0	5 7 0	10 6 0	10 6 0
Bombay and M. Pradesh	4 5 0	2 13 0	3 12 0	2 0 0	1 4 0
Bombay and Punjab	6 5 0	2 7 0	14 11 0	5 14 0	2 2 0

Source: Based on Table VIII.

TABLE XI

Harvest Price of Rice, 1942-43 to 1951-52

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1942-43 to 1944-45	1945-46 to 1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50 to 1951-52
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Assam	12 6 0	11 10 0	14 8 0	17 5 0	18 2 0**
Bihar	10 11 0	11 12 0	15 4 0	21 8 0	19 4 0**
Bombay	16 1 0	14 15 0	16 14 0	27 9 4	27 10 0
M. Bharat	10 4 0	9 2 0	12 10 8†	14 10 6†	17 11 0†
Madras	9 3 0	10 4 0	12 12 0	16 5 0	13 11 0
Orissa	8 4 0	8 12 0	11 12 0	14 0 0	13 5 0
Punjab*	7 6 0	9 4 0	8 13 0	11 3 0	10 12 0
U. P.	15 8 0	17 12 0	17 12 0	26 11 0	26 0 0
W. Bengal	13 10 0	11 13 0	16 4 0	18 8 0	19 7 0**

* Prices in the case of Punjab are for unhusked while in the case of other States for cleaned rice. In the case of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal, these are the averages for both winter and autumn prices which have otherwise wide variations among them.

** Averages for 1949-50 and 1950-51.

† Figures are for Madhya Pradesh which is practically in the same position as Madhya Bharat with regard to rice prices.

DECONTROL

The year 1952 marked a new epoch in the food history of the country when in the month of June, a policy of partial decontrol was launched under the bold leadership of the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. The subsequent years found further relaxation in this policy and even the last vestige of control was completely abolished with effect from 18th March, 1955. We shall now examine the position with regard to prices during this period. Table XI gives the wholesale prices at some of the selected centres in the various States. It may be added that harvest prices for this period are not available, hence our resort to wholesale prices.

TABLE XI (A)

Wholesale Prices of Rice in the Important States (1952 to 1955)

(In Rupees per maund)

State	1952	1953	1954	1955
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Assam	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15 9
West Bengal	18 9	18 0	13 13	15 11

Bihar	25 15	20 13	15 4	13 0
Bombay	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16 2
M. Pradesh	15 13	16 4	14 14	13 0
Madras	20 4	19 12	15 8	14 10
Orissa	13 0	N.A.	N.A.	11 12
U. P.	25 14	21 5	16 4	14 7
Punjab	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15 0

TABLE XI (B)

Wholesale Prices of Wheat in some of the Important States (1952 to 1955)

State	1952	1953	1954	1955
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
West Bengal	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16 0
Bombay	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11 15
U. P.	18 12	17 12	13 11	11 14
Punjab	N.A.	13 15	11 1	12 5
Madhya Pradesh	17 5	17 10	13 14	11 6

N.A.—Not Available.

A glance at Tables XI A and XI B would reveal that both in the case of rice and wheat, prices are not available for some of the important States so that it is not possible to make an appraisal of price spreads between the important producing and consuming centres. Such data are available only for the year 1955. Table XII gives the spread for the year 1955 both in the case of rice as well as wheat.

TABLE XII

Price Spreads for Rice and Wheat between the Important Producing and Consuming Centres (1955)

(In Rupees per maund)

States	RICE		
	Price spreads Rs. a. p.		
Orissa and Bengal	3	15	0
Orissa and Bihar	1	4	0
Orissa and Madras	2	14	0
Punjab and Bombay	1	2	0
Assam and Bengal	0	2	0
Assam and Bihar	2	9	0
	WHEAT		
Bengal and U.P.	4	2	0
Bengal and Punjab	3	11	0
Bombay and Madhya Pradesh	0	9	0
Bombay and Punjab	0	6	0

It would be seen from Table XII that the difference in prices in the case of some of the States compares quite favourably with those in the pre-control period in Tables III and VII, but that a normalcy had not yet reached. This shows that the policy of decontrol succeeded to

a large extent in reducing the variation between the prices in the producing and the consuming centres, but the disease had not yet been fully cured. This may be due to many complications from which agricultural economy of the country is suffering today. The vagaries of nature which stand in the way of our having a balanced food production level in the country is one of the major stumbling blocks. Added to this is the underdeveloped nature of the country where the producer, the consumer and the trader are frightened out of their wits even on small matters like a slight increase or decrease in rainfall, floods or any other such thing. Their psychology plays a great part in determining prices in India and a little hoarding tendency on the part of the producer or the consumer is liable to bring about a large difference in the prices at the two ends of the supply-line, the producing and the consuming centres.

THE ZONAL SCHEME

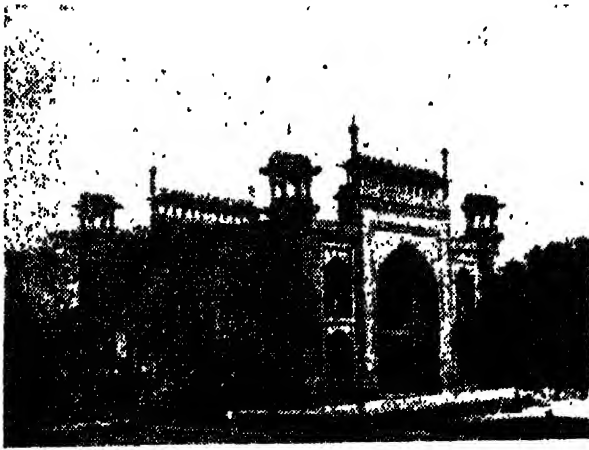
With the formation of three wheat zones and one for rice with effect from July, 1957, a new chapter has opened in the food history of the country. Since the Punjab or U.P. wheat cannot go to the eastern borders of the country and has to be consumed in the neighbouring areas, the price gap between the producing and the consuming centres has now been bridged to a large extent. For so long as the Indian economy is subjected to strains and stresses of planning as well as hazards of nature, a successful working of the zonal scheme along with a well-thought-out transport policy would seem to be the only solution of the problem.



By MANIK LAL MUKHERJI

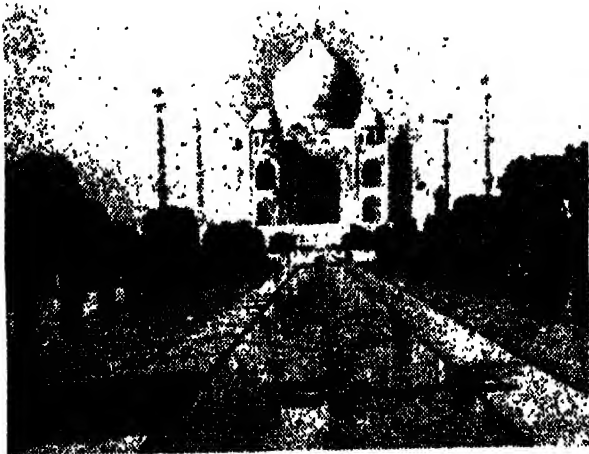
THE panorama of India has always attracted travellers from abroad and overseas.

Taj Mahal is one of the few wonders of the world that has survived the ravages of time and vandalism of foreign hordes. A visit to Taj will be incomplete if the tourist misses the Agra monuments at Agra Fort, Sikandra and Fatehpur Sikri.



Gateway of the Taj Mahal

Exquisite in beauty the Taj Mahal is a poem in marble that has enkindled the emotion and genius of many a painter and many a poet. It is an Emperor's dream in white marble. Built up in the year 1618 A.D. by Emperor Shajahan in memory of his beloved consort Banu Begum (Noor Jahan Mumtaz Mahal) at a cost of

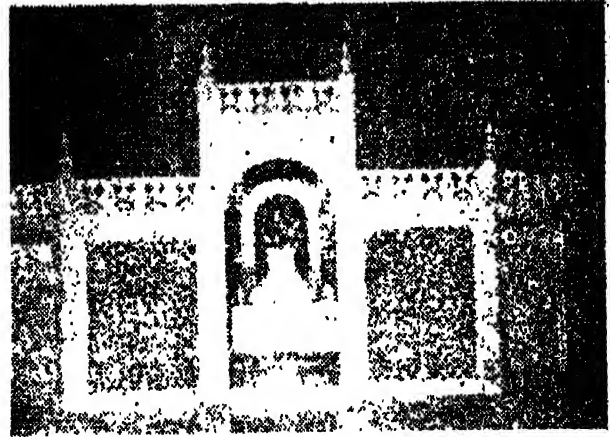


Front view of the Taj Mahal

Rs. 3,00,00,000 it stands out to this day as one of the wonders of the world. Its majestic gateway, one hundred and fifty-one by one hundred and seventeen feet and one hundred feet high

with inscriptions from the Holy Koran inspires the traveller with awe and wonder. There is beauty everywhere.

As the tourist carries his footsteps further inside he reaches a marble staircase which leads him down to an avenue that in turn leads him up to the base of the Taj Mahal itself while his eyes begin to feast upon its majestic beauty and



Cenotaph inside the Taj Mahal

grandeur. Blessed is his life that he finds himself before the Taj Mahal.

The guide who is satisfied with one or two dibs will accompany him to the base of the main pavillion over which stands the brilliant edifice of Taj Mahal, that looks grander on a moonlit



Amar Singh Gate
(Main Entrance to the Fort)

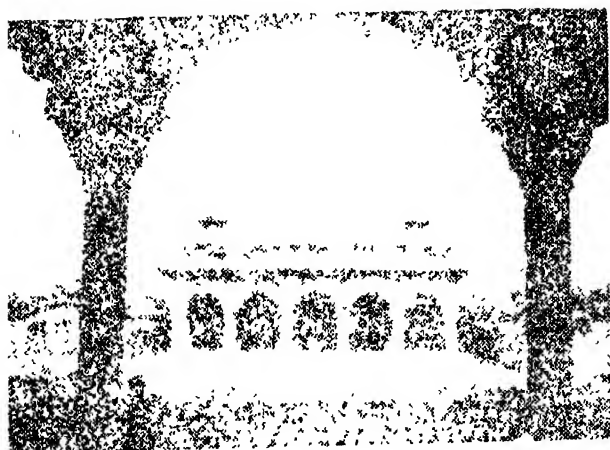
night. Here the tourist has to put off his shoes and leave them in charge of some boys who volunteer to keep them and who are pleased if they are paid some copper coins in return.

Barefooted we entered the Taj Mahal and saw the upper replica of the cenotaph, the origi-

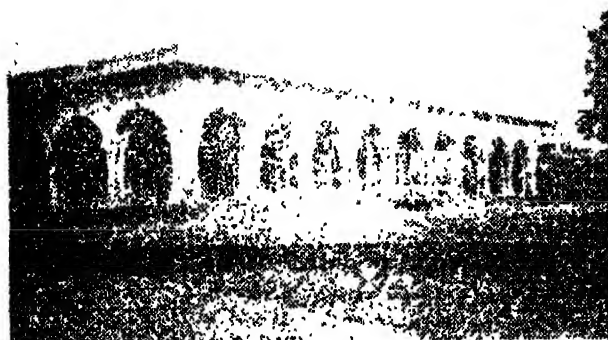
"Emperor!
Thou art mightier in love.
Empress!
Let man bow unto thee
That proveth what wonders love can work.
Thy beauty shall never perish,
But guide man to love again!



Juhangir Mahal



Khas Mahal



Diwan-i-Am

nal one lying just below. As we stood in silence looking at the original cenotaph below, my mind turned to the pages of history, and the poet in me woke up and I muttered in ecstasy:



Diwan-i-Khas



Moti Masjid

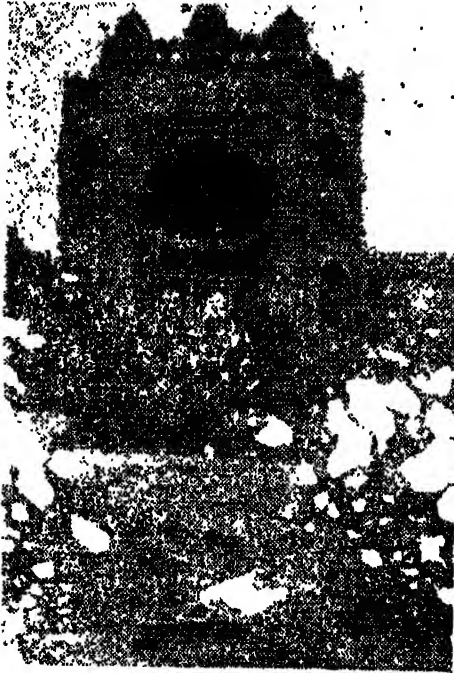


Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra

TAJMAHAL AND AGRA MONUMENT

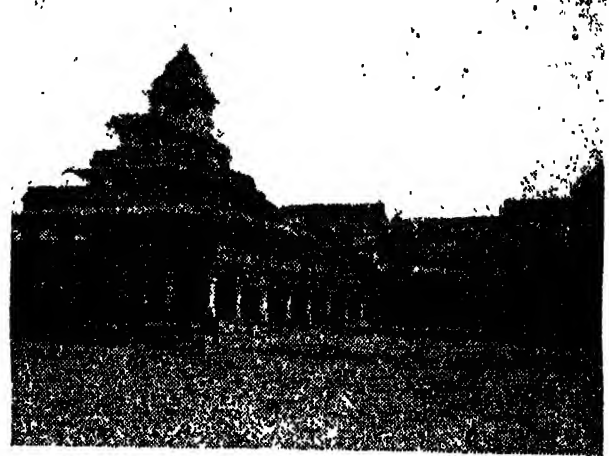
Readers may please follow me to the Agra Fort. Here we enter by the Amar Singh Gate, the main entrance, and as we go leisurely with eyes open to admire each and every object that comes to our view, the Jahangir Mahal, Khas Mahal, Diwan-i-Khas, Diwan-i-Am and the Moti Masjid provide a feast of beauty and wonder to our eyes.

sat in four different causeways to discuss scientific and religious subjects. The Panch Mahal is a grand edifice, a five-storied building erected by Emperor Akbar, each storey of which, reckoned upwards, has got respectively 84, 65, 20, 12 and 3 pillars. One must not miss Sheikh Salim Chisti's tomb erected by the



Buland Darwaja
(Fatehpur Sikri)

Some miles away from the city at Fatehpur Sikri the tourist will find the beautiful edifice, the Buland Darwaza erected by Emperor Akbar in 1602 A.D. to commemorate his conquest of the Deccan. The Diwan-i-Khas built in 1575 is really admirable. Here the Emperor used to sit to consult his four wise courtiers who



Panch Mahal
(Fatehpur Sikri)

Emperor Akbar in commemoration of his beloved son in the year 1581 A.D.

The Moti Masjid is entirely built of white marble at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000 and it took seven years to construct the Mosque. It is two hundred and thirty four feet by one hundred and eighty-seven feet in area. The Khas Mahal (in Fort) is a drawing room built of white marble where the Emperor used to meet his daughters and the chief ladies of the harem.



Sheikh Salim Chisti's Tomb



Mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Daula

Very near to Agra is Sikandra where the great Emperor Akbar was enshrined after his

subsequently completed by his loving son Jahangir in 14 years. It cost the treasury Rs. 15,00,000.



The Taj from across the river Jamuna
demise in the mausoleum the construction of
which had begun in his own lifetime and was

Visitors will find it convenient to purchase picture postcards from the Archaeological Department, but for photos they may contact Sri Ganeshilal Rai at Taj Mahal Gate who have been courteous enough to furnish me with the photographs published in the body of this article.

Agra is connected by a network of railways and is 787 miles from Calcutta, a journey of some thirty hours by the Toofan Express.

As the Express train guided its way back towards Tundla from Agra Cantonment the Taj appeared again and again within our admiring sight till it disappeared like a vision to reappear in my dream for times without number.

—:O:—

THE NAME OF LINCOLN LIVES

THE name of Abraham Lincoln lives today in the affection and memory of the American

people. On February 12 each year, they celebrate his birthday but they remember him every



Abraham Lincoln's statue stands at the entrance to the Chicago park and Zoological gardens named after him



The Lincoln Highway stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific uniting by road a nation whose constitutional unity Lincoln preserved



Lincoln University, the first institution established for the higher education of Negroes, seeks to develop the spirit of international understanding among its students



The Lincoln Square Area in New York City has been chosen as the site for a great new cultural center



Lincoln, Illinois, was the only town named after Lincoln during his lifetime and with his knowledge



Lincoln Logs are a favourite toy of American children

day as they use and see and read about the things named after Lincoln. National mounments and neighbourhood carpentry shops; a continent-spanning highway and a U.S. coin; encyclopaedias and toys; universities, automobiles,

banks and cities bear his name. Thus Americans commemorate a great president and a great human being.

Living in the tradition of equal opportunity, the American people remember what Lincoln did to strengthen that tradition. He once said, "I want every man to have a chance in which he can better his condition." Three universities and hundreds of elementary and secondary schools named after Lincoln are helping to carry out that desire. Hundreds of small businesses have adopted the name of the man who always encouraged the "prudent, penniless beginner."

Lincoln himself was once a penniless beginner, working to establish a law practice. Among his jobs was the preparation of deeds for new settlements.

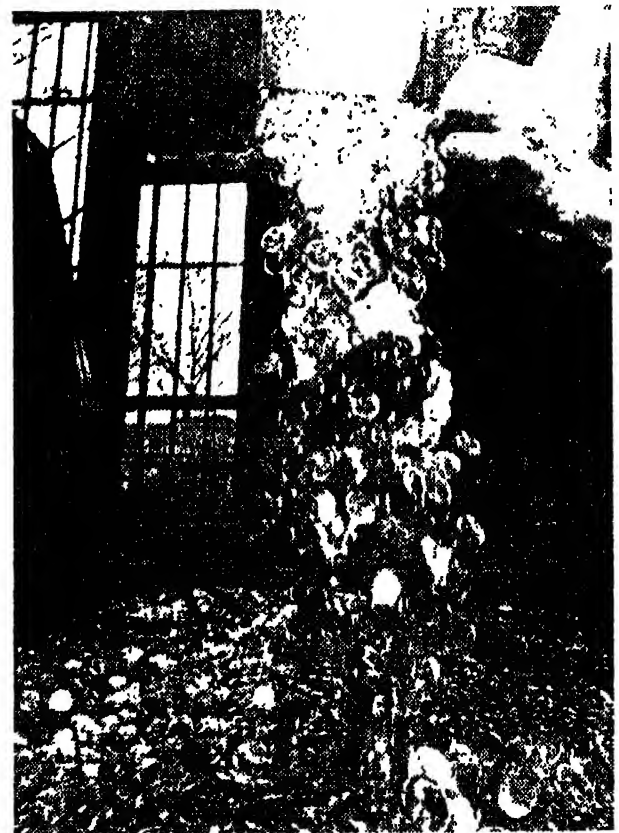
After one such job the landowners suggested calling the new town after him. He demurred, saying that "nothing named Lincoln ever amounted to very much." However,



In Lincoln, Nebraska, the State Legislature meets to make laws for the "government of the people, by the people, for the people"



The Lincoln National Bank transacts business for many people in Washington, D.C.



Lincoln Pennies, shiny and new, tumble out of a chute in the United States Mint in Philadelphia

they insisted, and the town thereafter was known as Lincoln, Illinois. Shortly after his death, the new State of Nebraska christened their yet-unbuilt capital city for him, and, in succeeding years, many more cities and towns were named in his honor.

A favorite part of Lincoln folklore is the account of his walking miles through the wilderness to return a few cents to a woman he had unknowingly over-charged at his store. Perhaps this story was in the minds of the men who decided to place Lincoln's profile on the one-cent coin and make his face an everyday sight to all Americans who handle money. Certainly, the hundreds of thousands of Americans who

entrust their earnings to Lincoln banks know that the institutions will maintain the Lincoln integrity.

The diversity of things named after Lincoln, some of them seemingly insignificant, recalls the essential democracy of Lincoln's character. To him, all men were innately equal and each one's honest endeavor was worthy of respect. No man was too humble for his concern. One biographer said, "He attained a position of lofty eminence and moved among the great without making other men feel small." These other men, each in his own way, have kept his name alive. —*USIS*.

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FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

By B. N.

WHO was it that said that history is a box of letters from which we could make anything we please? His *Obiter Dictum* is the natural reaction to the perusal of a variety of contradictory evidence bearing on the same matter. That only proves how hard it is to get at truth in history. If we suffer from paucity of material in judging the forgotten past we are confronted with the no less difficult problem of discovering truth in the plethora of conflicting accounts in contemporary records. It is like searching for a needle in a bundle of hay. The same objects seen from different angles appear different to different people: but the spectator no less than the participant also brings his own coloured glass in viewing them. The man who would view things objectively is seeing many things instead of one. And before we are able to judge a thing or situation objectively, as it is, we have to use our ready-made minds to its interpretation which also depends so much on our moods and temperaments, apart from our inherent or acquired capacity to judge. Passion or prejudice warps our judgment, and who knows there may be honest differences of opinion arising from the nature of the problem. And then, only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. India and Pakistan may honestly view the Kashmir question from diametrically opposite

standpoints just as Egypt and Israel can see no common ground in their approach to the crisis in the Middle East. Each may be right individually and wrong collectively.



Abraham Lincoln

I am led to these reflections as I re-read the other day the fascinating biography of Abraham Lincoln by the well-known American writer Carl Sandburg. To be great is to be misunderstood, said Emerson. Sandburg is describing the reactions of contemporary opinion on the now-famous Gettysburg Speech* of President Lincoln. The speech itself was a marvel of brevity and beauty—packed with thought and feeling appropriate to the occasion. As we read it today it is sweet as a sonnet and sadly soothing as an elegy.

Sandburg reproduces the very atmosphere of the place consecrated to the hallowed memory of the fallen heroes. The Orator of the day Dr. Edward Everett—a celebrated speaker—made the most of the occasion. He spoke for two hours, his voice rising and falling like the cascade of great waters, his arms out-stretched and his body swaying to the rhythmic flow of his eloquence. Fully alive to the solemnity of the occasion his gaze wandered over the far outlines of sky and earth, now fixed on the great mountain ranges beyond and then down the green valleys below where lay gathered for ever the last remains of the departed heroes. Not did he forget—in his prepared script—to draw inspiration from the picturesque surroundings as he waxed eloquent on the immortal deeds of those sleeping in the bosom of eternity, and the thunder of his eloquence echoed through the vaults of heaven and hill. Sandburg quotes appropriately:

"Overlooking these broad fields now reposing from the labors of the waning year, the mighty Alleghanies towering before us, the graves of our brethren beneath our feet, it is with hesitation that I raise my poor voice to break the eloquent silence of God and Nature As my eye ranges over the fields whose sods were so lately moistened by the blood of gallant and loyal men, I feel as never before, how truly it was said of old that it is sweet and becoming to die for one's country."

Everett concluded:

"Down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country

there will be no brighter page than that which relates the Battles of Gettysburg."

When the applause had died down and the audience recovered from the somnolent spell, and silence was restored, Lincoln rose and read his ten sentences in less than three minutes. But the few simple sentences came as it were from the depths of his heart and touched the heart of the listeners. There were no gestures and it was no time for a flourish of eloquence. "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here," said the President, "but it can never forget what they did here." The whole thing was so simple and felicitous, so earnest and so becoming that it was felt as part of the nature of the solemn occasion. Deep in feeling and compact in thought the words fell like the morning dew drenching the fresh ears of corn. "His little speech was a perfect gem . . . tasteful and elegant in every word and comma," said an admiring reporter, "then it has the merit of unexpectedness in its verbal perfection and beauty."

Yet what do you think were the crazy comments of the boisterous press? Sandburg himself has pilloried in his book—cruelly rescuing their verdicts from a merciful oblivion.

The press in general, with its habitual cocksureness, unashamedly went on recording in its full fury and foolishness. It is diverting at this time of day to read what the lions of the American press thought of that great speech.

Patriot and Union of Harrisburg: We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of. (How merciful!)

Chicago Times: The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the U.S. (Poor Lincoln!)

London Times: American correspondent: The ceremony was rendered ludicrous by some of the sallies of that poor President Lincoln Anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce. (So omniscient).

Lincoln himself, in his modesty, told his friend Lamon: "That speech won't scour. It is

* It is here that we find the famous and ever-memorable definition of democracy: ". . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

a flat failure and the people were disappointed."

But Everett was thrilled. The greatness of that little speech was not lost on him. He wrote to Lincoln the next day:

" I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

Lincoln knew better. He replied immediately:

" In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure."

GURU GOBIND SINGH (1666-1708)

By PROF. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

GURU Nanak and his successors lived and strove to propagate the gospel of *Nam* or God-Realisation and its allied gospel of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man. The holy Granth is one unbroken, colourful, rainbow-hued, melodious symphony of Guru Nanak's gospel of *Nam*, while the Gurus' sufferings and sacrifices mark their unquenchable zeal to realise the objective of the Equality and Brotherhood of Man. There was inequality and untouchability in the religious as well as political sphere. Excrescences and corruptions had crept into Hinduism and ritual and ceremonial was treated by millions as the essence and core of Hinduism. The rulers behaved as aliens and the Hindus were treated more or less, as inferiors, because they happened to be Hindus. The Gurus did not choose the rosy path of telling of beads and mumbling of prayers in a secluded corner. On the one hand they preached the path of direct communion with God through constant *simran* and stainless personal purity, without getting entangled in the meshes of ceremonial and ritual and on the other, they would not tolerate oppression of man by man. Guru Nanak condemned in words that burn and blaze the atrocities committed by Babar's troopers on helpless Hindu and Muslim females. Guru Amar Das refused to pay the pilgrim-tax at Hardwar and his stout resistance ended in the abolition of the odious tax by Akbar. Guru Arjan refused to accept the law of Shariat as was announced by Jehangir. This law, as it was practised then, relegated non-Muslims to an inferior status and Pakistan continues those old traditions even today. How could the Gurus accept this vassalage? According to historian Sharma, Jehangir and Shah Jahan demolished Hindu temples and

unlike Akbar were intolerant. This accounts for Guru Arjan's and Guru Har Gobind's resistance. Guru Har Rai was drawn to the mystic catholic-minded Dara Shakoh as against bigoted Aurangzeb. Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life to resist Aurangzeb's bigotry, which prompted his persecution of Hindus and demolition of their temples. Guru Gobind Singh inherited from his predecessors the twin gospel of *Nam* and defiance of the forces which ground down his fellow-men and discriminated against them on account of their religion. The Gurus could not tolerate oppression nor religious intolerance. This was the legacy inherited by the Tenth Guru.

HELPLESS PUNJAB

Even as a boy, the Guru had seen the voluntary suffering of his great father. He had witnessed the cremation of the severed head of his sweet, inoffensive, saintly sire. He had seen the helplessness of the Hindus and the arrogant, insolent, autocratic might and intolerance of Aurangzeb. The Hindus were emasculated. They had to be vitalised and galvanised. Buddha's problem was how to remove pain from human life. The Guru's problem was how to make the Hindus virile while like Guru Nanak he believed in *Nam* as the panacea for human ills. For centuries the Punjab had been the door-mat of Muslim invaders, who carried fire and sword wherever they went. Centuries of this bitter experience had dispirited and demoralised them and the decadent descendants of the once virile Indo-Aryans had helplessly watched the driving of their wives, sisters and daughters like flocks of sheep and goats into the distant mountain fastnesses and homeland of the ruthless in-

vaders. Guru Nanak started the work of making his people virile by purifying and uniting the Hindus and the Muslims. Had rulers like Akbar succeeded him on his throne, Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity would have been realised. But Jehangir's changed policy and the martyrdom of Guru Arjan as a sequel to the change, turned the course of History. Aurangzeb's intolerance and the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur made the breach unhealable and unbridgeable. The Hindus and Muslims were thrown apart. Aurangzeb's proselytising craze set India ablaze. The Mahrattas in the South, the Rajputs in the centre and the Sikhs in the Punjab stood up to fight. Guru Gobind Singh took 24 years to prepare the Sikhs to take up the challenge.

HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE TERRIBLE TASK

As the Guru himself records, his father "had given him instruction of various kinds." He was widely-read. He had an intensive and extensive knowledge of old Sanskritic lore. He knew Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Punjabi. He wrote stirring, peerless poetry in Hindi and gathered round him 52 scholars and poets, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, at Anandpur. For long years he and his literary proteges were engaged in producing a great literature in Gurumukhi script. He had a prodigious memory and could reproduce the whole of the *Adi Granth*. He was skilled in riding, hunting, swimming, tent-pegging, archery and sword-fencing. He had great friends among Hindus and Muslims. Pir Budhu Shah at a critical time joined the Guru with his four sons and 700 disciples. In 1699 the Guru finalised his plans to design his Khalsa or puritanic Sikhs, physically fit, intellectually alert and spiritually one with God. The Khalsa was designed as Saint-soldiers. Before he initiated the Khalsa he called together the Rajput Rajas of the Punjab Hills at Rawalsar, now in Kangra district, and urged them to band together to resist Aurangzeb's high-handedness and religious fanaticism. The Rajput Rajas quailed at the very idea of resisting the mighty potentate. The Guru was consequently thrown upon his own resources and he designed his puritanic Sikhs.

PERIOD OF PREPARATION

In order to militarise the Sikhs he himself undertook their training. He drilled them. In

the initial stages, he would divide the Sikhs into two opposing divisions in freshly ploughed fields and the Sikhs would pelt the opposing ranks with earth-clods. They would storm mud-forts, on foot and on horse-back. He trained them in riding, tent-pegging, archery, fencing and sword-play. He inspired and inspirited them with his own stirring poetry and with Puranic tales of heroism versified by himself. *Simran* and purity of life were the crown and climax of his training. First and foremost, his Sikhs, as was designed by Guru Nanak and his eight successors, were to be men of *simran* and stainless purity. The Puritanic Sikhs, lost in God, were to fight His battles, which were of course, defensive.

HIS BATTLES

Among the Guru's five Beloved ones, three came from the so-called low castes, one was a Jat and one a Khatri. The Hindu Rajas were wroth with the Guru for his welcoming Sudras in his fold. Nor could the Guru tolerate the intolerance and tyrannous autocracy of Aurangzeb. The Hindu Rajas joined hands with Aurangzeb and the imperial forces, reinforced by those of the Rajas, besieged Anandpur from 1701 to 1704. It was a terrible ordeal for the besieged and they heroically bore the trial and tribulation of the siege for three long years. Assured by Aurangzeb and his Commanders that he would not be molested if only he vacated the Anandpur fort, he vacated the fort. But the foe unabashedly broke the solemn pledge and pursued him. The Guru, with his two sons and forty followers, took his stand in a frail mud fort at Chamkaur and fought against over-whelming odds. The Guru bade his two sons to go out to fight and die. Only five Sikhs were left and they besought him to leave the place and work for the cause so dear to his heart. The two younger sons who had got separated from the Guru, fell into the hands of the Nawab of Sarhind and were bricked up alive and when a tremor of the earth demolished the wall and the children, aged nine and seven, were yet found alive, they were mercilessly butchered, in spite of the spirited protests of the Nawab of Malerkotla, who then protested to Aurangzeb against the inhumanity. His protest was unavailing, for the children had been done to death, before the Nawab's letter could reach Aurangzeb. Thus the Guru's four sons laid down their lives and not in vain, for

it served as a perennial inspiration to the Sikhs who never forgave or forgot the great tragedy. Bahadur Shah who succeeded Aurangzeb undertook to punish those who were guilty of the slaughter of the two innocent boys but somehow the promise was never honoured. Banda Bahadur subsequently came armed to punish the evil-doers and was for a while triumphant. He defeated the Nawab of Sarhand, and the Nawab and his co-assassins were executed.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S LAST DAYS

Guru Gobind Singh addressed two historic letters to Aurangzeb in Persian verse, wherein he acknowledged Aurangzeb's personal purity of character but severely reproved him for his fanaticism and his oppression of his own subjects. Aurangzeb was then in the Deccan. On receiving the second letter called 'Zafar Nama' or Epistle of Victory, Aurangzeb invited the Guru to see him personally at Ahmad Nagar. Royal orders were issued to the Rajas of Rajasthan to receive him right royally, when the Guru should happen to pass through their territory. The Guru started on his journey but before he had reached the destination, Aurangzeb's end was announced and the meeting never took place. Aurangzeb passed away in 1707. The Guru's end came in 1708. Guru Gobind Singh passed the last year of his life at Nandar on the bank of the Godavari. There are still over three lakhs of his followers among the Banjaras in the neighbourhood of Nandar.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"The harvest which ripened in the time of Guru Gobind Singh had been sown by Nanak and watered by his successors. The sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was undoubtedly forged by Govind but the steel had been provided by Nanak."—Narang's *Transformation of Sikhism*.

Guru Nanak found his people weak, timid and superstition-ridden. He started the process of purification and consolidation. By instituting congregational worship and community kitchens he sought to abolish the caste-system and untouchability. Guru Nanak's successors carried on his reformist work. Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity, however, could not be realised on account of Jahan-gir's and Aurangzeb's executing Guru Arjan and Guru Tegh Bahadur respectively. Guru Gobind Singh transformed his weak, timid people into Saint-soldiers. His great sacrifices and the heroic death of his four sons proved a source of unfailing inspiration to the succeeding generations, who had thus the soul to dare and the will to die. They struggled and suffered for sixty years and in 1765 became masters of Lahore, while Maharaja Ranjit Singh extended his sway from Gilgit to Dera Ghazi Khan and from the Sutlej to Jamrud, thus making the Punjab and India safe against the inroads of invaders. It was verily a miracle worked by Guru Gobind Singh.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S CATHOLIC OUTLOOK

The following quotation from his compositions illustrates Guru Gobind Singh's cosmopolitan views:

"The temple and the mosque are the same; the Hindu and the Muslim forms of worship are the same; all men are the same, although they appear different under different local influences.

"The white and the dark, the ugly and the beautiful, the Hindus and the Muslims have developed themselves according to the fashions of different lands.

"All have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body and the same build—a compound of the same four elements."—*Akal Ustai*.



PROPORTION OF THE BRAHMAN'S IN INDIA'S POPULATION IS DECREASING

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London)

THE recorded census population of India (*i.e.*, Bharat and Pakistan taken together, but excluding Burma) at the different censuses have been:

Year of Census	Population (in 000's)
1891	279,593
1901	283,870
1911	293,041
1921	305,730
1931	338,171

The recorded numbers of the Brahmans at the different censuses have been:

Year of Census	No. of Brahmans (in 000's)
1891 .. .	14,822
1901 .. .	14,893
1911 .. .	14,590
1921 .. .	14,255
1931 .. .	15,237

The proportion of the Brahmans to the total population and to the total of Hindus has been as follows:

Year	Percentage of Brahmans in	
	Total Population	Hindus
1891	5.30	7.33
1901	5.24	7.45
1911	4.82	6.95
1921	4.66	6.81
1931	4.50	6.59
<hr/>		
		0.80 0.71
Decrease during		
40 years		

The proportion of the Hindus in the total population has been as follows:

Year	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Hindus (%)	74.32	72.31	70.34	69.31	68.41	62.24

While the relative decrease of the Hindus as a whole between 1891 and 1931 has been 5.6 per cent., that of the Brahmans during the same period has been 15.1—almost three times more. The Brahmans are decreasing even relatively to the Hindus. There has been an actual decrease in their number between 1891 and 1921—the amount is not negligible, it being some 4 per cent.

While the total population increased by 20.95 per cent during the 40 years, 1891 to 1931, the Brahmans increased by 2.80 per cent. only calculating the rate of increase by geometrical progression, the rate of increase of the total population has been 4.53 per cent per decade, and that of the Brahmans has been 0.69 per cent per decade. The rate of increase of the Brahmans is some 15.4 per cent or about one-sixth of the total growth.

So far as is known, no extensive census enumerations were made in either ancient or medieval India. We hear of regulations for enumerating house-holders in villages; and *sumars*—estimates of persons residing or cultivating lands in a village being maintained by the Zamindars; but no data have so far been discovered. The *Gajapatis* of Orissa, who ruled from Trichinopoly in Madras to Tribeni in Bengal, claimed to have 90 million persons as their subjects, and traditions of some sort of census; but excepting the claim no factual data or the basis for such claim has yet been discovered.

A careful investigation of such information as to the extent and intensity of agricultural activities, and the sizes of military forces in various parts of India at the time of Akbar (1565-1605) led Mr. W. H. Moreland to an estimate of about 100 million persons at the beginning of the seventeenth century. (See Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 9. 12). Carr-Saunders in *World Population* commented on this estimate thus:

“Moreland's figure has been quoted with

favour in the census reports of India; no better estimate is available, but its factual basis is of the most slender kind." Kingsley-Davis in *Population of India and Pakistan*, however, has accepted this estimate as of having approximate validity.

S. Chandrasekhar in *India's Population*, following Shirras give India's population in 1750 to be 130 million (see p. 14). But the reference given by him is wrong. We have not been able to find out what was Shirras' estimate for 1750. We, however, accept it on the authority of Chandrasekhar. In 1800 the population according to Playfair's *Statistical Breviary* was 130 millions—a figure accepted by Kingsley-Davis.

We take India's population to have been:

1600	100 million
1750	130 "
1800	130 "
1890	280 "

The rate of growth of population has been calculated on geometrical progression to be:

Period	Rate per decade
1600—1750	1.76 %
1750—1800	0.00 %
1800—1891	8.90 %

A part of the very rapid increase during the nineteenth century is due to the inclusion of outlying areas and tribal areas, which were very likely not taken into account in the earlier estimates.

And the rate of growth of the Brahmans taking it to be one-sixth, as now of the total growth during the entire period 1600-1891; or taking it to have been one-fifth (on the assumption that in earlier times when the religious feeling was strong the conditions of their growth were more favourable), would be:

	at 1|6th rate per decade	at 1|5th rate per decade
1600-1750	0.29 per cent	0.35 per cent
1750-1800	0.00 "	0.00 "
1800-1891	1.48 "	1.78 "

Calculating backwards, the number of the Brahmans would be in—

in 000's @ 1|6 in 000's @ 1|5

In 1800	12,991	12,651
„ 1750	12,991	12,651
„ 1600	12,445	12,005

The percentage of the Brahmans to the total population would work out to—

1600	12.4	12.0
1750	10.0	9.7
1800	10.0	9.7
1891	5.3	5.3

In our calculations above we have taken the population of India as a whole as well as the Brahmans to have increased in geometrical progression. The actual growth may have been according to different laws.

What is important to note is that the proportion of the Brahmans in the total population has been decreasing during the last three centuries; and is now less than half of what it was at the death of Akbar.

The social implications of our conclusions, even if they are approximately correct, are serious from the cultural and religious point of views to the Hindus.

We shall now try to discuss briefly why the growth of the Brahmans had been slower than the general population.

First, the proportion of widows amongst them is higher than that among the Hindus or the total population. In 1931 the figures are—

	No. of females	No. of widows	%
Total population	162,386,913	25,496,660	15.70
Hindus	116,426,119	19,681,068	16.90
Brahmans	6,461,878	1,396,429	21.61

Secondly, the proportion of females amongst them is less than that among the Hindus or the general population. The figures for 1931 are—

	No. of females per 1,000 males
Brahmans	902
Hindus	953
Total population	940

Thirdly, their food-habits, they being more orthodox, are restricted to a fewer items of food, mostly non-animal food. Even in Bengal, where the Brahmans take fish, they do not take certain kinds of fishes, crabs, mussels, etc. They are more vegetarian than the general mass of the Hindus. Even with vegetables they were and even now in rural areas are averse to take certain new vegetables introduced in India.

"The cultivation of potatoes was first introduced into Bengal by the English towards the close of the 18th Century. For a long time the potato was objected to as an article of food by orthodox Brahmans upon religious grounds—it is not admitted in the *Bhoga* of the temple of Jagannath; but now (1912) all who can afford to do so eat it without prejudice."

"Cabbages were only introduced into the district half a century ago, and they are still mostly grown from imported seed. For a long period the upper classes of Hindus had a great objection to eating them, but this prejudice has almost entirely died away, and cabbages are now a favourite article of food with a large portion of the population."

"Turnips are also cultivated, but are eaten chiefly by Europeans and Muhammadans. This is the most recently introduced of European vegetables, and Hindus have not yet become accustomed to it as an article of food."

[*Hooghly District Gazetteer*, 1912, p. 144, *et seq.*]

What is true of Hooghly District is equally true of the rest of Bengal.

Cauliflowers are said to have been cultivated by Carey at Serampore in the early years of the nineteenth century. It became popular by the middle of the nineteenth century; and when offered as an article of food to the God Sri Sri Gopal Jai Thakur at Cossipore by the founder Rani Katyayani about 1864, the local Brahmans criticised her action. Harasundar Dutt of the Hatkhola Dutt family of Calcutta

(died 1821) was seriously displeased with the husband of his only daughter for taking cauliflower. He was a Kayastha.

Beet-roots are said to have been introduced into Bengal by a certain German prince while he was acting as the Consul-General shortly after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Tomatoes, known popularly as *Bilati Begun*, were taboo as an article of food for good Hindus even as late as 1910 in Calcutta. It lost its unpopularity during the First Great War; even then orthodox Hindus did not take to it favourably as late as 1930.

Celery was first introduced about 1920; and is even now eschewed by the orthodox Hindus.

Certain kinds of *dals* (pulses), like *Musuri*, are not looked upon favourably by the orthodox Hindus.

As to meat, only goat and sheep, when offered to the Goddess Kali and Durga at certain auspicious times, are taken. Buffaloes, even when offered to the Goddess, are not taken. Other meat was absolutely prohibited to the Hindus.

It is believed by many that a varied diet helps the growth of population; a restricted diet slows down such growth.

Fourthly, of the religious mendicants and Sadhus and Brahmacharis, a large proportion, more than half according to reliable estimates, is recruited from the Brahman males. As the total number of such religious mendicants and Brahmacharis is comparatively small, any slower growth due to this cause is of minor effect; especially as polygamy is permitted to the Brahmans.

Their slower growth during at least the last few centuries may have helped them in maintaining their religious conservatism and following traditional occupations. But this is a big question; and it has got to be freely investigated.



THE ART OF GANDHARA

BY PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
Member, Asiatic Society

EVERY high art has to deal with the question of Truth and Beauty, and the Gandhara art is no exception to the general rule. The great authority Mr. Alfred North Whitehead writes:

"Art is purposeful adaptation of appearance to reality. Now 'purposeful adaptation' implies an end, to be obtained with more or less success. This end, which is the purpose of art, is two-fold—namely, Truth and Beauty. The perfection of art has only one end, which is Truthful Beauty . . . In the absence of Truth, Beauty is on a lower level, with a defect of massiveness. In the absence of Beauty, Truth sinks to triviality. Truth matters because of Beauty."¹

He further writes:

"Goodness is the third member of the trinity which traditionally has been assigned as the complex aim of art—namely, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness."²

This is very plainly the endorsement of the traditional Indian ideal—*Satyam-Sivam-Sundaram*—which is exemplified in Indian philosophy and art, and to a great extent in the art of Gandhara. This is all very good and true, but the art of Gandhara had a more difficult task to perform. Here the orthodox Hindu art had to adapt itself to the Mahayan Buddhist art, as also the Indian art had to adapt itself to the occidental Greek art. Very diverse and dissimilar elements mingle here,—making the task of the Gandhara art difficult but interesting. The amount of success attained here has been a matter of controversy. In the next few paragraphs we shall try to understand the nature of this controversy so that we may form a perspective and may be better able to judge as to the extent of success attained by this art. Suffice it to note for the present that Gandhara art is one of the recognised and most well-known arts in India, much admired by the entire world.

We can best open the discussion of one of

the problems facing the Gandhara art in the words of Prof. Arnold Toynbee. He writes:

"As the Greek art of the 'Hellenistic' and early 'Imperial' age spreads eastward, across the dead body of the defunct Persian Empire, until it reaches Afghanistan, it becomes more and more conventional and commercial and lifeless. And then something like a miracle happens. The fast degenerating Greek art collides in Afghanistan with another spiritual force which is radiating out of India: the Mahayan form of Buddhism. And the degenerating Greek art unites with the Mahayan to produce a distinctively new and intensely creative civilization: the Mahayan Buddhist civilization which has travelled north-eastward across Asia to become the civilization of the Far East."³

This is the Gandhara art. Greek and Buddhist arts and cultures mix freely in the creation of the famous Gandhara art. We shall see later that in this creation the body is Greek whereas the spirit is Indian. But before that we shall consider another important question that the learned Professor takes up in another context.

"The fateful question is, of course: Can one manage to adopt an alien civilization partially without being drawn on, step by step, into adopting it as a whole."⁴

Now, this is a very important and at the same time difficult and controversial question, I must confess. And also, I have no authority to challenge the above opinion of one of the intellectual giants of this age. So, I shall simply discuss it, without venturing any opinion of my own. This question came up before the Gandhara school, and it was solved possibly in the best manner under such circumstances, although, it must always remain a matter of opinion. The more important question, however, is that in the past also alien civilizations did clash, and in some cases, of course, one of them was absorbed in the other, 'step by step'. But whether it always happened, and is always bound to happen, I have some doubts. By the

1. *Adventure of Ideas* by Alfred North Whitehead, Sc.D., LL.D.; F.R.S., F.B.A. (of Harvard University), pp. 344.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 345.

3. Prof. Arnold Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial* p. 53.

4. *Ibid*, p. 167.

way when two alien civilizations collide, why should not in some cases a third civilization be produced? I cannot say. But I feel that the possibility can probably never be ruled out altogether. Anyhow, in Gandhara, it was probably this new third civilization that was produced, a very happy compromise between the Greek body and the Indian spirit. It must be clearly understood here that we for a moment do not challenge the above 'possibility' mentioned by the learned Professor, for undoubtedly that also happens on several occasions. What we feel is it may not inevitably and unfailingly happen in every case, and that possibly at Gandhara it does not happen. Although, that again, is a matter of opinion.

In the nineteenth century a great European master of art, Burekhardt, popularised the idea of "the concept of art-history as indissolubly part of the whole history of man's spirit—Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte."⁵ In the survey of Indian art and in particular those of Ajanta and Gandhara, one finds that here art is mainly concerned in depicting human life and spirit to the best of its capacity. At Gandhara human life in all its fulness and in all its glory is depicted and truly it can be called an art of man's entire emotional and spiritual life.

This art developed particularly under the Kushans and more particularly at the time of Kanishka. Pierre Meille rightly indicates:

"The Græco-Buddhist art has known a new florescence under his (i.e., Kanishka's) reign".⁶

Prof. R. C. Mazumdar writes:

"The Gandhara school, as its name implies, flourished in the north-western frontier of India. As has already been related, this region was ruled over by a number of Greek princes for about three hundred years. The influx of this new element produced a novel school of art in this meeting-ground of East and West . . . The result was an Indo-Hellenic school . . . Its chief characteristic is the realistic representation of human

figures . . . It failed, however, to penetrate deeply into the interior, and had no share in the later development of Indian art."⁷

Prof. E. B. Havell comes to the conclusion that

"The true reading of Gandharan sculpture also evidences that the influence of Hellenistic art upon Indian was purely technical in character and was in no way the spiritual or intellectual force which shaped its ideals and ordered its forms of expression. Magadha and not Gandhara was the spiritual centre of the Mahayana Buddhism to which Kanishka gave the imperial patronage."⁸

According to the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar:

"The history of Gandhara sculpture is one of gradual Indianization . . ."⁹

This is true and happened under the Guptas and somewhat late. But what is probably more true is that the Gandhara art was not transformed, but that with the decline of the Greek power in Indo-Bactria it ceased to grow or it ended, and the Imperial Guptas improving upon the Gandhara model brought about a new type of art altogether, which undoubtedly had many similarities with the Gandhara art. Had the Greek power not declined in Bactria probably we would have seen further logical development of the pure Gandhara art.

The range of this art is very wide and interesting:

"A typical Gandharan monastery consists mainly of two structures, stupa and the monastery with the aggregate of other buildings."¹⁰

"The earliest representation of the Buddha in human form which comes from the Gandhara area depicts him almost as a Greek youth. . . . Women are also similarly represented as may be seen from the figures of Mayadevi or Hariti. Other motifs like bacchanalian groups, atlantes, garland-bearers and the Corinthian type of pillar

5. *The Study of Art History* by Sir Kenneth Clark, being an address delivered at the Jubilee meeting of the Historical Association in the Senate House, University of London, on 4th January, 1956; p. 7.

6. Pierre Meille: *Histoire De L'inde*, p. 29. "L'art greco-boudhique a connu une nouvelle floraison sous son regne."

7. R. C. Mazumdar: *Ancient India*, p. 237.

8. Prof. E. B. Havell: *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 169.

9. Mr. N. G. Majumdar: *The Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II of *The Archaeological Survey of India*, p. 21.

10. *Five Thousand Years of Indian Architecture*, The Publications Division, p. 9.

capital show the deep-rooted nature of this influence."¹¹

We also have "the actual figure of the Buddha issuing from the side of Mayadevi, absent in indigenous representation."¹² Corinthian capitals, 'frieze of garland-bearers,' marine horse, marine deities, 'garland carried by Erotes or Cupids,' 'female figure,' 'holding a palm branch in her left hand,'—are some of the chief characteristics mentioned by the late scholar Mr. N. G. Majumdar, borrowed from Greek art. He writes:

"The folds of the cloth are indicated by horizontal and parallel curves in relief. This robe is so much like the Roman toga and is executed in a manner so much like it that there can hardly be a mistake about its origin."¹³

The representation of the Bodhisattvas is also interesting in this art. Here "the muscular treatment of the body and the moustache, clearly point to foreign influence."¹⁴ The Bodhisattvas mainly depicted here are—Maitreya, Avalokitesvara, and Manjusri. It is interesting to note that Sir John Marshall has called the later Gandhara school as 'Indo-Afghan'.¹⁵

At Gandhara quite a number of important Jatakas have been represented. The Shyama Jataka, Shaddanta Jataka, Vessantara Jataka, Sibi Jataka, Rishyasringa Jataka, Dipankara Jataka, and the Chandra Kinnara Jataka are delineated here. These representations are very interesting both for their artistic merit and the lofty morals they teach.

Important scenes from the life of the Buddha are also represented here. The dream of Mayadevi, the birth of the Buddha, the birth of Kanthaka, the favourite horse of the Buddha, the First Bath of the Buddha, the departure of Mayadevi from Kapilavastu, her return to Kapilavastu and the prediction of Asita, the marriage of the Buddha, the Renunciation of the Buddha, the Visit of King Bimbisara, the practice of austerities by the Buddha before his

Enlightenment, the Assault of Mara, the First Sermon, Sravasti-Miracle, the Great Decease, Devadatta and the Assassins, the child of the dead Woman, the consolation of Ananda, and the Mediating Buddha are some of the best scenes from the life of the Great Master depicted here. The scene showing the Master offering protection to Vajrapani (divided in three panels) is a unique piece in itself. Thus it can be seen that this art was very comprehensive, showing a long period of maturity and growth, and the themes were all Indian mainly Buddhist even though the sculpture shows Greek technique in its execution. As the late Professor S. N. Das Gupta points out:

"Whenever foreign influence worked its way through, or whenever the Indian artist worked under foreign influence, he paid greater attention to faithfulness to nature. Thus in the Greco-Buddhist or the Gandhara arts the productions are inspired by a feeling of loyalty to actual human figures."¹⁶

It made for anatomical accuracy in representation, which has its own charm and recommendation; although it is not the usual thing in Indian art tradition where anatomical accuracy is subordinated to the representation of higher ideas and emotions according to the accepted technique of such representation. According to Mme. Jeannine Auboyer:

"Its chief characteristics are on the one hand the application of Hellenistic formula to Buddhist themes, and, on the other hand, the creation of an entire Buddhist iconography which until then by a voluntary omission did not represent the Buddha."¹⁷

It should be noted that quite apart from the Greek influence (which, of course, was there), the representation of the Buddha in human form was also due to the Mahayana cult which developed under Kanishka.

There are two almost contradictory opinions on the art of Gandhara. Stella Kramrisch writes:

11. *A Guide to the Archaeological Galleries of the Indian Museum* by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, p. 6.

12. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti: *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries of the Indian Museum*, p. 7.

13. Mr. N. G. Majumdar: *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

15. Sir John Marshall: *A Guide to Taxila, 1936*, pp. 33-34.

16. Prof. S. N. Dasgupta: *Fundamentals of Indian Art*, p. 32.

17. Mme. J. Auboyer: *Les Arts de l'Extrême-orient*, p. 46: "Ses caractéristiques principales sont, d'une part l'application de formules hellénistiques à des thèmes bouddhiques, et, d'autre part, la constitution de toute une iconographie bouddhique qui, jusque-là, ne représentait pas le Bouddha, par une omission du reste volontaire."

"A serene and compassionate, formal and facile beauty expressive of Buddhist béatitudes made the images of the school of Gandhara popular with the mixed population of the northern border region of India."¹⁸

This is very great appreciation. In the opinion of the famous French critic M. Henry Martin, however:

"The Graeco-Buddhist art lacks sincerity. There one would seek in vain that emotion, that radiance of the inner life which characterise purely Indian sculptures."¹⁹

Now, this charge of insincerity assumes that two cultures and art-traditions so different as the Greek and the Indian can never properly or happily mix together. Whenever two entirely opposite cultures meet the possibility of some amount of insincerity is always there. But again, it need not invariably be so. In the Gandhara art we have almost the complete Greek technique and almost the complete Indian spirit and themes. As such the charge of insincerity is difficult to accept. This broad principle that the Gandhara art accepted has been followed throughout. There is no deviation from it. Thus, insincerity there is none within its own terms of reference selected by the Gandhara art itself. The question then arises: Is the Greek technique not suited to the proper representation of Indian themes and Indian spirit? Is it then insincere on this account? We do not know. Also it should

always remain a matter of opinion and controversy. But what we, in our humble way feel, is, whenever two cultures will clash in order to borrow to enrich our own we can adopt either the technique or the spirit of a foreign culture. Now, of these two, is it not always better to adopt the foreign technique and keep the spirit our own? This was what the Gandhara art did. How can it be called insincere then? Again, if we refuse to adopt foreign technique, then artistic development will always remain on a low level in the absence of being fertilised by new and diverse elements. So, that will not do either. Foreign and new technique should often be adopted, and there can be no charge of insincerity in it. But it should be intelligently adopted so as to be completely and healthily naturalised, so that it may fit in exactly. I think that the Greek technique applied in Gandhara art fits in very healthily and naturally. And, hence, the charge of insincerity is a bit too difficult to accept, notwithstanding the fact that it comes from a very famous French critic.

I think that the great importance and lesson of the Gandhara art in our history consists in the fact that this art reveals the wonderful liberality and adaptability in our art and culture, that we can borrow a foreign technique without losing our soul, and that culturally a very happy synthesis between the East and the West was possible in India in very early days and as such may be possible in the present and in future as well. The Gandhara Art abounds in lessons for the future as well.

18. *The Art of India* by Stella Kramrisch, p. 33.

19. *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois* by Henry Martin, p. 20: "L'art Greco-bouddhique manque de sincérité. Only chercherait en vain cette émotion, ce rayonnement de vie intérieure qui caractérisent les sculptures purement indiennes."



"THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN"

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

We welcome this handsomely produced and profusely illustrated survey of Indian Art,* another creditable contribution to the literature of Art, a branch of publication in which Taraporevala's 'Treasure House of Books' has specialized with commendable enterprise. There is hardly any publisher in India who has specialized in books on Indian Art and Culture, but this publishing house has built a distinguished tradition in the field, having to their credit at least a dozen sumptuously illustrated books. Indian interest in the study of Indian Art is not making any headway owing to two hiatuses—the total boycott of the subject by the Indian Universities from their syllabus of the Humanities and the dearth of cheap and good text-books on Indian Art. It should not be forgotten that during the last few years quite a large number of richly illustrated books on the subject has been published by the enterprising publishers of Europe and America, mostly written by able and qualified connoisseurs of Indian Art. Indeed, it can be said that foreign scholars have now monopolized the study of this great branch of Indian civilization to the complete exclusion of Indians to whom the subject should belong as part of their own national heritage. Taraporevalas have been valiantly attempting to provide books on Indian Art at a cheap price so that the study of the subject may become popular with citizens of Free India attempting to build a New India, a feat which will be impossible to accomplish unless every Indian knew and realized what great contributions have been made in the past in the department of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and the Applied Arts. This new book of Indian Art should stimulate the curiosity of our Indian scholars, exclusively confined to

historical and antiquarian studies and tragically lacking in any dose of aesthetic training to be able to understand the quality and intrinsic merits of Indian Art as an intimate revelation and expression of the mind and soul of India. This lack of aesthetic training has thoroughly disqualified most of our educated brethren from critically appraising and intimately appreciating the peculiar values of Indian Art—the greatest heritage of Indian Culture. The book before us with their generous quantity of illustrative materials, 6 Colour Plates, 515 Half-tone Illustrations and 212 Line Drawings, has, on the whole, covered the large continent of Indian Art and placed ample materials at the hands of the readers for an adequate bird's eye view of a very extensive field. The quality of the reproductions in half-tone is of a high-class quality though we could not praise the merits of the drawings—particularly the line-drawings which are sometimes too clumsy to translate the subtle refinement of the originals. Specimens selected, though quite adequate, are not always well-chosen and the great masterpieces, *e.g.*, the Benares Kartikeya (CXVII), the Elephanta Mahesamurti (CXXV), the Yakshini architraves (CIV), the Leyden Uma (CXLVIII) have not been correctly emphasized by isolating them from the crowd of other illustrations. Sometimes, the juxtaposition is very unhappy, giving a bizarre and grotesque effect, *e.g.*, Ashoka's Lion-Capital and a Gupta Buddha, sandwiched between a bunch of Gandhara specimens (CXIV, CXV); Orissan Nayikas juxtaposed incongruously with Jaina Ceilings and Hoyasala reliefs (CXXXIV & CXXXV); early Buddhist Cave Sculpture, improperly placed between Rastrakuta reliefs (CXXII-CXXIII); Lomasha Rishi Cave, placed below Bodh-Gaya temple (CLIII). This has led to a chronological incongruity preventing any easy realization of the different steps and stages of the evolution in one continuous sweep. The most tragic sequential solecism is to place the Puri Temple on the same plate (CLXIV) with the decadent Jaina temple of Limbdi, immediately followed by Nayaka

* The Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan; A Pictorial Survey of Dancing, Music, Painting; Sculpture, Architecture, Art-crafts; and Ritual Decorations from the earliest times to the present day: By Shanti Swarup, 89 pp; with 6 coloured plates, 212 line drawings; and 515 half-tone illustrations. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Dr. D. Naoroji Road, Bombay, India; 1957. Price Rs. 44.

architecture. The illustrative materials (with some omission here and there) were quite adequate to present the continuous evolutionary history if the specimens were properly placed in a strictly chronological scheme. Considering that not a single Pallava Relief, or Nagarjunikonda marble has been cited, the over-all picture is badly balanced by citing a large number of the Baroque Sculpture of the Hoysala School which is a very unhappy and painful phase of Indian Art. In the Painting section, six haphazard specimens of Rajput Painting are made to balance against nineteen examples of Moghul Miniatures, many of them good selections, while Pala Painting, wrongly juxtaposed, is dismissed with two inadequate citations (LX) and with six lines in the text (p. 19). In the treatment of Modern Painting the Tagore School is "foolishly" condemned as a Revivalist movement echoing the cheap slogans of Bombay critics. There is no meaning in citing a painting of Roerich (a great masterpiece as it is) in a survey of Indian national painting, which omits to cite a single Abanindranath or Nanda Lal Bose. On the whole, the section of Architecture is a good and balanced survey. The section of Art-Crafts, though supported by a profuse number of specimens, does not emphasize the high-lights in a judicious presentation of selected masterpieces, the good, the bad and the indifferent being

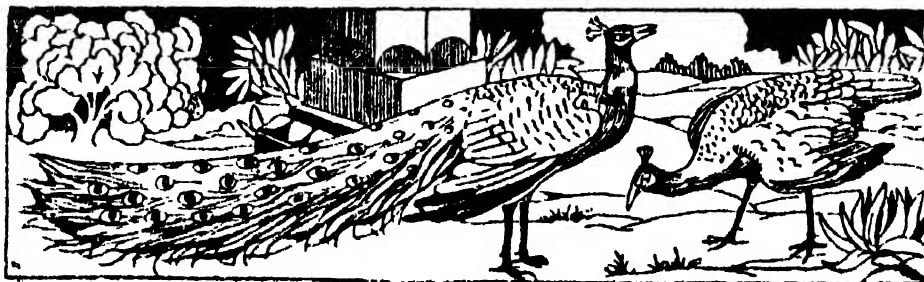
jumbled together in a confusing medley. On the whole, the Dancing and Music Section placed at the beginning (though not an authoritative exposition) is comparatively free from criticism.

It is embarrassing to make any comments on the text which is uniformly dull and unconvincing and hardly effective in inspiring new students to take up the study of their great heritage. There is not a single purple sentence in the whole book excepting in the quotations. Nevertheless, the writer of the text, inadequately trained and hardly equipped for the task, has valiantly struggled to fill up the extensive canvas. Considering the fact that existing colour blocks have been utilised and a large number of specimens have been directly copied from the pages of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (Art-Craft Section), the price affixed—Rs. 44—is high, and will not be popular amongst poor Indian scholars. The cost of production could have been lowered by judicious pruning of many irrelevant illustrations. We humbly draw the attention of the publishers to the Pelican publication: *Art and Architecture of India*, with 288 pages of scholarly text, with 190 illustrations, priced at 45 shillings (Rs. 36.9.0). It is to be hoped that in a second edition the text of the volume before us would be revised and improved and an Index added to facilitate references.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for February, 1958, p. 149, l. 2 (top); Read By D. C. Mathur (writer of the article, "Nietzsche's Philosophy") for By R. C. Mathur.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Messrs. Orient Longmans, Calcutta. Pp. xxiv + 538. Price Rs.25.

The book is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's previous work entitled *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and Other Essays* published in 1944. The latter contained a number of his research papers on various topics of Indian history and culture (some of them originally appearing in many antiquarian journals of India), and was well received by Indologists. It has been out of print for some time, and hence the reason for the present edition, though under a different name. The volume under review not only includes most of the chapters of the old work, those on South-East Asia and a few others only being left out, but it also contains as many as nine new ones on varied and interesting topics. The eight other chapters comprising old matter have been thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date by the author. Thus the book is virtually a new one incorporating some of the results of the life-long research activities of one of the maturest of the Indian scholars of international reputation.

The 17 chapters of the book have been carefully grouped in four parts according to their subject-matter, each group having thus a certain amount of continuity of thought and purpose. The first part comprising in all five chapters deals with the topic of historiography as displayed in various ways in ancient Indian literature of different periods beginning from the Vedas and ending with the Chronicles of Kashmir. The author has shown skilfully how the historic sense gradually developed in India from the Gathas and Narasamsis of the Vedic

texts to the royal and dynastic chronicles of Kashmir. In the first of the two chapters comprising Part II, Dr. Ghoshal has rightly criticised the usual convention of dividing the history of India into three well-marked chronological periods and naming them as Hindu, Muhammadan and British. The division has not been questioned so much as the naming, and he has shown sound reason in supporting the view that the periods should more preferably be described as Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern. In the second chapter of this part he has discussed critically the absorbing topic of the dynamics of the history of India, and has tried to solve the fundamental problem of its ups and downs, especially of the periodical weakening of the vitality of her spirit and her institutions. In this task he has taken his clue from Sri Aurobindo who pointed years ago that 'the fundamental cause of the growth and decline of India's civilisation was the strengthening and weakening of her ancient spirit and characteristic soul.' The author has determined the verdict of history in this connection by an analytical study of the essential features of the four critical periods of Indian history: the post-Maurya period, the period of impact of militant Islam, that of decline and fall of the Mughal empire, and lastly, the period of impact of British imperialism and its conflict with Indian nationalism. Part III of Dr. Ghoshal's book contains the largest number of chapters (6), and deals with the various aspects of ancient Indian polity, his special field of research. His contributions to the study of this branch of Indology by way of monographs and papers have been solid throughout, and it is no wonder that these chapters are full of much useful information on the subject. The last part of the book consists of four chapters incorporating his re-

searches in ancient Indian social, religious and political history. It thus does not possess the unity of thought which is present in the other parts; but yet the critical observations of the author on such varied topics as slavery in India of the ancient and early mediaeval times, the rite of head-offering to the deity in early Indian art and literature, Divya and Bhima of ancient Bengal and lastly, the factors contributing to the downfall of ancient Indian political civilisation are original and thought-provoking.

In the treatment of the aforesaid topics, Dr. Ghoshal has seldom failed to appraise critically the existing views and hypotheses on them, and to marshal all relevant data in a skilful way in support of his own suggestions. The book is thus a monument to the author's scholarship, and will serve as a very useful work of reference. A few misprints and typographical errors are noticeable in it, but these are unavoidable in a work of such bulk and magnitude.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF GOTAMA THE BUDDHA: *Presented by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and I. B. Horner. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 261. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a reprint in the cheap, but handy attractive series of Jaico Publishing House publications, of a well-known scholarly work. It consists of two parts. Part I written (as shown from the internal evidence) by Dr. Coomaraswamy deals with the life of the Buddha and the Buddhist doctrine, while Part II contributed by Miss Horner comprises selections of a large number of extracts in translation from the Pali canon. The treatment of the Buddha's life is marked by a certain incongruity, as the author on his own admission (p. 10) is inclined to take the Buddha to be a myth, but prefers to deal with him as a historical person, and proceeds accordingly to narrate the incidents of the Buddha's career after the canonical tradition. This description is marred by certain slips, e.g., in the reference to Kapilavasthu "the capital of Kosala," and to "Yasoda, the wife of the Buddha" (p. 10). The portion relating to the Buddhist doctrine displays an immense amount of study and reflection involving frequent parallels between the thought of the Indian saint and that of the European philosophers from Plato downwards and occasionally that of the early Muslim thinkers. The author,

however, chooses to ignore the teachings of all schools of Buddhism other than those of the Hinayana school. His treatment, again, like the title of the whole work, indicates unawareness of the strands in the early Buddhist doctrines such as have been recently brought forward with prominence in the work *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* by G. C. Pande (Allahabad University Publication, 1957). The author's heavy style is certainly not relieved by his tendency to translate the Pali technical words by such terms (p. 22 f) as 'Wake' for the Buddha, 'Timecome' for the *Tathagata*, and 'Despiration' for *Nibbana*. The extracts constituting Part II cover a very wide field. There may, however, be some doubts about the translations 'the uttermost security from bondage' for *Yogakkhema* (p. 59), 'Man-thus-come' for *Tathagata* (p. 62), and 'aspersion' for the royal *abhisheka* (p. 89). It is also doubtful whether 'rolling of the wheel' by the son of a 'World-ruler' (*Chakkavatti*) is properly explained as 'rolling the wheel of government' (p. 236 n).

The paper, print and get-up are good, but there is no index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TAGORE'S CHITRANGADA: *Translated by Birendra Nath Roy. Published by Sribhumi Publishing Co., 79, Harrison Road, Calcutta-9, Price Rs. 3.*

Chitrangada is a poem of Tagore packed full with rich and concentrated sensuous beauty, with a faint suggestion of psychological unrest which, however, is never allowed to dominate the sensuous interest. The translation of such a poem in a foreign language presents special difficulties, as music, rhythm, evocative images and emotional undertones together build up the atmosphere of the poem—elements which by their very nature and complexity of interaction cannot be expected to be reproduced in an alien tongue. Against such a background Sri Birendra-nath Roy's translation of Chitrangada into English may appear a risky and equivocal venture. But in spite of the inherent difficulties of the task, Sri Roy has achieved a very fair measure of success. The translation has recaptured the rhythmic and emotional strain of the original and the flow of ideas is almost unhampered by the change of medium. To be sure, the rich and overpowering intoxication of the finest passages of sensuous beauty appears a little thin and faded in the new language, but this is, perhaps, inevitable. The translator's too

frequent indulgence in inversions and a few grammatical solecisms jar on our ears, but the effect is never so pronounced as to disturb the impression of an even flow of beauty and a competent command over the resources of expression. As instances, I would mention p. 19, line 2 'abound,' p. 25 'shadow of her own' in place of 'her own shadow,' p. 27 'fondlings' which appears clearly a wrong use, p. 28 'started', a misprint, perhaps, for 'startled.' 'In your glory own', last line of p. 28, p. 30 'till those days are on,' where 'till' seems a mistake for 'so long', p. 35 'as though' at the end of the line and 'despaired' in place of 'despairing', p. 36 'rejoiced,' p. 37 'hanged' better 'hung', p. 42 the line 'But if not satisfied you are still'—a rather clumsy inversion, p. 43 'what wants she got?', p. 44, line 2, with a tame ending and 'Waiting . . . great,' p. 47, line 3, p. 48 'of spring . . . is', etc. In spite of these weaknesses and inelegances, the translation is a meritorious performance and evinces great skill in the manipulation of a foreign tongue and some affinity of spirit with the original. Sri Roy deserves the congratulation of all lovers of Rabindranath for his able presentation of one of his outstanding poems.

SRIKUMAR BANERJEE

BANDE MATARAM AND INDIAN NATIONALISM: *By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6-1 Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.50 n.P.*

In the first part of the book the authors explain the deep import of Bankimchandra Chatterjee's *Bande Mataram*. During the stormy days of the Swadeshi movement, it transcended the bounds of a national song and was virtually an oath of fealty to the nation. We wish we had a bit of the history, how on one of the Durga Pujah days Bankimchandra in the house of a friend of his, conceived our motherland, transmuted into Durga 'holding her ten weapons of war, Kamala the goddess of wealth at play in the lotuses and Bani, the deity of wisdom, giver of all lore'. Then only should we have a complete picture of motherland 'richly-watered, richly-fruited, sweet of laughter, sweet of speech,' but as 'terrible with the clamorous shout of seventy million throats and the sharpness of swords raised in seventy million hands. In the second part of the book we have some crucial editorials of the paper *Bande Mataram* through which Shri Aurobindo sounded his clarion call of nationalism and convulsed India.

Dr. Surendranath Sen in his Foreword calls Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh *santans* (true sons) of mother India. Taking the cue, the vital link is in Bankimchandra's novel *Ananda Math*. A dense forest, so very dense that the sun cannot penetrate into it. The deep, eerie silence of the place is stirred up by strange voices in the form of question and answer. 'If not life, what is it that the motherland calls for?' 'A life of self-effacing steadfast devotion.' A reference to these would have possibly embellished the book.

Anyway, the authors are eminently deserving of our thanks for their laudable efforts in delving out materials of rare, unique value. They exercised and will exercise an irresistible fascination over generations yet unborn. They are such stuff as inspires the nation's servant to be a martyr to the cause, so that his may be the 'tongue of flame whose lightest word is an inspiration to self-sacrifice or a spur to action.' We gather from the book that Aurobindo was as much for a 'bloodless installation of liberty'; he kept in the forefront of their programme a scheme to make the administration impossible by an organised 'No' to the Government. It is history that as he despaired of mending the Rule, he would end it, no matter how.

Such and many other allied things Mukherjee and Mukherjee have given us. They are in their patriotic yearnings and fidelity to the cause they have taken up—of which we have evidence in this and other papers—reminiscent of Sydney and Beatrice Webb.

JOGES C. BOSE

MUNSHI—HIS ART AND WORK, Vol. I: *Published by Shri Munshi Seventieth Birthday Citizens' Celebration Committee. Price Rs. 2.*

Shri K. M. Munshi, of late the Rajyapal of the Uttar Pradesh, and founder-Kulapati of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, is one of those who make their "mother's milk resplendent." His titles to greatness are more than one. A brilliant lawyer, a dauntless fighter in the Motherland's struggle for liberation, a profound thinker and scholar, a prolific and versatile writer in his mother-tongue Gujarati and in English, Shri K. M. Munshi has earned an honoured place for himself in the long roll of India's brilliant men. His life and work will inspire his countrymen for generations to come.

The publishers have done a great national service by having brought out a volume on Shri Munshi's life and work.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

A STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIAN REPUBLIC: By Arun Kumar Banerjee, M.A. A. K. Publications, 209, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Third revised edition, July, 1957. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2.25.

This nice little study by Prof. Arun Kumar Banerji is designed to meet the need of junior college students and in a way, serves the purpose well. The book has been written in an unassuming matter, though it bears evidence to the author's effort to give a careful summary and analysis of the provisions of our Constitution. The author knows his subject and presents a highly readable text which would be found useful both by students and general readers. The appendices at the end of the book and an index, compiled with some care, add to the value of the book.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

HINDI

CALCUTTE KA GUAMATKAR: By Manubehn Gandhi, Narajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

This is a Hindi translation of the author's daily diary in Gujarati from 1.8.1947 to 8.9.1947, dealing with Gandhiji's brief visit to

Kashmir and his stay in Calcutta for about a month for the purpose of restoring sanity and amity to the Hindus and the Moslems who, at the time, were stricken with the insanity of 'exclusiveness' or aggressiveness and hatred of each other. The Mahatma did, indeed, achieve nothing short of a miracle inasmuch as his own shining example and valour and words of wisdom did help in disarming them of the steel-armor of poisonous sectarianism in which they had clothed themselves in the name of selfish security. Only if that sanity and amity had lasted longer!

G. M.

GUJARATI

SANSARNI SHOBHA: By "Shayda". Printed at the Beghadi Monj Printing Press, Bombay. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 3-3.

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Indian Periodicals

Something that Never Happened Before

Roy Bridger, examining the "perpetual emergency" of our day, goes to the heart of the dilemma posed by nuclear weapons and the obstacles to disarmament. He writes in *The Aryan Path*:

On all sides it is evident that we have entered a period of perpetual emergency of a kind never previously experienced in known history. As Professor Roger Heim, President of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, has summarized it: "Man has become a prisoner of the mechanical consequences of his powers of invention."

When man set out to improve his standard of living with the aid of machines, themselves subject to continual improvement and increasing efficiency, he took a road which stretched away into the unimaginable future, a road which seemed to be entirely without end. Today, especially in the case of the more heavily mechanized countries, the situation can be seen to be getting out of hand. The road of everlasting progress looks suspiciously like a road to mass suicide through breakdown of biological stability.

The problem is brought out on vast, cataclysmic lines involving radiation damage fears and nuclear warfare threats; and it is brought out in a multitude of little unexpected ways. For instance, in America just now they are talking about the G-Line--the Gadget Line. This is the latest shape of the human form: with thickened waist and heavy thighs, overweight hips and distended paunch. It is the result of the thousands of labour-saving gadgets which have been pouring into American homes and industry for two generations and more. Machines are now doing what people did for themselves—but their owners have had to pay the penalty in fitness. In theory, labour-saving devices should be introduced as a welcome boon to those sections of the world's population most in need, particularly to the millions of small cultivators struggling round the clock to keep up with the demands of the seasons. To some extent this is what has occurred, but the process is not turning out as it should. Those

who already have are getting more than is good for them, the rest continue to go without.

In agricultural equipment something more efficient than the hoe is clearly an advantage; "dust-bowl" farming, using powerful tractors designed to plough ever deeper and faster, fleets of combine-harvesters whirling away precocious crops forced with chemical stimulants and preserved with poison sprays against equilibrium-restoring "pests"—is unbalanced efficiency run riot.

In the processing of foodstuffs, too, machines for refining and doctoring food to new degrees of incompatibility with the human constitution are appearing all the time, while other machines are engaged in the large-scale production of drugs to deaden Nature's warning pain signals.

It is in the military field, however, that the most immediately urgent crisis has been reached. As man started to perfect machines for improving his standard of living, so began the corresponding rise of his weapons of destruction. No one can doubt that the end of this particular road is near. Whatever there was to be said for an armaments industry offering improved spears and patent muzzle-loaders, it is evident that, when it can only go on turning out apparatus for destroying everything on the planet, it has outlived such uses as it may once have had.

Today man himself is almost out of the running. With automatism being increasingly applied to the apparatuses of comfort, all the powers at large will be working to apply it to the apparatuses of destruction. It seems no more than a childish fancy to suppose that the extreme potency of the new weapons will act as a deterrent; there are plenty of fanatics mad enough to blow up, not merely whole cities, but the whole earth, if the switches are allowed to get into their hands. But, in any case, the machines are going all out to get the switches into their own hands.

Scarcely less disturbing is the extreme slowness of the rate of penetration of a sense of the impending crisis into the general consciousness. Yet such is its stored-up magnitude that even the firmest of our institutions and habits of thought is in danger of becoming obsolete. Language

itself is becoming less and less adequate. Whole groups of words are being left standing, their meaning eaten away from inside as if by termites. Our notions of "defence," for instance, of what is being defended and what it is being defended against, are almost completely out of date. Our minds are still clouded by phantasms of the Armada assembling at Cadiz, of Van Tromp sailing up the Thames.

The situation today is that under present conditions there is no longer a single cause worth going to war about. Not one. The causes" on behalf of which people have formerly gone to war are dropping out of the picture. It is the *means* of war that is now the great threat, filling all the stage.

Some forty years ago a Western line-up against Communism began to take place. The process has gone on till this day; although the clash is ostensibly between Communism and anti-Communism, the forces now operating do not correspond to the original labels. Marked political and economic differences still exist, but "Communism" pure and simple is not the supreme terror. It isn't the creed that is feared, it is the instrument of applying the creed. It is applied materialism run riot, an unquestioning belief in "science." The latest is the earth satellite, a triumph of ingenuity, whatever its implications. But, if we felt that the Russians were mastering the *life sciences* (as distinct from the physical sciences) on this scale, we should feel a lot more reassured.

The West believes in science, too, of course, but nowhere nearly so blindly; in fact large sections of Western thought have been aware of the snags for some time; concerned not so much with rushing on towards wonders new as with putting a brake on a runaway machine. We cannot put the clock back. We cannot even get it to stand still. But at least we ought to try to regulate it. The question is, how?

Radiation risks being what they are, a movement has arisen to put a ban on further nuclear-weapon testing. Unfortunately, this is a good deal easier said than done, as the absence of results has shown. The case for abolition of nuclear-weapon testing might seem unanswerable when considered in isolation, but in practice it cannot be considered in isolation. This is the trouble all the way through--no shortage of slogans recommending various self-contained moves, but a great dearth of integrated programmes.

In practice the question of the abolition of nuclear-weapon testing is tied to the question of

abolition of nuclear-weapon manufacture, since no one is likely to go on stock-piling weapons that have never been tested. One must go at the very least one step further and call for both.

This is what most abolitionists have done, it is true. But if real wars are going to be fought at all, whether in the cause of world conquest or in defence of hearth and home, there is unlikely to be any "gentlemen's agreement" on where to draw the line. The one object on both sides will be to get hold of the deadliest possible weapons and to use them to the limit. Governments are not prepared to leave preparations until the last minute, hence full speed ahead with the testing of nuclear weapons.

Thus another big step is called for: the banning of *all weapons*. Again, this is a very worthy idea, but it is not going to be put into practice at the wave of a wand. Weapons of war are also the instruments of police work: a prerequisite of their abolition is therefore the removal of not only the need for war but the need for police work—a tall order.

What is the most terrifying thing in the world? The H-bomb? No. The most terrifying thing in the world is the mentality that can contemplate using it. The mentality that cannot, even now, see that mankind is advancing at breakneck speed along the wrong road and that no time must be lost in seeking a different one.

It is not weapons that we shall have to rely on in the future. It is ideas, and they will need to be more universally acceptable than the conventional stock-in-trade. The world is quite prepared to scrap its obsolete steam engines and dynamos, says Undershaft in Shaw's *Major Barbara*, "but it won't scrap its old prejudices and its old moralities and its old religions and its old political constitutions."

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The Hill Tribes of Assam

Cabrielle Bertrand observes in *Careers and Courses*:

Sandwiched between East Pakistan, Tibet and Burma, Assam is the easternmost state of India. It includes the broad valley of the Brahmaputra, bounded to the north by the foothills of the Himalayas and to the south and south-east by hills named from their peoples—the Garo, Khasi and Naga Hills, the highest point of which is Shillong peak. Much of this area is covered with jungles inhabited by a hotchpotch of wild hill tribes related, for the most part, to the Tibeto-Burman ethnic group.

The different tribal areas are approximately known. But it is difficult to take a census of the people living in dense jungles cut off from the outside world, with independent political status since they are governed according to their own tribal laws.

Recently the Government of India set up a new agency in Shillong, capital of the state of Assam, to administer the tribal areas. The "North-East Frontier Agency"—its official title—is charged not only with the task of organizing the tribes, but also of exploring the little-known area between the Brahmaputra and the frontiers of Tibet.

The task of the new agency will not be easy. During the past few years, several Indian geographical and ethnographical expeditions to these parts were wiped out by the Abors, a fierce primitive tribe living in the foothills along the North-east frontier.

As far as is known, the different tribal areas are as follows: to the South-West between the valley of the Brahmaputra and the Garo Hills, live the Atchiks (or Garos), a tribe of head-hunters. Further to the East are the Khasi, one of the world's oldest peoples, who worship a snake-god, and have never moved from their original habitat, the desolate Khasi Hills. A mystery still surrounds this primitive people: they are of Mongol stock yet they speak an Austro-Asiatic tongue related to the same linguistic group as the Munda language spoken in the North-East of the Deccan and to the languages of the Moi people of Indo-China.

In Eastern Assam, the Naga Hills on the border of Burma are inhabited by a people of the same name who formerly practised head-hunting. Their group includes several tribes. They inhabit a vast area of hills and forests stretching from the mountains populated by the Mikir—a tribe related to the Garo but much more peaceful—well over the border into Burma.

In the North of Assam the mountain country of the Himalayan foothills is peopled from East to West by a mosaic of tribes: the Mishmis, the fierce Abors, the Apa-Tani, the Miris, the Daffas, Akas, and others perhaps, whose names are still unknown.

In earliest times, Negrito tribes inhabited the Brahmaputra valley. Later came Austro-Asiatic peoples who left their mark on the Khasi language.

Then nomadic Mongoloid tribes descended in successive waves from the wide valley of the Yangtze Kiang, the Me-Kong and the Salween; others came from the lake-dwellings north of the Tsangpo valley in Tibet, leaving a strong imprint in the Brahmaputra valley before moving on to the surrounding mountainous jungle country. There they stayed, and their culture has scarcely evolved since that far-off period. The Bodo of Assam, who belong to the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group, are descended from this latter group of Mongoloid tribes.

It was not until many centuries later that the Aryans conquered the valley where their civilization subsequently developed. But the physical and cultural impact of successive waves of peoples has left its mark on the country, contributing to create the stranger culture of Assam, about which little is known since the earliest written texts available date back only to the 14th century.

The great Indian epic, Mahabharata, has this to say about the tribes of Assam:

"... These golden-skinned peoples from the other side of the Himalayas and the mountains to the East—the mountains of the Rising Sun in the Karusa near the sea and on the banks of the Lauhitya, these Kiratas who feed on fruit and wild roots, who are clad in animals' skins, are proud of their weapons and cruel in their deeds . . . I saw them, O Lord! and their loads of sandalwood, of black pepper, of precious stones, gold and silver, and aromatic herbs."

Up to the end of the 19th century, Assam remained a closed country. Scarcely any information filtered across its borders to the outside world, with the result that it is difficult to unravel historical facts from legends. The only records are chronicles written in Arabic between the 12th and 14th centuries, which describe raids made by Mussalman horsemen to the valley of the Brahmaputra. Mounted on powerful horses they invaded the valley in the middle of the monsoon season, with the result that they were completely bogged down and perished, without even once being able to pitch their tents.

It was only when the British penetrated the area at the beginning of this century and a few monographs were published by officers in the Indian Army that the veil was partially lifted on this strange, fierce yet beautiful land.

An exhaustive study still remains to be made, for the North-East frontier district—always a difficult area—is still largely unexplored, due to the presence of the wild tribes.

These peoples live mostly from hunting in the jungle and fishing in the streams and rivers in which the country abounds. Their agriculture is extremely primitive since they practise burn-beating, setting fire to the jungle and sowing their seeds in the warm ash. The first year's crop is rice, and as the earth is very fertile they reap an excellent harvest. The following year they harvest cotton which they spin and weave for domestic uses. In the cotton fields they also sow pimento and pumpkin seeds, and the dried fruits provide calabashes for household use.

This simple sort of agriculture, however, is scarcely sufficient to feed the tribes and the burn-beating method has many disadvantages: it

destroys the forests and as new patches are continually being burned up the tribes are almost continuously on the move. With this semi-nomadic life, no permanent administration is possible. And in the tribal areas natural catastrophies occur almost every year in the rainy season: the soil is swept into the gullies by the rain and land-slides occur over large areas.

One of the main tasks of the Indian authorities will be to introduce new agricultural methods by establishing permanent rice-fields. Later, other crops such as Indian corn, manioc, millet and sesame will be grown, helping to increase the capital assets of both the individual farmer and the community. This, in turn, will lead to other developments: villages will be set up as permanent settlements, new means of communication will be opened up, trade links will be established, new markets created, providing openings for farmers and craftsmen. The nomadic tribes have nothing to lose from such developments which offer the promise of an easier and more secure life.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Will Ike Resign ?

Following was the interesting reflection by Tris Coffin, when President Eisenhower was seriously stricken with illness, in *The New Leader*, December 9, 1957 :

Each morning at 10-30, reporters hear White House news secretary James Hagerty describe the "excellent improvement" of the President. In meticulous detail, he tells how Mr. Eisenhower signed 15 letters, talked with the Secretary of State, ate three eggs, sang in his shower, walked for 20 minutes about his farm, read two chapters of *Western*, and took a long nap. The impression is of a man mildly incapacitated by a bad cold, held down only by a fussy, conservative doctor.

There is even, at this writing, the possibility that Mr. Eisenhower will fly to Paris for a brief "inspirational" appearance at the NATO meeting next week. The President's advisers believe that this psychological triumph would quiet demands in the press and Congress that he resign.

But the daily briefing should not hide the fact that Dwight D. Eisenhower in the remaining three years of his term cannot meet the ruthless crises of our times with the vigor of which he was capable when first elected. Perhaps this is too much to ask of any man. Woodrow Wilson wrote in 1908 :

"No other man's day is so filled as (the President's), so full of responsibilities which tax mind and conscience alike and demand an inexhaustible vitality Men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live if the strain be not somehow relieved."

Mr. Eisenhower is 67, has suffered three major attacks in the last 26 months, and has a long history of minor illnesses when confronted with racking dilemmas. (The President's physicians are well aware that arterial spasms are often caused by undue tension). His best chance of remaining alive through 1960 is to live in a carefully filtered atmosphere. The alternatives are resignation, or a new and perhaps more damaging illness.

Resignation has been widely discussed here, though not with any enthusiasm. Vice President Richard M. Nixon has been too

partisan, too ambitious to win the wide support a President would need in these awful hours. He is deeply distrusted by the South and its lords in Congress, as well as by liberals. Even the Taft Republicans are not sure where he will stand tomorrow.

The President's close friends and advisers are insisting, almost grimly, that he will not step down as long as he can sign his name. "The General is not a quitter," they say flatly. They argue that Eisenhower is valuable as a symbol in world affairs, that Nixon cannot obtain united support, and that he has a tendency to recklessness which Eisenhower can veto, even if bedridden.

Three major questions, nevertheless, are being strongly argued: the immediate roles of Eisenhower and Nixon, and the prospects if the President suffers another more serious attack.

For the next six weeks to six months, Mr. Eisenhower will be a convalescent whose visits to the harsh alarms of his office will be brief. Ever since his heart attack, his physicians have insisted that he not be subjected at long intervals to the upsetting diet of crisis and conflict that falls on a President. The White House staff and Presidential duties have been so organized to divert the huge flow of information and questions, and keep it from flooding the President. For days on end, he has performed little more than the ceremonial duties prescribed by the Constitution. The National Security Council, for example, was set up to take from the President's shoulders the burden of analyzing world problems and framing appropriate policies. Quite often, President Eisenhower has not sat through the entire meeting of the Council; or Vice President Nixon has presided for him.

In this convalescent period, the President will withdraw even farther. Such irksome duties as press conferences, give-and-take discussions with Congressional leaders and foreign diplomats, Cabinet, budget and Security meetings, and visits from officials, politicians, Congressmen men business groups will be infrequent. His knowledge of current events will be supplied principally by Hagerty, security assistant Robert Cutler and chief of staff Sherman Adams. He is likely to spend much time away from Washing-

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR MARCH, 1958

ton and in the company of his closest friend, the humorous George E. Allen.

The President will depend increasingly on the advice of a triumvirate: Nixon, Adams and brother Milton Eisenhower. If another major crisis (say, fighting on the Turkish Syrian border) exploded, Nixon and Adams would consult Secretary of State Dulles and General Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as Congressional leaders. The two would knead out a policy and present it to the President. He would then ask Milton, whose opinion he respects above all others. It is doubtful that Mr. Eisenhower would personally engage in

protracted discussions with Dulles or General Twining.

Although Hagerty heatedly denies this, the President will unquestionably have to make a decision as to whether to retire from his office, and he will have to review this decision regularly. He told a press conference on May 8, 1956:

"I have said unless I felt absolutely up to the performance of the duties of the Presidency, the second that I didn't, I would no longer be there in the job, or I wouldn't be available for the job."

On the Monday evening when the President

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was stricken and his physician feared that he might have suffered a serious stroke, the possibility of his resignation was real. Many White House correspondents still believe that he will bow out and give Nixon at least a year to occupy the Presidency before the 1960 election.

Nixon's role in the next three years would excite and try a Richelieu. He must carefully take over functions of the President without arousing fears that he is usurping the office. He can push but not dictate policies.

In the first days of the President's latest illness, Nixon occupied a desk in Adams's office. He sat in with Adams, Budget Director Percival Brundage and Defense Secretary Neil McElroy making crucial decisions on military programs. Nixon was the boldest of the four and was able to swing teetering decisions, but not to get his own way. He will preside at Cabinet and Security Council meetings, hold occasional press conferences, represent the President at foreign policy meetings, and take his place at social functions. He will, however, act under three handicaps:

The inner core of Eisenhower friends and advisers are upset by cries that the President got out. An editorial prior to the stroke in the Manchester (N.H.) *Union-Leader*, asking for his impeachment, deeply disturbed this group. More recently, Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, probably the most powerful Republican in the Senate, has suggested that Nixon be given full authority; Bridges and Sherman Adams are old political enemies. Nixon must be extremely cautious and keep proving his personal loyalty to the President.

Nixon's focus is entirely different from that of Mr. Eisenhower, Nixon is looking to 1960, while the President is mainly concerned in getting through the next three years without undue crisis. Nixon is extraordinarily sensitive to public opinion; the President is protected from it. Nixon is willing, even anxious to take calculated risks to improve his standing with American people; Mr. Eisenhower never has been daring.

Along with admiration for Nixon's vigor, shrewd mind and boldness, there is an amazing mistrust of him here. No one really knows what his philosophy is. He began his political life as a Congressman who voted with the right wing; he helped write the extreme House version of the Taft-Hartley bill in the House Labor Committee, and won his first headlines as a sharp member of the Un-American Activities Committee. His campaigns for the House and Senate

were featured by virulent attacks on two liberals, Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas. As Vice President, he has seemed a Dewey Republican, international-minded, concerned with civil rights, tolerant of the opposition. Yet, in last month's New Jersey campaign for Governor, Nixon attacked labor in a way that led the *Machinist* to headline: "Nixon's Union Smear Fails in N.J. Vote."

The biggest question is what would happen if the President suffered a more debilitating illness.

Twice in American history, Presidents have spent weeks as almost complete prisoners of illness. Garfield lived 80 days after he was shot, during which time he signed one extradition paper. Wilson could not pass on legislation for nearly six weeks; 28 bills became law without his signature.

Under similar circumstances, Mr. Eisenhower might well resign. But if he chose to remain, no one could force him out, unless Congress used the extreme weapon of impeachment. The Constitution says that in case of the President's "inability to discharge the powers and duties . . . the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide" for the case of inability, "declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected."

Congress has never provided an enabling act for inability. Some contend that the Constitution implies that the Vice President serve as acting President "until the disability be removed." This view has a high priority in the White House.

But precedent is against it. When President William Henry Harrison died on April 4, 1841, Vice President John Tyler took the oath as President two days later—Secretary of State Daniel Webster ruling that the powers and office of the President were indivisible; in succeeding to one, the Vice President succeeded to both. Forty years later, when Garfield was shot, Vice President Chester Alan Arthur was urged to declare the President incapacitated. He refused. Thomas Marshall took the same position when Wilson was stricken.

There is doubt, too, on how much power the President may delegate to the Vice President. A thorough study was made last year by the Senate Government Operations Committee, and a staff paper written by Eli E. Nobleman stated:

"The Supreme Court will only imply the President's authority to delegate the perform-

ance of his statutory functions with respect to what it has characterized as executive or administrative acts, and it is only with respect to such duties that department heads are presumed to act for the President . . . Thus it appears that if the functions vested in the President by statute are discretionary in nature, the Court will not imply authority to delegate . . ."

Thus, even in the event of more serious illness, the President's duties would probably fall on an informal committee of his advisers — unless he resigned.

Progressive Manufacture of Jeep in India II

It soon became apparent, however, the best interests of country as well as those of the company could be fully served only if manufacture, instead of mere assembly, of the entire vehicle were taken in hand in India. This was also in consonance with the Government of India policy of establishing a fully developed and independent automobile industry in this country. Mahindra and Mahindra, therefore, undertook to gear in its assembly operation to actual manufacture of jeeps.

The new plan found ready support with the American company. Willys not only agreed to supply technical skill, but also to train Indian engineers who would take charge of production in India.

Followed a three-year period of study and investigation conducted by teams of engineers drawn from Indian and American companies. They carried out on-the-spot surveys of facilities available for the execution of the manufacturing programme.

The report of the teams, which formed the basis of the manufacturing programme as submitted to the Government of India, recommended the establishment of a production industry which would not only make full use of the products of the already existing ancillary industries, but also provide the necessary climate for setting up new plants for the manufacture of accessories and components. In other words, automobile production by Mahindra was to be closely patterned after the American automobile industry, which utilizes independent ancillary industries in buying various parts rather than manufacture on a large scale each component in a single, self-contained and integrated factory. The report of the experts reached the conclusion that by

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drawing upon spare resources in the engineering industries, a co-ordinated manufacturing organization could be set up. This way, it was expected, the entire range of Jeep and 4-wheel-drive vehicles could be manufactured in India in gradually progressive stages without too great initial investment of capital.

The programme, approved by the Government of India in 1955, called for the progressive manufacture of jeeps in India, the target being to manufacture components worth 70 per cent of the total value of the vehicle in India. Willys provided a long-term credit of approximately one million dollars to the Indian company to help in establishing the operation.

New plants were established in Ghatkopar and Bhandup in this city to manufacture body components, cut gears, and make other accessories. Engine blocks are being machined in the Government Ordnance factory in Jabalpur to the strict Willys specifications. Radiators, petrol tanks, batteries and other components are bought by Mahindra from other Indian concerns. All these are brought together at the assembly plant in Mazagaon here, where the vehicle is finally put together.

Today, about 45 per cent of the total value of the Jeep is manufactured in India. One complete Jeep rolls off the assembly line every hour round the clock. If the need arose, production could be stepped up to one every 40 minutes.

Mahindra and Mahindra became the first and only automobile manufacturing firm in India which places its engineering and skilled personnel at the disposal of any ancillary industry which wishes to utilize their services. In this way Mahindra hopes to raise the quality standards of the components.

In addition, Mahindra, following the lead given by Willys, also trains skilled technicians in the field of automobile production. These technicians go out to other plants and factories needed in India's growing industries.

As one technician here observed to me, "It's a good deal for the Indian industrialist."

"Yes," I agreed. "And for the American investor."

Atomic Power for Peace and Abundance

O. A. Knight writes in the *American Labour Review*, as follows:

(These are excerpts from an address by O. A. Knight, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (AFL-CIO) during discussion on atomic energy and automation at the Fifth World Congress of the International Con-

federation of Free Trade Unions, which met in Tunis, during the month of July, 1957).

My country was the first to harness the power of the atom, and we are the only nation which has used its terrible power for military purposes. Precisely because of the role we played in launching the atomic age, I believe the United States of America has a special, moral obligation to mankind in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy to make this a better, happier and more pleasant world.

To assure the maximum benefits of atomic energy in peace, we must operate from several major premises:

First, control of atomic energy must be in the hands of the civilian government; never in the hands of the military.

Secondly, the benefits of atomic energy must be shared by all, never by a small select group of the population.

Thirdly, we must insist upon complete safety both in producing and in using atomic energy; we must never take risks with the lives or limbs of either workers, or consumers, or of generations yet unborn.

CONCERN FOR HUMANITY

Finally, we must approach the whole field of possible uses of atomic energy with courage, with imagination, with concern for humanity and the well-being of all the world's peoples; we must never allow fears or prejudices or a lack of vision to stand in the way of progress.

The AFL-CIO has repeatedly petitioned our government to move with dispatch and understanding into this new field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The rest of the free world has, we in American labor believe, the right to expect of the United States that it demonstrate the same speed and determination in transforming atomic power into a major weapon of peace and well-being that it showed in wartime when it built the atom weapon of mass destruction.

We are engaged in a major legislative fight to establish federal safety standards, with federal administration and federal controls, to govern the working conditions of all whose jobs take them into any dangerous or "hot" area. We are fighting as well for adequate compensation for those who are victims of industrial radiation—though our contention is that safety measures which eliminate hazard are far more important than mere compensation.

NOT TOO EARLY TO ACT

This is more than just the problem of those workers in the atomic energy field who are members of the union I am privileged to head, the

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. Today there are 1,500 plants in the United States, in all industries, making use of atomic energy to a greater or lesser degree. That number is certain to grow substantially in the years ahead. So the question of safety encompasses our entire American labor movement, and now is not too early to start acting.

In our battle for these safety measures, we are not seeking abandonment of the reactor building program. Rather we are seeking immediate and rapid progress with reactors whose safety has been proved. We will, however, continue to oppose those not proven safe, as we must not expose great areas of concentrated population to the hazards of operations not proven to be safe.

But it is to the future that I want to devote the major share of my time today—to the glorious future for all mankind that is achievable in our lifetime if man uses all of his imagination, skill and intelligence to make the atom our peaceful servant rather than we its slaves.

For already, in the laboratories, scientists have made tremendous and breath-taking discoveries. Already they are on the path towards providing the greatest and most fabulous agricultural crops in the world's history—a vital step in a world in which so many starve.

The industrial improvements which are possible have only begun to be imagined. The atomic powered submarine *Nautilus* has demonstrated the feasibility and the value of atomic energy as a power source. Coupled with the new learnings of automation, the world can provide itself with all of the material things we need. Today we have two and one half billion people in the world—and millions of them are without the basic necessities of life. In another century, the best estimates are that there will be six billion people on earth. How long will man wait, before moving to provide not only for those who live today but for the welfare of our children and our children's children?

ENDLESS VISTAS

I wonder how many here are aware of the vast progress made to date in solving the problems of preservation of food? Take milk, for example, one of the most basic of all foods. Millions of gallons of milk have been lost to mankind simply because of its extreme perishability.

But through the correct use of atomic energy, the scientists are now convinced that we can—in the foreseeable future—so protect milk that it will be canned, (whole milk, I mean, not evaporated or condensed or powdered milk) whole fresh milk will be canned and will be sold by grocers long after it has been produced and it will be just as fresh and safe and nourishing as the day it left the cow.

There are endless vistas which I contend man can and must explore to be worthy of humanity's claims upon us. But there is one item I do want to mention in more detail—an item which has been in my thoughts often as I have driven through this great nation of Tunisia, which has shown all of us such gracious and warm-hearted hospitality.

A radiological technician adjusts the controls of a cobalt therapy unit in the hospital at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Radioactive cobalt emits gamma rays, which are similar to but more intense than those given off by radium. The cobalt therapy unit produces a narrow beam of great intensity which can be focused more specifically on diseased tissues.

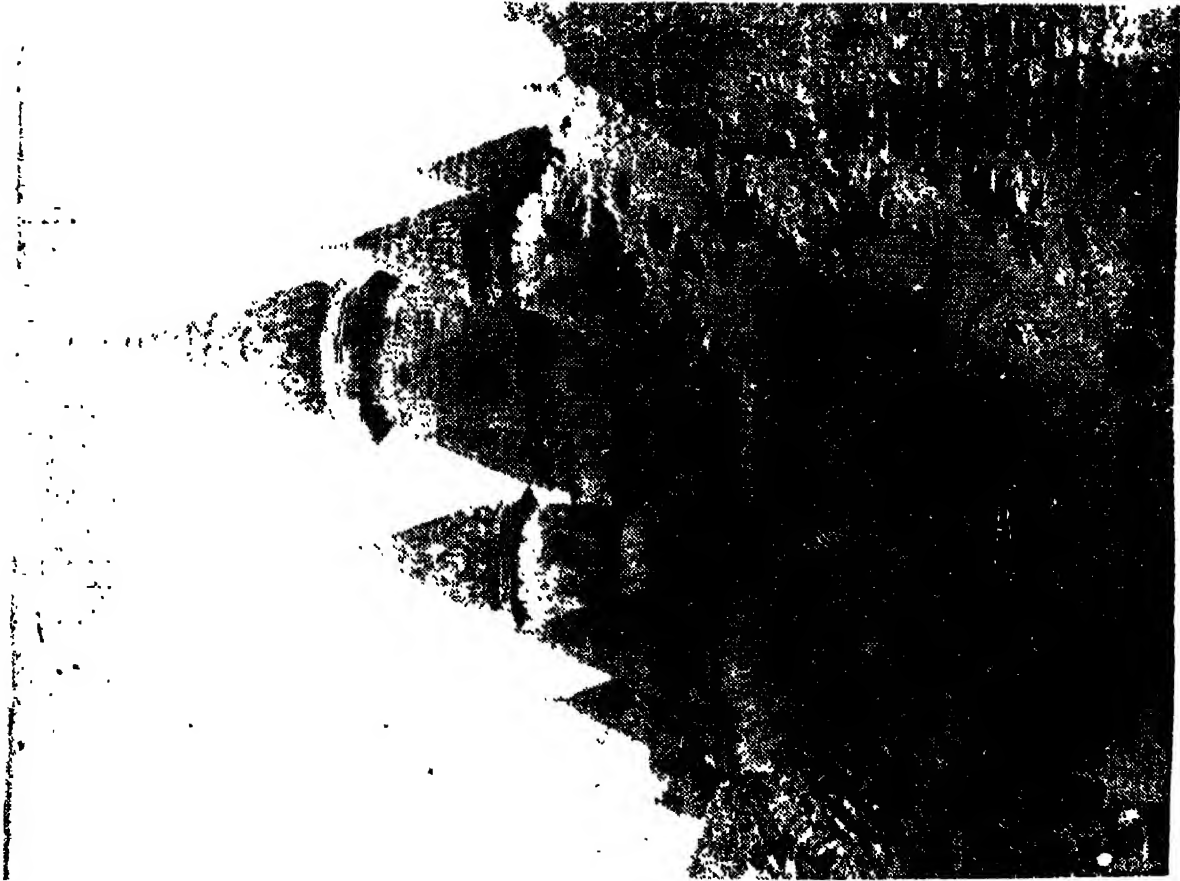
I speak, of course, of water—of the need for more fresh water here as in so many of the arid and semi-arid areas of the world. A need as great, perhaps, in my own state of Colorado as it is in Tunisia or anywhere else in the world.

Do you know that the scientists are now positive that we can soon bring to fruition man's age-old dream of producing fresh water from salt water? Can you picture what this would mean in terms of improving the standards of living of all the people of the world? Atomic energy—harnessed through a special type of reactor—can make this dream come true. For this reactor can provide the cheap power in enormous quantities necessary to convert salt water into fresh water.

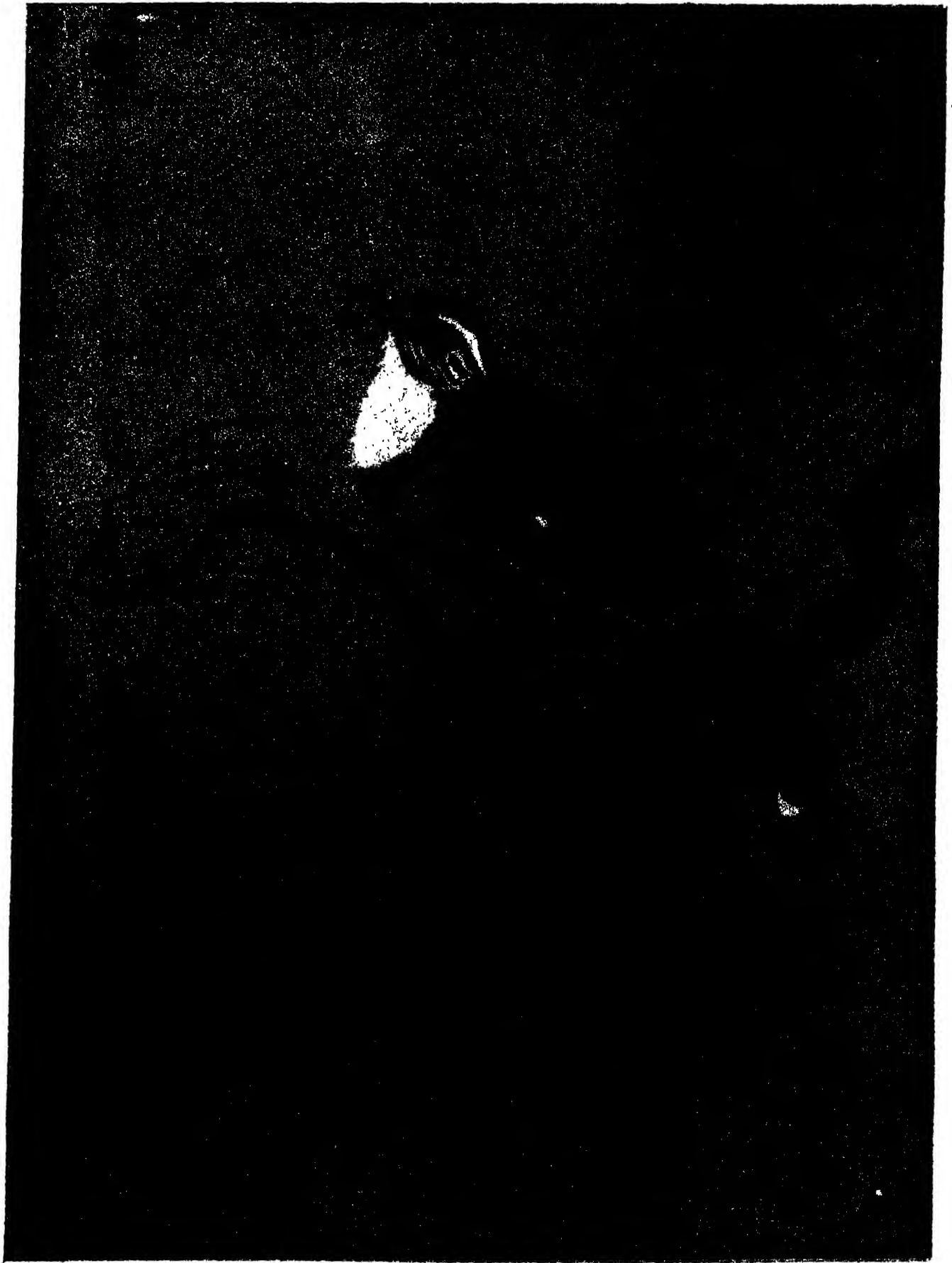
Great areas of the world could be transformed from wasteland into lush and prosperous farming land. Unused acres by the millions can become the food source for many of the population-pressed countries of the world. Lives will be saved by the elimination of starvation. The great dust bowls, such as blight some sections of my country, will be eliminated. In terms of the tremendous good that would result, we cannot say that such a proposal is too expensive. We cannot weigh a man's life on the balance scale and say it is too costly to save.



Way to the market
Photo by Tulesdas Sinha



Hangeswari Temple, Bansabati, Bengal
Photo by Ananda Mukherji



Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

SHELTERLESS BIRD
By Panchanan Ray

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NOTES

Blackmarkets

It was, we believe, Justice T. Ameer Ali of the Calcutta High Court, who made the famous remark that the Blackmarket in Calcutta "was the only market where the necessities of life are obtainable." The occasion was the trial of a person accused of blackmarketing. Those were the days of the "corrupt British regime," when blackmarketing had become rampant, during the stresses of the Second World War.

After the War was over, our great ones came out of the prisons and the peoples of the nation rejoiced because they thought that their day of trial and duress would soon be over. It was at that time that one of our very great—we thought him to be a worthy successor to the Father of the Nation, equally immune to flattery—made the remark that if he had his way then all the lamp-posts would be decorated by the bodies of the blackmarketeers.

That very great man evidently was no more a man of his word than most very great men of politics are. In this matter of blackmarkets at least he seems to be most complacent despite all his protestations to the contrary. His colleagues are equally indifferent to the sufferings of the people whose life's blood is being sucked away by blackmarkets, adulteration and artificially created shortages.

During the First Five-Year Plan, we were told that the nation would have to tighten its belts because that was the preparatory period. There were a great many lapses and a very great deal of wastage and corruption during the

First Plan period, and the people got very little return for the terrific stresses they went through. Of course, the very great waxed fat, because like the lotus-eaters, they slept above the clouds, in holy Olympus.

The Second Five-Year Plan should be renamed the Blackmarket Plan, because even at this early stage, we find that the sway of the Blackmarkets is becoming almost universal.

For example, reputed journals like ours never had to go to the blackmarket for paper, even in the worst days of the British regime. We shall put it on record that we have had to do that in this year, during the regime of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his adroit band of political adventurers.

There are certain brands of artificial foods that are vital necessities in the case of invalids, patients and little babies whose digestive tracts are infected. Not a single tin of any of those recognised and reputed milks and milk substitutes can be got anywhere in Calcutta in the open market. Of course, you can get tons of any of them if you are prepared to pay fifty to seventy-five per cent extra.

If your watch is broken, you cannot even get a spare part because there is no import of watches, and big houses have closed down. Of course, you can get any number of watches in the blackmarket—as you can get hootch in Bombay or Madras—for a price. But why increase the list, who is there in this afflicted land excepting our supremely complacent and blissful gods, and their smooth-tongued satellites, who has not felt the pinch. Need we say more?

Economic Situation in Asia

The year 1957 saw marked progress in the fields of agriculture and industry in Asia. In that year production of food-grains rose by 4 per cent reaching an all-time record, and output in manufacture and mining increased by about 11 per cent. These figures alone, however, were not sufficient to convey a true picture of the state of affairs in the region which was far from reassuring. Food still remained the principal headache of the region. Despite the production record established in food-grains last year, output per head of population still lagged some 8 per cent behind pre-war levels; moreover, import needs for food-grains also increased. In the recent annual session of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which was held in Kuala Lumpur (Malaya) it was made clear by the discussions that economic development in the region would be seriously retarded if food production could not be greatly accelerated, especially in countries like India. Evidently much more remained to be done to vitalise agriculture and increase agricultural production.

The rate of industrial growth in Asia in 1957 was 11 per cent over 1956: this was much ahead of the rate of industrial expansion in the world as a whole (which was 3½ per cent over 1956). Yet even here also recent trends in trade payments caused anxiety. Imports to this region increased but exports fell which naturally led to some tightening of import restrictions. Again even this increased industrial production was far from adequate for meeting the needs of the region.

According to the ECAFE's Economic Survey, both in agriculture and industry demand outran supply. This resulted in continued inflationary pressure, adverse trade balance and declining foreign exchange reserves. Thus a "somewhat precarious and even alarming situation" had arisen. Price fluctuations in commodity markets continued to have disturbing effects on Asian economies.

One of the major questions before the Asian nations was whether they should, in their development efforts, build up only their conventional power resources based on coal, hydro-power and oil, or whether they should even now plan for electricity from atomic energy and

try to advance on both fronts simultaneously. Many of the delegates to the ECAFE session at Kuala Lumpur considered that at the present stage atomic energy development would be too costly for most Asian countries. The Indian delegate, however, significantly said that Indian experience had showed that by the time electrification schemes had been completed, it was almost always found that the need for power had outstripped capacity. It was thus clear that the Asian nations had to provide for atomic energy development even now to some extent.

India Government and Scientists

On March 13, Prime Minister Shri Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha a new policy towards the scientists in India. Shri Nehru said :

"The Government has decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position, by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time'.

"The aims of the scientific policy are :

"(1) To foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational.

"(2) To ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognise their work as an important component of the strength of the nation.

"(3) To encourage, and initiate with all possible speed, programmes to train scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry, and defence.

"(4) To ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity.

"(5) To encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge in an atmosphere of academic freedom, and

"(6) To secure for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge."

The announcement has not come a day too soon. The utter neglect of scientists and academicians is one of the peculiarities of under-developed societies where the administrators get all the prestige and power. In the developed countries of the West an administrator, unless he possesses special qualifications on any particular subject, is never considered superior to an expert. In India, there is much difference both in pay, prestige and authority. It is indeed a hopeful sign that the government proposes to associate scientists with formulations of policy. However, there is no room for delay in extending these same facilities to other branches of learning as well.

Planning at the Cross-Road

The Second Five-Year Plan in its first two years of operation has not made any spectacular achievement. Of course no such achievement was expected within so short a period in view of the fact that the Plan involves some major projects the implementation of which will take a longer time. The Planning Commission some time ago appointed a Panel of Economists to tender advice on the rephrasing of the Plan. But it is very unfortunate that these noted economists have made recommendations which are not only disappointing, but have lost significance in bewildering and conflicting statements. The recommendations are hedged with so many qualifications that it will rather be impossible to take any action on them. The members of the Panel state that they had not had sufficient time to examine all the materials placed at their disposal. Yet strange it is that they ventured to tender their advice to the authorities on so important a topic as the economic planning. The only redeeming feature is that they "are convinced that there was nothing basically over-ambitious in the initial targets of the Plan." Only Professor Shenoy holds a contrary opinion as he thinks that the Plan has been over-ambitious. The majority opinion states that "if the Plan has run into difficulties, it is because of the inadequacy of efforts, mainly organisational, that has so far gone into its implementation." There is a section of opinion in the country which holds that the Plan is over-ambitious. The epithet itself is ambiguous because there is no tangible standard by which to

give such a verdict that the Plan is over-ambitious. Under the Second Plan, the per capita expenditure will come to only Rs. 133 and that is certainly not over-ambitious. To declare it to be so is to ask not to undertake any planning at all. The Russian economic Plans were much more ambitious than their Indian counterparts. The economic planning is essentially directed towards making up the arrears of economic development that remains backward for centuries. Only the votaries of *laissez faire* economic system are still haunted with the hallucination that anything done by the public authorities in the field of economic development constitutes an encroachment on the private sector which alone is entitled to take up economic development to its convenience and pleasure.

In a country where the rate of capital formation is just 7 per cent of the total national income, it cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that the economic effort on the State level is over-ambitious. Besides the countries of the West, even in many countries in Asia, like Ceylon and Burma, the rate of capital formation is much higher than that of India. The private capital, particularly the indigenous capital, has failed to retrieve the position. Notwithstanding Mr. Birla's assertion that the private sector has done its part of the duty assigned to it in the matter of capital formation, it is a fact that the rate of capital formation in the private sector has not been up to the standard. The rate of indigenous capital formation will hardly exceed Rs. 50 crores a year and most of this amount goes towards acquisition of existing foreign concerns in this country. The setting up of big industrial projects will remain a responsibility exclusively for the public sector and the private sector has neither the ability nor the willingness to undertake such industrial development on a gigantic scale, barring a few notable houses. What has been done in the private sector in recent years is mainly due to the efforts of foreign private capital and initiative.

The inflationary pressures of 1957 and the earlier part of 1958 and the serious strain on the balance of payments position are related mainly to the progressive rise in investment in the public sector that has been taking place over

the last few years. The capital formation in the public sector has been going up steadily in pursuance of the Plan. The allocations for net capital formation at the Centre—including those for utilisation by State—amounted to about Rs. 600 crores in the revised estimates for 1956-57 and about Rs. 743 crores in the budget estimates for 1957-58 as compared with Rs. 460 crores in 1955-56. As against ceiling outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores over the five-year period, the outlay for the first two years is estimated at about Rs. 1,515 crores: Rs. 670 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 845 crores in 1957-58. Financing of this outlay is estimated to have involved deficit financing by the Centre and the State aggregating to about Rs. 600 crores. The deficits in the balance of payments are related to the investment and consumption trends relatively to production in the economy as a whole rather than to the public sector plan as such. The Planning Commission recognises that the progress on mobilising domestic resources for the plan has been inadequate. For 1958-59, the Centre and the States are to allocate about Rs. 1,000 crores by way of plan expenditure. This means a step-up of about Rs. 155 crores as compared with the estimated outlay in 1957-58. The bulk of this step up in the Centre's plan expenditure accounts mainly for the railways and the industrial projects.

As regards the rising tempo of inflationary tendencies in the country, the Panel of economists states that the Plan has generated "a large inflationary potential even in its early stages." The Panel holds the view that the inflationary pressure has not been in the past nor is likely to be in the future such that it cannot be held in check by appropriate policy, including direct controls at particular points. The rise in price level is also increasing the cost of planning and the inflationary spiral creates a vicious circle which draws into its vortex the higher prices. The Panel observes that the expenditure of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector will be possible at the present prices, if external resources of the order of Rs. 700 crores are forthcoming. It also stresses that there should be considerable increase in the efforts to mobilise domestic resources in all forms and utmost care be taken to see that all available resources are fully utilised.

The total of external assistance authorised since the Second Plan commenced to the end of December 1957 comes to Rs. 480 crores. This does not include the \$225 million assistance from the USA. The credits from Germany, Japan and France have also not been taken into account. The utilisation of external assistance is estimated at Rs. 96 crores in 1956-57. For 1957-58, the utilisations are expected to aggregate to Rs. 130 crores. There is also a carry over of about Rs. 130 crores from the authorisations of the First Plan period. Under the various programmes of assistance already in operation or in sight, the total foreign assistance to this country in 1958 is estimated at Rs. 325 crores for which credit has been taken in the budget.

The main drawback of the Indian Plan is that it has overstrained and it is not over-ambitious. It is over-strained in view of the limited resources and ability of the country. Instead of concentrating on the development of strategic industries, the Plan has tried to attend too many fronts all at a time and it has ~~cost~~ the country with dissipation of energy and resources. For the sake of expansion, concentration has been sacrificed. The Panel of economists also states that "it is necessary, in view of the shortage of both external and internal resources, to secure the maximum economy in the outlay of resources for the end-results in view." It also emphasises that all postponable expenditure should be abandoned and a strictly utilitarian approach adopted in the matter of all construction work and the provision of amenities.

By 1960, India's foreign exchange gap will amount to Rs. 800 crores—Rs. 590 crores in the public sector and the balance in the private sector. The Government of India hopes that by that time steel from the three steel projects would be available for sale in the market. The Government of India is banking upon this expectation and hopes that India will be able to repay her foreign loans by exporting steel in the world market. One point that should not be lost sight of is that the world market faces a keen competition in steel. The main competitors are Germany, Britain and the USA and also the European Steel Community. India can little hope to export her steel to the European markets. She will have to rely mainly for the

markets in the Middle East and other countries of the South-East Asia. But the capacity for import of these countries is very limited. Besides, India's internal needs for steel is progressively increasing and to meet her domestic requirements there will be left a little surplus of steel for export abroad. The commitments under the deferred payments scheme should not be further increased. The Government of India today is heavily indebted to foreign countries and institutions and overnight she will not be in a position to redeem all her international monetary obligations.

The continuous drain on our foreign exchange reserves has been a cause of concern to the Planning Commission. The rapid depletion of our foreign exchange resources has been accelerated on account of increasing expenditure on defence purposes and imports of foodgrains which had been more than anticipated. The import of consumer goods also show a steady increase despite all efforts to curtail them. In 1957-58, the imports amounted to Rs. 1,076 crores and this represented an increase of Rs. 326 crores higher than in 1955-56.

The Planning Commission maintains that the imports are likely to continue at a higher rate in the current year, despite the severe restrictions imposed, owing to a heavy load of past commitments amounting to Rs. 990 crores. These are bound to be reflected in actual imports during the current year. Of the total amount of Rs. 1,076 crores, Rs. 661 crores is on private account, excluding imports of steel, and Rs. 416 crores on Government account. The increase of Rs. 326 crores in imports over those in 1955-56 is mainly accounted for by increased imports of iron and steel and machinery, defence stores and foodgrains, which totalled Rs. 258 crores. The balance is largely made up by increases in items required primarily for the maintenance of the economy at a higher level. There is also a considerable increase of Rs. 13 crores under net import of currency notes which reflected the extent of gold smuggling in the country. In the very first year of the second Plan, India had to import foodgrains for Rs. 102 crores as against Rs. 29 crores in the previous year. The average annual requirements of imported foodgrains was originally placed by the Planning Commission

at Rs. 48 crores. In the second year of the Plan, the food imports went up to Rs. 150 crores. The higher import of foodgrains has retarded the pace of development in other fields.

One thing that strikes us most in this connection is why the various journal on light topics are allowed to be imported from the USA when India is struggling hard for the conservation of her foreign exchanges. It is strange that while utility goods are not being allowed to be imported from that country, journals and periodicals are allowed to be imported in ever-increasing numbers. The import of such journals not only from the USA but also from various other countries are draining away the valuable resources of foreign exchange resources of the country. Excepting those on scientific and cultural, the import of journals which are mainly propagandist in nature should be largely restricted, no matter from which country they are imported.

The best way to progress with prosperity in the immediate future will be to concentrate the limited resources of the country on the core of the Plan which includes strategic developments.

The Union Budget

The Union budget for the year 1958-59 brings no major surprises, particularly for the common man. The proposed Gift Tax was well expected and the reduction in the exemption limit of the Estate duty has been in keeping with the developments. The new measures of taxation are designed to make such improvements as are necessary to make the present pattern of taxation an integrated one and to plug any loopholes in taxation. The Gift Tax is designed to fill a gap in the scheme of direct taxation and will not only make evasion difficult but also spread the tax burdens more equitably. The total revenue after taxation has been placed at Rs. 768.09 crores and the total expenditure at Rs. 796.01 crores. The total uncovered deficit will be Rs. 27.02 crores.

The revenue estimates for the year 1958-59 are as follows: Rs. 170 crores from Customs as against Rs. 183 crores in 1957-58; Rs. 304.76 crores from Union Excise Duties as against Rs. 264 crores in the preceding year; Rs. 55.50 crores from Corporation tax; Rs. 84.53 crores

from Taxation on income other than Corporation tax, as against Rs. 82.47 crores in the preceding year; Rs. 44 crores from Civil Administration and Rs. 36.62 crores from Currency and Mint. The Estate Duty will yield only Rs. 7 crores. Expenditure Tax Rs. 3 crores, Gift Tax Rs. 3 crores and Wealth Tax Rs. 12 crores.

The estimates of the major heads of expenditure will be as follows: Direct demands on revenue Rs. 91.15 crores; Irrigation Rs. 13 crores; Civil Administration Rs. 200.44 crores; Defence Services Rs. 278 crores; Grants to States Rs. 47 crores; Expenditure on displaced persons will be Rs. 20.48 crores and the Extraordinary items will cost Rs. 23.40 crores and other expenditures will amount to Rs. 50.33 crores. The total estimated expenditure of Rs. 796 crores will be much higher than the preceding year's expenditure which was placed at Rs. 719.58 crores. Of the total expenditure, Civil Administration and Defence services will account for Rs. 478 crores.

In recent months there have been criticisms against the Expenditure tax and the Wealth tax in view of the fact that the yield from these levies has been insignificant. Many expected that these two measures will be scrapped from the Statute Book. But this expectation has been belied. The value of these measures is to be judged not from the standpoint of collection, but from the view-point of integration of the tax structure. With the introduction of the Gift tax, the integrated tax structure will be completed. The other measures that provide links in the chain are the Estate duty, the wealth tax and the expenditure tax. These levies will collectively function as the check-posts so as to prevent evasion. Tax evasion has been a widespread problem in India and as such these measures are directed towards stopping the evasion. Notwithstanding such heavy barrages of taxation measures, evasion will persist because the administration responsible for the collection of taxes is inefficient and corrupt to the backbone. It is corrupt to the rank and file and the few honest officers at the top are not in a position to tackle this problem of tax evasion. Tax evasion is an open secret in India and it has become an essential characteristic of our taxation structure.

The Paper called *Economic Survey, 1957-58*, issued along with the Central Budget Papers states that the pressure on internal resources and balance of payments continued to be felt through 1957-58. The wholesale prices showed an upward trend until August 1957; and in the nine months from January to September 1957, foreign exchange reserves declined by Rs. 252 crores. The various corrective measures taken in the course of the year have now begun to yield effect. Inflationary pressures in the system have abated to a certain extent. The rise in prices has been halted and even slightly reversed, the index of wholesale prices in January 1958 being 106 as compared with that of 107 a year earlier and 112 in August 1957. The rate of withdrawal of the foreign exchange assets of the Reserve Bank has come down markedly from about Rs. 8 crores a week on an average in the first six months of the fiscal year to below Rs. 3 crores a week since December 1957.

Taking into account the continuing requirements of the Second Five-Year Plan, the process of bringing about a better balance in the economy can be said to have only begun. The tasks ahead are onerous. In the coming year, the increase in national output is likely to be somewhat smaller than in the current year, as the rice crop is short and the rate of increase of industrial production has tended to slow down. The stresses and strains in the economy may be expected to continue throughout the plan period, and even subsequently though their intensity and the points at which they become manifest may vary from time to time. It is essential to minimise and to correct them, and at the same time to proceed with development.

In the present economic situation of India, fiscal policy has to be directed to the maximum mobilisation of resources for financing the plan. Considerable fresh taxation was undertaken in 1956-57. The budget for 1957-58 enhanced taxation further so as to make it yield about Rs. 103 crores in a full year; it also initiated certain changes in the tax structure so as to make it more capable, over a period, of meeting the needs of development. Two points deserve mention in this connection. Firstly, that part of the resources raised by the Centre last year has been transferred to the States in pursuance

of the Finance Commission's award. Secondly, the resources available in the form of public savings are still short relatively to the requirements. While the full yield of some of the tax measures adopted in 1957-58 will take time to materialize, it is clear that these measures have assisted materially in keeping down inflationary pressures and in creating a new awareness in the country of the effort and sacrifices that have necessarily to go into a development plan.

For the next year, the revenue from customs has been placed at Rs. 170 crores, the decrease of Rs. 13 crores as compared with the current year's revised estimates reflecting the effect of the restrictions on imports. Excise duties are expected to yield Rs. 260.45 crores, excluding Rs. 41.48 crores from additional duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco which accrue in almost their entirety to the States. This is an improvement of Rs. 8 crores over the current year's revised estimates. Under Income-tax, the revenue is placed at Rs. 217 crores, allowing for a normal expansion in revenue of Rs. 10½ crores over the current year's revised estimate. The Wealth tax is expected to yield Rs. 12.5 crores, the tax on railway fares Rs. 9.22 crores and the expenditure tax Rs. 3 crores. The revenue from posts and telegraphs is estimated at Rs. 2.34 crores against Rs. 1.23 crores in the current year. The dividend payable by the railways next year is estimated at Rs. 49.58 crores of which Rs. 7.04 crores will be taken as contribution to revenue and the balance of Rs. 42.54 crores in reduction of interest payments on the expenditure side. The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank next year has been placed at Rs. 30 crores, the same as in the current year. A credit of Rs. 7.34 crores has also been taken on account of the surplus of the cement account of the State Trading Corporation to be transferred to Government. This amount will be utilised on the development of national highways. The share of income-tax payable to States next year will be Rs. 76.97 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 73.43 crores.

The estimates for defence services show an increase of Rs. 12.09 crores over the revised estimate for the current year. The increase is wholly in the air force estimates mostly for the purchase of stores for replacement. The navy

estimates show an increase of Rs. 1.46 crores but this is offset by a reduction in the provision for the army. Civil expenditure next year shows an increase of Rs. 64.34 crores over the revised estimate. Of this increase, payments to States of the proceeds of the additional excise duties on sugar, cloth and tobacco account for Rs. 27.96 crores. The greater part of the balance is due to larger provision for nation-building development and social services. The provision for expenditure on nation-building and development services under civil administration amounts to Rs. 130.09 crores as compared with Rs. 109.62 crores during the current year. The provision for education at Rs. 20.63 crores is higher by Rs. 5.48 crores and includes Rs. 11.98 crores for grants to States, Rs. 2.51 crores for scholarships and Rs. 4.32 crores for grants to the University Grants Commission. For expenditure on medical and public health, the provision has been increased from Rs. 10.43 crores this year to Rs. 16.0 crores next year and for agriculture and allied services, the provision made next year is Rs. 17.64 crores against the current year's revised estimate of Rs. 16.85 crores. The provision for scientific research has also been stepped up by Rs. 3.7 crores and that for industries and supplies by Rs. 1.62 crores. The estimates also include a provision of Rs. 6 crores for grants to States to help them to raise the emoluments of their low-paid employees, the corresponding provision for 1957-58 being Rs. 5 crores. The newly-constituted Naga Hills and Tuensang District will cost about Rs. 3.64 crores next year. Capital expenditure in the coming year has been placed at Rs. 412 crores excluding a formal adjusting debit of Rs. 78 crores in respect of loan assistance.

Tax on Gifts : In proposing the Gift Tax, the Finance Minister observed : "The idea of a Gift Tax is not new. Many honourable members have stressed both in this House and the other House the need for introducing such a measure at an early date. The transfer of properties through gifts to one's near relations or associates is one of the commonest forms of avoidance of not only the Estate Duty but also of Income-tax, Wealth Tax and even the Expenditure Tax. The only way of effectively checking this practice is to levy a tax on gifts. Such a tax is already being levied in other

countries, for example, USA, Canada, Japan and Australia. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also accepted the Gift Tax as theoretically an attractive proposition."

The tax is proposed to be levied on gifts by whomsoever made, the only exceptions being charitable institutions, government companies, corporations established by Central or State Acts and public companies whose affairs are controlled by six persons or more. The tax will be levied on the donor on the value of all gifts made by him during a year, but for the purpose of determining the rate of the duty, the gifts made during the four years preceding the year will be aggregated. Gifts up to a total value of Rs. 10,000 in any year will be exempted and if the value of the gifts made during any year exceeds this sum, only the excess will be subjected to tax. The basic exemption of Rs. 10,000 will be reduced to Rs. 5,000 if gift to any one individual donee during a year exceeds Rs. 3,000.

In the opinion of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, a gift tax is theoretically an attractive proposition, but it requires considerable experience of the operation of estate duty before it can be introduced. One of the prerequisites for operating successfully a tax of this nature would be to introduce the submission by income-tax assesses of a statement of assets and liabilities. As more experience is gained of this type of work, the introduction of the gift tax will be feasible. The rates of death duty are at present low. The value of a gift tax as a second line of defence for estate duty is greater if the rates of the latter are steeply progressive. It may be pointed out that all gifts *inter vivos* made within two years of the death of a person are chargeable to estate duty. The Gift Tax was suggested by Prof. Kaldor. He recommended that the gift tax should be levied uniformly on all transfers, whether made during lifetime or coming into operation after death. He also suggested that the gift tax should ultimately replace the present Estate Duty and the rate of gifts-tax should be double the present rates of Estate Duty. He also suggested that the gifts-tax should be levied upon the donee, that is, the person who will receive the gift. The rates should be progressively higher according to the total net wealth of the donee after the gift. The proposed

gifts-tax, however, will be levied not on donee, but on the donor and the rate will be the same as for the Estate Duty. The only difference is that the first slab of Rs. 50,000 will not be exempted from the tax. The rates of gifts-tax range from 4 per cent on the first slab to 40 per cent on gifts over Rs. 50 lakhs. The exemption limit of the Estate Duty will also be reduced from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 50,000.

The gifts-tax, like the income-tax, will give rise to widespread evasion because it will be administered by the same authorities. It would have been better if a legacy duty was imposed. In Britain there exists the legacy duty and it is levied on the person receiving the legacy. If a person makes gifts of small amounts every year, he will be able to make cumulatively a gift of considerable amount without coming under the mischief of the law relating to the gifts-tax. The legacy duty on the other hand is in a position to take into account the total amount received by the legatee and evasion thus is not possible under it.

A Wise, Though Belated, Step

The resolution unanimously adopted by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on March 26, recommending the adoption of Bengali as the official language of the State, though belated, is a step in the right direction. Our views of this matter is well-known and was re-iterated in these columns more than once during the recent months.

That the Bengali language is in the process of being accorded its rightful place at home cannot but be of the greatest pleasure to the Bengalis. That however is not the point at issue. The problem is to accord every Indian language its free play in society. Ordinarily this need not become a "problem" at all. But our leaders have somehow managed to make a problem of it. An ordinary man may wonder how it becomes a problem if a man is asked to read and write in his own mother-tongue. But our all-knowing leaders with their "concern" for the people certainly could not allow either the education or the administration to be intelligible to all.

It has therefore taken more than a decade to accept the principle that administration should be conducted in the language of the

people. If the leaders have hesitated to adopt the simple course of allowing the local administration to be run in the language of the people, they have shown the greatest agility in imposing the language of their choice upon the people in fields which are far more complex. One of the funniest thing has been that while so much enthusiasm is being shown to make Hindi the official language, Hindi is not yet a full-fledged official language in any of the Hindi-speaking states. It is to be hoped that the example of Madhya Pradesh, Madras and West Bengal in making their regional languages (Hindi, Tamil and Bengali respectively) the official language for the state would be emulated by other states and the regional languages would soon become the official language of the regions concerned that would provide a great fillip to the development of education and culture of the regions and of India as a whole. Particularly, the West Bengal Government should lose no time to implement the unanimous verdict of the people's representatives to make Bengali the official language.

The said resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly also urged the Government of India to re-examine the question of an official language for India. It asked for the continuance of English as the official language until another language is thought fit to replace it. Given the object that English would have to be replaced, this is the most reasonable suggestion for the immediate future. It must clearly be understood that English cannot for ever remain as the language of administration in India. The suggestion that the existence of a few lakhs of English-speaking Anglo-Indian minority justifies its retention as such is an invidious one to say the least. It is again difficult to agree with the suggestion, even if it should come from such a distinguished Indian as Rajaji, that Commonwealth membership in any way obliges India to retain English. If there should in reality be any such obligation, Indians should agitate for severing Commonwealth links and not for retaining English. Democracy's greatest hurdle in India is the use of English as an official language. The sooner it goes, the better. It is only the authoritarian and the most unreasonable attitude of the so-called supporters

of Hindi that stands in the way. This authoritarianism and unreasonableness find expression in the statement that India's unity demands Hindi as the official language, as the medium of education and so on. If India's unity is so fragile that it would break down unless kept clamped under the thumb of the Hindiwallas then its future is already doomed. No sensible Indian would however think like that. Indians would remain in India as Indians because India ensures the greatest freedom to all for the development of the culture and way of life of each, and not because they would like somebody else to impose his will upon them. Only the fascistic cry of "unity in danger" at the slightest movement for extension of freedom to the people can break that unity and the fissiparous tendencies that are emerging from the anti-Hindi movement are an indication of that danger. Let all of us beware of it in time.

Hindi Lexicon

The All India Radio and the Ministry of Education of the Government of India are engaged in the preparation of two Hindi dictionaries. The AIR Lexicon would concentrate upon terms that are normally required for the dissemination of news and other features by different stations of the All India Radio, while the other Lexicon is to be more comprehensive. In reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on March 13 it was stated that AIR Hindi dictionary would not be made public as it was being prepared solely for departmental use.

The wisdom of duplicating the work of compiling a Hindi lexicon is not obvious. In view of the financial implications the Government should have explained why simultaneously two bodies were working on the preparation of almost the same type of Hindi dictionary. At all events, part of this money might have been more fruitfully spent even on translating books into Hindi, if the authorities were so reluctant to spend any money on the propagation of any other language, because such translation would at least have the merit of making a real addition to the Hindi literature.

Republic Day Celebrations

The undermentioned report would be interesting reading. This is an indication of the government's increasing love for grandeur for

which it does not hesitate to spend lavishly though finance may be tight in more desirable fields:

"New Delhi, March 3. The expenditure incurred by the Government of India on Republic Day celebrations had progressively gone up from Rs. 18,300, in 1951 to Rs. 6.12 lakhs in 1957, according to a written reply given by Mr. F. P. Gajkar, Parliamentary Secretary to the Defence Minister in the Lok Sabha today."

The weekly *Vigil* in a leading article on March 15 writes:

"Every year the anniversary of the inauguration of the Constitution is celebrated with great pomp as the Republic Day under State auspices. One of the objects, presumably, is to teach the people to love and honour the Constitution. But what use is all this pomp when the very Directive Principles of the State are disregarded by the Government with impunity, as can be seen, for example, from the statement which the Union Minister of State for Education made on March 10, before the all-India Council for Elementary Education? One of the Directive Principles of the State incorporated in the Constitution reads: 'The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.' But our Minister says: 'We have come to the painful conclusion that the goal of free and compulsory education as set in the Constitution is not within our reach, although it may be our ultimate objective. The target has, therefore, been reduced from six to fourteen to six to eleven years and that, too, to be reached by the end of the third Plan. The panel of the Planning Commission, which recently reviewed the position, have considered this target as feasible within our resources.' But even this estimate of what can be expected in the future, which anyway reduces the target and extends the time-limit as set in the Constitution each by one-third, is a dubious one, for the Minister adds: 'Doubts are already being expressed that the additional funds required for this purpose may not be available'.

While the non-implementation of a Directive Principle of the State might not be justifiable in a court of law, there could hardly be

any doubt that it was a moral offence against the Constitution. The Government's plea of lack of resources was all the more untenable especially as thousands of crores of rupees were being raised by taxation of finance plans which, whatever their other merits, were not enjoined by the Constitution and therefore could not take precedence over objects specifically mentioned in the Constitution."

The *Vigil*, we think, has made a new but nevertheless sound point on the Government's failure to give effect to the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Moreover, as the experience in other countries shows, democracy cannot function on an illiterate base. A Government with a democratic conviction should have considered public education its priority number one even without there being a direction in the Constitution. In India, on the contrary, the Government, not ashamed of its failure, now proposes a further narrowing down of the period of primary education. It is difficult to conceive any instance where governmental irresponsiveness to public opinion went farther.

Urban Planning in Asia

Professor Bert F. Hoselitz of Chicago University has contributed an interesting paper on "Urbanization and Economic Growth in Asia" in a recent issue of the *Economic Development and Cultural Change* published by the University of Chicago every quarter. With reference to published data, Mr. Hoselitz says that "urbanization in Asia has probably run ahead of industrialization, and the development of administrative and other service occupations which are characteristically concentrated in cities." This fact has led to a "disproportion between the costs of urban growth and the maintenance of proper facilities for the urban-dwellers and the earning capacity of the people congregated in cities" (the cities are not self-supporting). The great inflow of the people in the cities that has been witnessed in Asia in recent years has been due more to the "push" experiences in the countryside (economic and political insecurity in the villages which in more than one Asian country are ravaged by bandits and despotic landlords) than to any "pull" of the towns. This tendency to over-urbanization in Asia has some political and social implications.

"Owing to the greater concentration of population, the higher degree of literacy among urban than country-people, and the propinquity of centers of political decision-making, the urban population is more deeply involved in politics than the rural population . . . In view of the overwhelming political role exercised by the cities in under-developed countries and the relative political importance of the countryside, the present situation of over-urbanization, coupled with the relatively unsatisfactory employment situation among urban-dwellers, must be regarded as an important element of potential political and social instability." Mr. Hoselitz writes.

On the other hand, experimental data show a definite relationship between urbanization and literacy and in the countries of Asia and Africa, industrialization would contribute to an increase in literacy. Yet, in terms of distribution of the labour force, those countries are already "over-urbanized." This is a paradoxical situation.

One way out, suggests Prof. Hoselitz, would be to plan urbanization in the countries of Asia and Africa. "By urban planning," Prof. Hoselitz writes, "some of the effects of social disorganization which occur inevitably in the urbanization process can be mitigated." It is a well-known fact that there is very little urban planning in the under-developed countries. Prof. Hoselitz also has referred to that. His analysis should help people concerned to give some more thoughts to the implications of urbanization in India and other under-developed countries. Such attention at the proper moment is vital, because whatever may happen, urbanization would invariably progress at an accurate pace.

Apartheid and the Western World

The Government of the Union of South Africa introduced a Bill in March 1957, providing for segregation for non-white students in the South African Universities. The Bill, which would soon be made law, envisaged the exclusion of the non-white students from most of the existing universities. World public opinion was naturally shocked by this blatant act of racialism on the part of a government against the majority of the people it governed and protests were raised from many quarters. The Com-

mittee on science and freedom of the Congress for cultural freedom, an institution which so long had remained constant with a program for anti-Communism at any cost and which of recent had shown some awareness of other equally, if not more, important issues, made a very commendable effort to focus world attention on this vital issue inasmuch as the South African Government's action threatened one of the fundamental human rights to academic freedom. It convened a meeting of distinguished university professors and academicians from Great Britain and other countries to criticise the South African Government's policy. The meeting, which was attended by one of the leading white professors from South Africa who upheld the Government's policy, passed a resolution which stated *inter alia* that "The South African Government's proposals to exclude non-white students from the 'open' universities and to subordinate higher education for non-whites to a system of repressive control, are a flagrant denial of human brotherhood and strike at the roots of genuine university education.

"This policy which deprives the South African universities of the right to admit persons whom they deem to be worthy, menaces their independence and their standing as members of the world community of learning."

The resolution further called upon the South African Government to abstain from giving effect to its policy.

The London meeting against university segregation in South Africa would no doubt go some way in impressing the public opinion in some of the Western countries that freedom in the countries of the "free" West did not go very far for a substantial section of the people and that opposition to some of the governments of "democracies" was by no means invariably part of a "Communist threat".

The governments of the Western "democracies" must share a great degree of responsibility for the misdeeds of the South African Government, the latest of whose acts of lawlessness was the banning of the African National Congress. Rev. Michael Scott, that indefatigable fighter for the cause of African freedom, made this aspect of the problem clear in his speech before the meeting. Referring to South Africa's callous disregard of the resolu-

tions passed during the last ten years by overwhelming majorities in the United Nations against South Africa's practical application of its own peculiar doctrine of apartheid against its treatment of its African majority and Indian minority, and against its attempts to appropriate the mandated territory of South-West Africa, Rev. Scott said:

"South Africa has withdrawn from all these debates during the past ten years, and after her first attempts, has declined to answer the criticism and the changes that have been made in the United Nations. . . . In the United Nations, South Africa's position has always been defended on purely procedural grounds. . . . it has been defended as a rule by Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Australia. These are the countries whose representatives voted against the resolution, passed . . . by almost sixty votes, on the grounds that discussion of the matter was incompatible with Article 4, paragraph 7 of the Charter. The fact cannot be concealed that most of the other countries, known very often as Christian nations, have abstained from voting on this question in the United Nations; partly because they feel frustrated at every turn in the attempts which have been made to conciliate South Africa or to find some other positive approach to the problem than criticism and condemnation—but they have abstained. Throughout the years this has gradually resolved itself into a debate led by the Asian and African peoples, supported by the Islamic States and by the Communist countries, this record is there for anyone to examine."

World Peace and Status Quo

Concepts of peace differ from country to country and from men to men. A mechanical peace may be achieved if *status quo* is not disturbed. This may, however, be farthest from real peace. Not, however, all disturbances of the *status quo* are productive of peace, nor the preservation of the *status quo* is a guarantee to peace.

It is not unnatural however to find a government bent upon one particular policy to emphasize only the one or the other aspect of this dynamic process of peace. It is not again surprising that the Soviet government from their

narrow politico-military consideration now find it very convenient to stress the *static aspect of peace*. An example of this type of propaganda is given by the article "Peace and the *Status Quo*" by M. Baturin in the latest issue of the *International Affairs*, published monthly from Moscow. According to this Soviet writer, world peace would be assured only if the principle of co-existence between the socialist and capitalist countries on the basis of *status quo* is accepted in practice. While he makes a reference to the struggle for national independence of the dependent peoples he does not explain how with the acceptance of the *status quo* of the colonial system, the people under subjection can gain independence or how there can be world peace. It is certainly not less violent than an international war when French troops mercilessly kill thousands of Algerians. The truth is that no one principle is enough for the present international situation where countries are in different stages of evolution. *Status quo* may be beneficial to the Soviet Union, it certainly is not for the Algerians. It is time that people took greater care before they came out with 'theories' of international relations. It is again time to make it clear that Soviet foreign policies were not always the correct policies even from narrower points of view.

Moscow Changes

In the sixth major shake-up during the quinquennium after the death of Stalin, Nikita Sergievitch Khrushchev became Prime Minister of the USSR on March 27. It all happened in the usual Soviet ways with one small difference that Bulganin had so far not to make any self-condemning statement. Otherwise everything was usual: there was "complete unanimity" among the deputies. When the Supreme Soviet of the USSR reconvened after the recent general elections Marshal Klementi Voroshilov was re-elected President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. After his re-election the 77-old President Voroshilov proposed Mr. Khrushchev as the new Premier. Mr. Khrushchev's announced cabinet did not differ in any significant respect from the previous one. Mr. Bulganin retained a junior post in the Ministry as Chairman of the Gosbank. It was not possible for anyone to say whether this

foreshadowed further changes in the Soviet leadership, though chances are in favour of such an assumption. There was however little likelihood of any great change in Soviet foreign policy by this ministerial change insofar as Mr. Khrushchev had all along been in firm control of the policy-making machinery during the recent past.

Story Behind Zhukov's Dismissal

Mr. Louis Fischer, the noted American journalist, has, in an article in the *New Leader*, given an interesting suggestion of the possible reasons behind the sudden rise and fall of Marshal Georgy Zhukov, the wartime Soviet hero. Zhukov had suffered much in the hands of envious Stalin. Therefore, Khrushchev made Zhukov, the most popular Soviet Marshal, a great support for his struggle against the old guard commanded by Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovitch. It was, therefore, through the influence of the party bureaucrat Nikita Khrushchev that Zhukov rose to prominence and position. During 1956, Khrushchev had been defeated in his efforts to bring the economic machinery under his control. He, however, obtained a victory in February 1957, when he succeeded in getting the approval of the Central Committee to his proposals for industrial decentralization. This initial advantage he pressed further and he got the old guard dispersed in June, 1957. However, in this struggle against Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovitch, Khrushchev found himself in a minority both at the Presidium and in the Central Committee of the CPSU. It was only through Zhukov's open support that Khrushchev came out victorious. How did all that happen?

Mr. Fischer writes: "Zhukov did not deal with the issues. He reached back into the Kremlin's bloody history and brought forth some damning evidence against the leaders of the anti-Khrushchev faction. First he displayed a letter from Leo Kamenev, one of the triumvirate with which Stalin had ruled Soviet Russia in the years after Lenin's death in 1924. The letter, Zhukov explained, was written from prison in 1936, in Kamenev's blood, complaining to Stalin that he was being tortured. On this grim document was a laconic marginal order—'More torture'. The order, Zhukov said, was, Molotov's.

"Next Zhukov declared that he had been studying the files of secret police chief Lavrenti Beria, who had been shot after Stalin's death; the files proved collusion by Malenkov in some of Beria's bloodiest crimes. Zhukov's listeners now know that he had the archives of the secret police. They also knew that the same police files contained similar damaging data against Khrushchev. But the fact that the Marshal did not mention them meant that he was backing Khrushchev, and this turned the tide." Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovitch and others were defeated.

From that moment Zhukov's star began to rise further, he was made a full member of the Presidium. Zhukov began to exercise at least equal authority with Khrushchev. This settled the issue and it was clear that either one or the other must go. Zhukov made the fatal error of going out of the Soviet Union when Khrushchev got time to conspire Zhukov out of power. A strict censorship effectively prevented any news reaching Zhukov until after his demotion had become a reality.

This information, Mr. Fischer says, was gathered in Poland from the Polish Communists. There is no reason to disbelieve Mr. Fischer or the veracity of Polish Communists. Khrushchev's latest act in getting himself the Premiership, in addition to the party secretaryship, clearly confirmed his very great personal ambitions. Given that, the process is bound to be the same with variation of minor details.

Soviet Decision on Nuclear Tests

One of the boldest and most spectacular statements as yet made by any Government came on March 31 when the newly-reconstituted Soviet Government headed by M. Nikito Sergievitch Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Government had decided to suspend tests of nuclear weapons unilaterally, irrespective of whether the Western Powers would do so or not. The announcement was expected for several days and was made by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, in his speech before the new session of the Supreme Soviet. The West was apparently taken aback by this Russian move, though it was not at all unexpected. Efforts would no doubt be made to belittle the

value of this new Soviet step, but the revolutionary significance of this bold step could by no means be lost upon the greater majority of the Governments and peoples of the world. The Soviet Government deserve the congratulations and thanks of all. It was now the duty of other governments to prove their *bonafides* to the world. Would they still hesitate?

Israel After a Decade

The State of Israel came into existence in 1948. Situated in a hostile environment it has made striking progress during this past decade. There were, however, a number of factors especially favouring the development of the new state. We refer to some of them below on the basis of the budget speech of Mr. Levi Eshkol, the Israeli Minister of Finance.

Israel now has nearly two million people—more than half of whom came to the state after 1948. At its inception the state had only 800,000 inhabitants. During the decade 900,000 people came as immigrants 29 per cent from Asia, 25 per cent from Africa, 44 per cent from Europe and about 1 per cent from America. Such heavy immigration must have meant a great headache to any other government. The fact that Israel had no difficulty in absorbing these immigrants in addition to its own natural increases in the labour power is explained by the fact that the immigrants did not come as refugees as we understand it in India but they brought with them much capital and technical knowledge. According to Mr. Eshkol, upto March 1957 the capital that had been brought to Israel amounted to 2,550 million dollars. "After deducting the sums expended on defence and reserve stocks, and the value of immigrants' personal effects, the net capital available for investment was between 1500 and 1,759 million dollars," he said.

Moreover, the Government of Israel also had the benefit of governmental help from other countries. Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Minister of Commerce and Industry, explains.

"The Reparations Agreement between Israel and West Germany, signed in Luxembourg in 1952, provides for German deliveries to Israel to a total value of DM3,500 million at an annual rate of DM250 million. Thus, Israel has been able to buy from West Germany much of the

equipment needed for her many new industries, as well as rolling stock for her railways, trucks for her roads, and scores of vessels which will increase the Israel merchant marine from a few thousand tons in 1948 to 600,000 tons by 1963.

"American grants-in-aid have also played an important part in financing the building up of industry, as have the contributions of Jewry abroad. Sales of Israel Government bonds have brought in \$325 million in the past seven years, while private investors brought in tens of millions of dollars.

"The Israel Government in its turn has facilitated this development by granting long-term loans to new enterprises, particularly in the 'Development Areas'—thinly populated parts of the country to which it wishes to attract new enterprises."

"The gross investment during the past decade amounted to 5,000 million Israeli pounds based on 1956 prices. An analysis of investments from 1950 to 1956 shows that one-third of the capital was invested in housing the newcomers, over one-fifth in agricultural development, about one-fifth in industry, and the balance in transportation and essential services," the Finance Minister Mr. Eshkol said.

This has naturally led to an increase in the volume of national production—agricultural and industrial. The gross agricultural production increased 3½ times and industrial production also more than trebled. The average productivity of the workers has risen by about five per cent annually.

What are the prospects for the next decade, Mr. Eshkol said.

"During the second decade, we must strive to reach the following three objectives :

(a) Continued ingathering of the exiles and the integration and absorption of all immigrants, those already in the country and those yet to come.

(b) Settlement of land, reclamation of arid areas—there are still many—and maximum exploitation of natural resources.

(c) Economic independence, *i.e.*, an attempt to bridge the gap between exports and imports and to achieve an acceptable standard of living in keeping with our abilities.

The basic conditions for success are :

Higher production and labour output, to be attained by the more efficient exploitation of manpower and natural resources. We must enlarge the number of wage-earners in industry, agriculture, and other productive occupations and reduce the number of persons who are employed in services and on relief works.

Lower cost of production to enable us to compete in world markets.

Increased national savings, in order that an ever larger part of the national product can be exported and the proceeds devoted to investment."

Workers and Management

Workers' participation in management is one of the current topics in this country. It is undoubtedly a vital, but complicated, matter. The report of the study group appointed by the Government of India, while it has thrown some light on the subject, has been substantially defective as it failed to cover the Communist and American countries and Israel. One interesting aspect in the last-named country is that the Histadrut (the General Confederation of Labour) itself runs several national undertakings. Even here also they have to face the question of management-worker relations and the matter of workers' participation in industry. In this connection the report, which appeared in the *Israel Weekly Digest*, Jerusalem, March 13, 1958, appended below, will be of some interest:

"The Executive Council of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labour, last week approved its 1958-59 budget of IL20,286,000 by a majority, after a three-day debate which covered most of the current activities of the Federation.

"In his keynote speech, Mr. Pinhas Lavon, Secretary-General of the Histadrut, stressed the Federation's importance to the country both as a stabilizing factor and a major element in its economic development. He pointed out that Histadrut, State and publicly-owned undertakings and services comprised 60 per cent of the country's economy. To continue its original pioneering tasks in the development of the country, it would have to co-ordinate its varied operations and bodies and increase their efficiency.

"The main bodies mentioned for an overall review of their activities by central Histadrut

bodies were Solel Boneh, the contracting and industrial corporation, the various Histadrut marketing organizations such as Tnuva, Hamashbir Hamercazi, the co-operatives, and the Federation's overseas financial organizations.

"The Histadrut Secretary-General stressed the renewed importance of Hevrat Ovdim, the governing body of Histadrut economic enterprises, as the central body determining overall policy for its many subsidiaries. Day to day running policy, however, would remain in the hands of the managers, he said.

"In this context he also declared that the basic structure of Histadrut industry would be revolutionized with the introduction and expansion of worker participation in management.

"Touching on the Histadrut's relations with the Government, he criticised the Government's manipulations of the cost-of-living index and warned that these actions had an undesirable psychological effect on the country's workers. Nevertheless, he warned those that advocated the abolition of the index as a wage regulator that such a step might lead to a concerted fight for higher pay throughout the economy.

"The income side of the budget includes IL11,932,000 in membership fees, IL1,961,000 in levies from Histadrut institutions and enterprises, and IL2,600,000 from Histadrut appeals abroad. Under expenditure are included IL7,550,000 for local Labour Councils, IL2,311,700 for culture and education and an increased allocation of IL1,155,500 for youth and sports organizations.

"The Executive decided to cut down on organizational costs and to streamline national and local administration. No new officials are to be hired: pensionable officials will be compelled to retire, and an efficiency committee will investigate local Labour Councils with a view to reducing personnel by 10 per cent.

"Mr. R. Barkatt, head of the Political Department, announced in his report that the Histadrut has decided to set up a liaison bureau in Asia. He also proposed the establishment of an agency to co-ordinate the Histadrut's technical and economic aid abroad.

"He told of the growing place of honour which the Histadrut had acquired in the councils of the free labour movement, and recalled the support extended by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. during this country's 'darkest hours,'

as well as by the labour movements of Scandinavia and South America.

"In his summing up speech, Mr. Lavon reiterated the Histadrut's opposition to arbitrary dismissals, but said it was prepared to accept the need for dropping redundant workers owing to technical advances. The Secretary-General expressed optimism on the prospects of reaching agreement with professional workers. He hoped that the forthcoming establishment of the National Federation of Professional Workers would create a representative body of employed professionals who would not only be prepared to make claims but also to shoulder their part of the national burden."

An African "Colombo Plan"

The *Economic Weekly*, Bombay, writes:

"A Foundation has been set up for mutual assistance in Africa, South of Sahara, for supply of technical aid on the model of the Colombo Plan. Technical aid will be channelled through this foundation to Ethiopia, the Sudan, Somalia, and the Spanish territories of the region as also to territories of States which are members of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa, South of Sahara.

"The omission of Egypt from the list of countries will be noted but should cause no surprise. The member Governments of the Commission for Technical Co-operation are Belgium, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, France, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom. In a press release on the subject it is mentioned that all the other Governments and territories concerned were also invited to send observers to the Accra meeting, at which the foundation was inaugurated, but apparently many of these Governments have not yet joined. Equally familiar, and on the lines of the Colombo Plan again, American interest in the scheme of technical aid was evinced by the presence of a United States observer. The U.S. Government, which operates aid programmes of its own in South of Sahara, as elsewhere, has not however made any commitments with the new foundation.

"Technical assistance under the Foundation will take the usual form of supply of experts, advisers and instructors to countries in the region, the training of personnel from the

region, and the supply of equipment for purposes of training. It will be arranged bilaterally between the governments concerned, following the practice of the Colombo Plan. The small secretariat of the Foundation will act as a clearing-house for requests for, and offers of, assistance."

Those who care to keep themselves informed about the developments in the Middle East would not be surprised by this development. Indeed, speculations have been rife for over a year now about some impending policy formulations whereby the Western Powers could be in a position to influence developments in the newly independent African countries. We have had occasion to refer to these manoeuvres of the Western Powers in these columns more than once. It is significant that all the members of this new plan are, with the exception of Ghana and Liberia, colonial governments having vast colonial stakes in Africa. The fact that no other independent government thought it worthwhile even to attend the preliminary conference is an eloquent testimony of the basically anti-African objectives of the framers of this new "plan".

Weather and Opinion

How the realities of the situation exert an influence even upon the greatest minds is provided by Bertrand Russell's latest views on communism. Just after the Second World War when the West was secure in the belief of its superiority over the USSR through the exclusive possession of the Atom Bomb, the prevalent mood was one of "containing communism" and Bertrand Russell in his anti-communism went so far as to say that he would prefer the world to be destroyed by atom bombs than it to be ruled by communists. The Russian success in producing the atom bomb and the inter-continental ballistic missile and sputnik, which spelled complete ruin of Great Britain and other West European countries in the event of a war, apparently has caused much re-thinking in a section of Western thinkers. An index of the extent of the results of such re-thinking is given by the following report by *Reuter*:

"London, March 25.—Earl Russell (Bertrand Russell, the Philosopher) last night, described as 'absolutely insane fanaticism' the belief that destruction by nuclear bombs was preferable to submission to a hostile power.

"He was speaking in a filmed interview on independent (Commercial) Television.

"The 86-year-old Nobel Prize winner declared: 'There have been bad conquerors in the past—take for instance the Mongols, who were cruel and abominable beyond all measure in the time of Genghis Khan.

"In the time of his Grandson, Kubla Khan, Emperor of China, they were most civilised.

"Earl Russell added: 'Now, if the Communists conquered the world, it would be very unpleasant for a while, but not for ever.

"But if the human race is wiped out that is the end.'

"He said he would like the Government to announce that it would have nothing further to do with the manufacture of H Bombs, and that it would not have Rocket sites stationed in this country.

"If that entails our no longer being a member of NATO I should accept that consequence'.

"The Labour opposition ought to take advantage of the very strong anti-H-Bomb feeling in the country and lead that feeling'.

"Replying to questions, Earl Russell said he thought the greatest man of his own time was Lenin and added, 'I do not by any means altogether admire his influence, but I think the difference that he made to the course of history was very great indeed'."

Recession

The latest reports in the world markets indicate that a depression is coming. In the United States, they have substituted the ominous word "Depression" by a less harsh one "Recession." The symptoms of the coming ailment are thus given by the *New York Times*:

The fundamental questions about the recession in the U.S. are: How long will it last? What should be done to reverse it?

With regard to the first question, there were conflicting signs last week, and no one was making firm forecasts. With regard to the second, a variety of answers were advanced in the Administration and in Congress, and they reflected differing views on the urgency of the situation. There was continued—and inconclusive—talk of tax cuts as a direct stimulant to the economy.

These were the developments on the course of the economy and on the debate over remedies.

The week's principal indicators were these:

Unemployment: Government economists predicted that the figure for unemployment in March, scheduled for release early next month, will show a rise of 200,000 over February's 5.2 million, which set a sixteen-year record. The pick-up hoped for in March thus apparently has not developed. However, the expected increase in unemployment between February and March represents a decline from the increase of nearly 600,000 between January and February. Also, a drop in initial unemployment compensation claims in the week ended March 15 indicated a decline in new lay-offs.

Production: The Federal Reserve Board reported that February industrial production again dropped three points, the same as in January. Based on the 1947-49 average of 100, the February index stood at 120, compared with 147 in December, 1956, and 144 last July. This means a 9.7 per cent drop since July, compared with seven-month declines of 8 to 9 per cent in the 1953-54 and 1948-49 recessions. The sector hardest hit was durable-goods production.

Steel. The American Iron and Steel Institute reported a slight increase in production as of the week before last. Output of ingots and steel for castings reached 1,463,000 net tons—54.2 per cent of capacity—compared with 1,425,000 tons, or 52.8 per cent of capacity, the week before. A month previously furnaces were operating at 50.9 per cent.

Consumer Prices: The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on Friday that in February the cost-of-living index set a record for the sixteenth time in the last eighteen months: It rose two-tenths of 1 per cent over January, reaching 122.5 per cent of the 1947-49 average. This was 3.2 per cent more than in the comparable period last year. Soaring food costs were principally to blame. B.L.S. Commissioner Ewan Clague said farm prices have strengthened since an agricultural downturn of two years ago, thus jacking up food prices. The reason, costs generally have continued upward despite a recession, he said, is that most consumer items do not respond quickly to general conditions.

How are the professional observers view-

ing the economic situation at this point? The optimists are still counting on a spring upturn in such areas as auto sales, house buying and other spending associated with the season. They feel that this year will be no exception, principally because of the economy's built-in cushions, such as unemployment compensation, other social security benefits, and farm-price supports, all of which have helped to sustain purchasing power.

On the other hand, others discount these arguments for optimism and point to the behavior of a key economic barometer—the decline in investments in new plants and equipment. This is linked with the drop in durable goods production and the rise in unemployment. Confidence in the economy, they say, will be shown only when outlays for expansion are on the rise again.

The difference between Administration and Democratic approaches to the recession was underscored last week in these two statements:

By President Eisenhower at a conference of Republican women in Washington: "This Administration is not going to be panicked by alarmists into activities that could actually make . . . hardships not temporary but chronic."

By Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in a statement in reply: "Members of both parties in the Senate . . . are equally determined to prevent panic—especially panic of the kind that came in 1929."

The President's remarks were in line with the Administration's belief that any drastic action should await further study of how far the downward trend is likely to go. The Administration has been counting on such economic valves as acceleration of already approved Federal spending. It is emphasizing that foreign-aid funds, spent largely in the U. S., also would help swell upward prices. And it is counting on the Government's control of credit. Thus last week the Federal Reserve Board announced reductions of member banks' reserve requirements by one-half of 1 per cent, as it had done last February 19, thereby increasing purchasing power. Beyond such measures, Vice President Nixon said yesterday, the Administration "can't make

any final judgment until the figures for March are all in."

On the other hand the Democrats say the Administration has not acted with sufficient urgency, and express concern that what has been done is not enough. In line with this, Congressional party leaders have been preparing a variety of anti-recession measures, mostly involving Federal spending.

The Rajasthan Canal

Another ballyhoo has been started by a spadeful of earth. We append the report below. But what we would like to know is how much in the terms of actual benefit to the common man, has accrued to the nation, in exchange for the gigantic sums spent in erecting dams and excavating canals? In terms of food we have scarcity, in the terms of net income, after purchase of essentials, we have got penury.

New Delhi, March 29.—Excavations for the 426-mile Rajasthan canal, claimed as the biggest-ever project of its kind in the world, will begin tomorrow. The work will be inaugurated by the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, at Talwara in western Rajasthan.

The project, which is phased in two stages, is estimated to cost over Rs. 66 crores and is expected to be completed in 10 years.

The canal, which will be fed by the Sutlej and the Beas, is one of the major steps to reclaim a vast area of arid land in Rajasthan bordering Pakistan.

In terms of actual benefits, the canal would release new land for nearly 200,000 families; there would be an additional yield of food and fodder worth Rs. 75 crores annually and 3.5 million acres of land would be irrigated—more than half of what had been achieved in the country through major irrigation works during the First Plan.

Preliminary work on the canal, which would mainly serve the Bikaner and Jodhpur divisions, has already been completed by the Central and Rajasthan Governments, and both have agreed, in principle, to set up a committee of directors and a joint board for completion of the project.

The canal on completion will take off from the Harike barrage on the Sutlej in

Punjab just below its confluence with the Beas. The barrage had been completed in 1950-52. The head regulator of the proposed canal has also been built with the barrage.

For the first 110 miles the canal would flow through Punjab and then run close to the Punjab-Rajasthan border tailing off near Ramgarh in Rajasthan.

It is expected to have a capacity of 18,500 cusecs and on completion will have 500 miles of branches—all of them lined with cement or bricks to prevent wastage. The branches in turn would split into irrigation and water courses, creating a network of 25,000 miles.

The main canal would be made navigable to extend the benefit of cheap transport to the people of the two divisions, who now have no roads and no other means of transport than camels.

The Suratgarh branch of the canal would provide for the construction of two power-houses with a capacity of 4,000 kw.—P.T.I.

Siddhartha Ray's Charges

As it is impossible to put on record the entire text of Sri Siddhartha Sankar Ray's statement, we append below the following extracts, taken from the *Statesman*, from his statement. These give all that is substantial in the report:

The West Bengal Assembly and its overcrowded galleries on Monday heard Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Ray accuse the Government of having failed during the period he was a member of the State Cabinet to take "any appreciable step which could be construed as a serious endeavour" to attain the professed objectives of the Congress and its administration.

"Indeed, during the period of my membership of the Congress and of the administration I clearly saw that we were helping in building up a morally corrupt and a physically weak nation—a nation helplessly looking forward to an uncertain and bleak future and silently bearing every possible hardship and distress."

"Mr. Ray, who spoke from a prepared script for over three hours, dwelt on the activities of several departments but his fire was directed principally against the administration of the Food, Refugee Rehabilitation, and Relief De-

partments. He characterized the food policy of Mr. P. C. Sen as 'diabolical' and openly charged him with having violated Central directives with regard to controls on movement and price of food. Mr. Ray even alleged that Mr. Sen had tried to keep the Chief Minister in the dark about the Centre's directives.

"Mr. Ray pointed out that at his suggestion the Cabinet had appointed a sub-committee to remove corruption in the administration. Explaining at some length how the sub-committee failed to do anything, he said: 'In retrospect, today I feel that it would have been better if a sub-committee of this type had not included the Food Minister and the Police Minister.'

"It was not possible to make headway with removing corruption as the administration was 'backed by a political party whose hierarchy was not interested in the eradication of corruption from our national life. The system wanted corruption to continue as otherwise certain vested interests will be adversely affected and greatly jeopardized.'

"Mr. Ray then subjected the State Congress leadership to a vitriolic attack. He said: 'The party leadership is now in the hands of such mediocrities and reactionaries as to make it impossible either to attain true Socialism or really to root out the corruption that is seeping into our national life every day, and when these mediocrities and reactionaries have personal interests to serve as well one can well imagine the corruption, confusion and chaos that are bound to prevail.

"If we were really to work honestly as members of the Anti-Corruption Sub-committee we were bound to lay our hands on certain very important vested interests. Indeed, we were bound to come into conflict with those people who, in truth, control the West Bengal Congress today—an unscrupulous section of rich industrialists, traders and business men, the privileged class of modern India. This class, in effect, runs the Congress through their stooges and agents and the word of this class is law.'

"Referring to Mr. Sen's food policy, the former Judicial Minister said: 'I do not think that after the Bengal famine any Minister in charge of the food portfolio in this State has laid down such an irresponsible, dangerous and devasta-

ting policy. At times I thought that he did not know his own mind but later I was convinced that his mind was dictated by others having various vested interests to serve.'

"Mr. Ray alleged that after the promulgation of the order under the Essential Commodities Act permits had been issued in a manner which justifiably raised suspicion. 'These permits had not been issued openly, fairly and by taking other Ministers, far less the public, into confidence. These have been distributed, at least definitely in some cases, to certain persons either in their own names or in the names of their *benamidars*—persons who are often seen to congregate either at the Food Minister's office or at his residence or at Congress Bhavan in Chowringhee.'

"Mr. Ray accused Mr. Sen of having orally advised the District Magistrates of the districts where the control order was imposed 'not only not to prosecute the offenders but also not to strictly enforce the price control order.' This was illegal and unconstitutional. 'What makes me completely to sever my connexion with this Government is the fact that knowingly and deliberately it has allowed and is allowing a state of affairs to develop, which will inevitably result in wide-spread breaking of laws promulgated for our good.

"It was absolutely clear that this food policy is morally unsound, economically fraught with grave dangers, constitutionally improper and psychologically disastrous'."

"Mr. Ray said that patronage to be distributed was in the hands of two Ministers—Mr. P. C. Sen and Mr. Kalipada Mukherjee. He asked the Chief Minister to hold an inquiry by an independent tribunal and let the people know who were the people who had been favoured with licences for cement, textiles and ration shops.

"Mr. Ray wondered why the textile directorate had been tagged to the Food Minister's portfolio when there was a Minister for Industries and Commerce.

"From the political prisoners' fund to test relief operations in districts everything was controlled by these two Ministers—Mr. Sen and Mr. Mukherjee'. During his tour of the dis-

tricts Mr. Ray had heard complaints from people and even Congress workers only against these two Ministers."

"I joined the Congress and the administration taking it for granted and fully relying on the numerous assertions made from time to time by our leaders that they had the firmest faith in Socialism and were determined to bring about a classless society and a truly Socialistic State.

"I am not saying that since the ideal has not been accomplished in the course of the last 10 years I leave the Government and the Party. I make no such rash and insensible accusation but the inefutable conclusion to which I came was that far from in any way aiding Bengal and Bengalis to prosper and advance, the administration and the party were fast leading Bengal to destruction and Bengalis to ruination.

"I had not aligned myself with any group or section within the Congress and had throughout tried to take the most impartial and unbiased attitude in every matter, coming either before the party or the administration. It is only because that I definitely feel on matters of principle that this party and this Government cannot grant deliverance to our State that I stand aside today."

Correction

There was a slip in the second paragraph of our editorial note under the caption, "The Fiddle and the Fire," in the March issue of *The Modern Review*. We thank the readers and well-wishers who have written to us pointing out the mistake. The true news-item is reproduced below:

"New Delhi, February 27: The Lok Sabha burst into laughter as an Opposition member today punned on the Railway Minister's name.

"Complaining of insecurity of life due to increasing number of accidents on the railways, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Jan Sangh) said that things were so bad that when one bought a railway ticket, there was every chance that one would have to bid farewell to "jag" (world) and "jivan" (life). Under such conditions one ultimately travelled with "Ram" on his lips."

"The Railway Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, smiled."

INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR, 1957-58

BY PROF. A. C. BANERJI

WHAT do we mean by the International Geophysical Year (I.G.Y.) and how has this idea come into being? These are the two questions which naturally come to one's mind. Let us therefore trace how this concept of I.G.Y. has gradually developed. In 1874, it occurred to German explorer Weyprecht on his return from Polar expedition that separate and unconnected expeditions of this kind could only advance the boundaries of knowledge to a limited extent. He urged that the nations of the world should jointly participate in the exploration of the Arctic regions at least for a year, and establish observation posts on a co-operative basis for this purpose. He prepared his scheme with details for the exploration of Polar areas.

Three International Polar Conferences examined Weyprecht's plan thoroughly in 1879, 1880 and 1881, and approved of the same in main details. It was decided that the International Polar Year would extend over thirteen months beginning from August, 1, 1882 and ending on August 31, 1883. The details of investigation were also chalked out. Twelve countries co-operated in this International Programme. But the results which were evaluated were confined more or less to their respective domains.

A Second International Polar Year was arranged just after half a century in 1932-33 on the suggestion of Dr. Georgi of Hamburg. The efforts of the First Polar Year were repeated on a more magnified scale after fifty years. Much had been done since the First Polar Year. Both Poles had been reached, and cosmic rays had been discovered. Attempts were now made to unfathom the mysteries of the Antarctic more systematically. Arrangements for extensive investigations into meteorology, geomagnetism, aurora, ionosphere, radio-communications etc., were made. Forty-nine countries participated in the programme of the Second International Polar Year. Many important results were achieved during the Second Polar Year by the joint efforts of scientists, but still the evaluation of results lacked co-ordination. Perhaps the main reason for this shortcoming was that vast advances were made in experimental science but

the theoretical Physicists could not formulate their theories quick enough to cope successfully with the vast increase of new facts that were being discovered very fast.

More than two decades have already elapsed now since the Second Polar Year. Very rapid progress in science in every direction during recent years has brought about new techniques of investigation and new spheres of research. Consequently many new questions have been raised and many new problems have to be solved. Another over-all effort on a gigantic International scale has become necessary to pool all the resources of science for probing into the mysteries of the physical structure of the earth and its environments.

At first it was proposed to hold a Third International Polar Year in 1957-58 after twenty-five years instead of fifty years since the Second Polar Year. Luckily the year 1957-58 happens to coincide with the next peak of the eleven-year cycle of Solar activity. Hence all the phenomena connected with Sun spots and solar activity will be greatly enhanced, and consequently it will be possible to study them with greater precision during this period. Thus the idea first arose in the mind of Professor Sydney Chapman of Oxford, who was also my old teacher, in 1950 that the investigations for the forthcoming International Year should not be confined to the Polar regions only, but that the measurements should also be carried out in the equatorial belt and in intermediate latitudes. Moreover all the geophysical phenomena connected with the earth and its atmosphere should be explored comprehensively. Prof. Chapman also consulted Dr. Lyod Berkner, President of The Associated Universities (America), in this connection and they agreed that the name "International Polar Year" be dropped and that the name "International Geophysical Year," which was to be arranged in 1957-58, be substituted. Their suggestion was enthusiastically approved by the International Council of Scientific Unions in 1952. This Council officially constituted a special committee for the International Geophysical Year, viz., "Comite special de l'Annee Geophysique Internationale." It speedily set up a planning

committee under the Chairmanship of Professor Chapman. He prepared a plan in detail which was thoroughly examined by several scientific bodies and substantially approved.

The International Geophysical Year which began on July 1, 1957, would cover a period of 18 months ending on December 31, 1958. More than 5000 scientists from 56 countries have now agreed to co-operate in a colossal international effort for studying exhaustively all geophysical phenomena connected with the earth and the environments. Mother Earth still holds many secrets in her bosom from the North Pole to the South Pole, from the East to the West, and from the depths of the ocean to the heights of upper atmosphere.

Eleven working groups have been formed to undertake investigations during the Geophysical Year, *viz.*, World Days, Meteorology, Geomagnetism, Aurora and Airglow, Ionosphere, Solar Activity, Cosmic Rays, Longitude and Latitude, Glaciology, Oceanography, and Publications.

In addition, work on two other groups has also started, *viz.*, Seismology and Gravity measurements, and Rockets and Satellites.

OBSERVATIONAL REGIONS

For observation special emphasis has been given to the Arctic and Antarctic regions where many important and interesting phenomena are expected to be observed. Numerous observational posts have been arranged within the equatorial belt. In the past the number of observational spots in that belt were very few. A few meridians have also been specially selected, along which there would be dense sets of observational posts. Three such meridians extending from pole to pole have been specially selected. These meridians are $+80^{\circ}\text{W}$ (a line going through Hudson Bay and Canada, along the Eastern U.S. Coast, and the West Coast of Latin America), $+10^{\circ}$ (a line covering part of Scandinavia, Middle Europe, Africa and part of the Atlantic ocean), and $+140^{\circ}\text{E}$ (a line going through Alaska and the Pacific Ocean). Oceanic stations have been established at various places for exploring the oceans. Upper atmosphere will be investigated by means of rockets and artificial satellites.

WORLD DAYS

Continuously throughout the Geophysical Year, all interesting data that may be collected

will be recorded and all geophysical facts that may be available will be recorded. Moreover there are certain selected days during which extensive investigation is specially planned. These days are called "Regular World days." In addition to these "World days," "Special World Intervals" are also contemplated. An "Alert" is to be given when there is reasonable expectation of unusual magnetic, ionospheric or auroral activities, or meteor showers or if the rockets are to be launched. "The Alert" has been defined as "a call to readiness to all those wishing to undertake special observations during a special world interval." It would be desirable, if possible, to transmit "Alerts" four or five days before a "Special World Interval" is arranged. The Radio Warning Service in Virginia, U.S.A., will be specially responsible for announcing "Special World Intervals."

ANTARCTICA

Antarctica is a strange land most of which is still unexplored. It is an enormous continent and covers more than 13 million square kilometres. Its extent is as much as Europe and Australia taken together. It has got an average height of 2000 metres, and some heights are over 6000 metres. In the Antarctic programme special attention would be given to the study of Aurora Australis—"Southern lights," as till now no complete series of observations are available with regard to its appearance, frequency, and other peculiarities.

It would be necessary to know how much ice and snow exist in the Antarctic. A rough estimate of their total quantity can be made by careful measurements at many different places. When we are able to get this information we shall be in a position to draw conclusions as to the meteorological and climatological influences of these ice and snow masses. There is also an important programme for investigation of the ionosphere over the South Polar regions during long winter months when the Sun is absent. It is believed that the radiation from the Sun is the principal agent which breaks up the atoms of the air in the ionosphere with the result that the reflection of radio waves become possible. Hence it is difficult to account for the continued existence of ionised layers over polar regions under these conditions. The scientists are naturally awaiting anxiously to get an opportunity of studying the composition and

special features of the ionosphere in this unique situation. New valuable information which they hope to get in this matter may substantially modify the existing scientific theories about the existence of the ionosphere.

It is also necessary to study a few special problems relating to Antarctica. These are, *viz.*, the influence of the atmospheric processes in the Antarctic regions on the general circulation of air round the world; the basic laws governing the movement of the Antarctic waters and their connection with the circulation of the waters of the world's oceans; the geological structure and development of the Antarctic ocean bed, the ice of the Antarctic waters, the biology and history of the Antarctic and the mapping of the Antarctic.

A few decades ago, expeditions to the Arctic and the Antarctic were the most hazardous adventures which cost the lives of a number of explorers. Now modern technology has completely altered the picture. Modern machines have been able to overcome the resistance of Nature. Huge ice-breakers, electric snow-ploughs and aeroplanes are being extensively used to discover the secrets of Antarctica. The south pole can easily be reached within a few hours by means of a plane from the coast of Antarctic continent. At the south pole which is the very heart of Antarctica two permanent bases for investigation have been erected—one by the Americans, and the other by the Russians.

In these days of international tension people are also thinking of the strategic importance of Antarctica. Sir Raymond Priestley in his Presidential Address to the British Association at Sheffield in 1956 said: "The strategic value of Antarctica, should world atomic war break out, with the consequent likelihood of the destruction of the Suez and Panama Canals, will stem from the fact that all inter-continental sea-borne traffic, and much coastal traffic as well, must then proceed *via* the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. Under the circumstances and from this cause alone, concern with Antarctica, as a possible air or submarine base, is bound to be a preoccupation of any great power."

THE ARCTIC

Extensive researches have already been carried out in the Arctic regions in an attempt to facilitate the passage of ships by the Northern Sea Route. In the Arctic Basin Observation

stations have already been located on ice-blocks which are continuously drifting. In the Arctic regions, the scientists are also studying the heat exchange process that is taking place between the earth's crust, the atmosphere and the glaciers. In the Arctic regions problems more or less similar to those in Antarctica are also being investigated.

METEOROLOGY

The mass movement of atmosphere between the tropics and the Polar regions, and the circulation of air around the world would be some of the major studies in this programme. Five meridional chains of stations have been established for this purpose. These stations will be able to throw light on the exchange of heat between the tropics and Polar regions and on the nature of mass movements in the air including such phenomena as "jet streams." The Antarctic is a huge continent sheathed *i.e.*, with ice and snow, and the scientists believe that it has got a major influence on the world's weather.

GEOMAGNETISM

It is believed that the magnetic field of the earth is fairly stable and unchanging. But at the same time it is found that this field undergoes variations which rarely exceeds 2 per cent of the permanent magnetism. Some of these variations are slow and can be measured in years, while other variations are rapid and can be measured in days, hours or minutes. It is known that the permanent field is due to the internal structure of the earth; whereas the very slow variations are produced by some sort of changes in the interior of the earth or in its crust. On the other hand the more rapid variations are occasioned by influences external to the surface of the earth. It is surmised that the latter variations may be due to the disturbances in the upper atmosphere of our earth produced by some bursts of solar activity which may send charged particles of ultraviolet light and X-rays to our atmosphere. The main object of the geomagnetic programme is to find out if strong electric currents are produced by sudden outbursts of solar activities, and if these currents, in their turn, cause rapid magnetic fluctuations of the earth's field or geomagnetic storms.

AURORA AND AIRGLOW

The main auroral programme is to find out

the whole structure of aurora. Accordingly the scientists would like to obtain full information regarding the occurrences, the varying forms, intensities, colours, spectral compositions, luminosity and proper location of aurora. The charged particles from the sun as they approach the earth are deflected by the earth's magnetic field. Hence they travel along the geomagnetic lines of force and enter the atmosphere at high geomagnetic latitudes. These particles then excite the gases in the air. When the atoms of these gases return to their normal and unexcited state, energy is released, and distinctive lights and colours of the aurora are produced. A solar flare may cause variations in auroral displays.

In addition to auroral lights, a weak glow spreads over the whole sky at all times. This is called "Aurora." It is believed that this glow is not caused by particles coming from the sun or the outer space. Airglow perhaps results from chemical reactions in the upper atmosphere. The scientists would like to discover the true cause of airglow and the reason why it varies in intensity in certain places at certain times.

IONOSPHERE

As mentioned before, it is believed that the ultraviolet light from the sun is the main factor which produces the ionosphere. The in-coming radiation from the sun enters the upper atmosphere, knocks out the electrons from the sparse atoms present there, and creates electrically active layers of atmosphere called ionosphere. Geophysicists will have to collect data and explain how geomagnetism, aurora, meteor showers and thunderstorms are directly related to ionospheric disturbances. As already mentioned before, continued existence of ionised layers in the upper atmosphere over polar regions during long winter season when sun is absent, should be properly explained. It is hoped that extensive atmospheric researches in Antarctica will throw light on this question.

SOLAR ACTIVITY

It is well known that unusual solar activity either in kind or in intensity has a strong direct influence on the upper atmosphere, and consequently it has also indirect influence on radio communications, navigational systems and other normal terrestrial activities. Unusual solar phenomena also correlate directly with ionos-

pheric and geomagnetic disturbances, auroral displays and cosmic ray showers. It is hoped that the systematic observations of the sun during the Geophysical Year would help in the proper understanding of the relations between these solar and terrestrial events.

COSMIC RAYS

Researches on Cosmic Rays will be one of the most important investigations relating to the upper atmosphere in the geophysical year. Where they come from and what their precise nature is still remain uncertain. Some astronomers think that they originate in the outbursts of super-nova. Professor Vitaly Guinsberg of Moscow thinks that cosmic rays are produced by the nuclear explosions of the bigger stars. If these are enough for such explosions, they will maintain a constant density of particles of these rays. It is believed that cosmic rays consist of high energy protons and electrons which bombard the earth continuously from every direction. The fundamental cosmic ray particles, called the "primaries", do not reach the surface of the earth. Their energy is tremendously high. They encounter and smash the atmospheric particles and produce new cosmic rays called "the secondaries." These "secondaries" also possess much energy and have been detected at appreciable depths in the earth's interior.

The earth's magnetic field is the main tool for measuring the energy of cosmic rays. These rays are deflected in such a way that the low energy rays are concentrated near the magnetic poles; whereas high energy particles can reach all latitudes, even the equatorial regions. Measurements of the intensity of high energy cosmic rays in different latitudes in recent years have set the geophysicists thinking about the true location of the geomagnetic equator and the distribution of magnetic fields about the earth.

GLACIOLOGY

Glaciers now cover 10 per cent of the earth's surface, and at one time they covered more than 32 per cent of this surface. They exist in all continents except Australia, and even in the Tropics at high altitudes. Fluctuations in the number and size of glaciers have immediate effect on the weather. If the earth warms up the world's supply of frozen water in the shape of glaciers and polar caps would gradually melt away. If it continues for a long time then ice-locked parts in the far north as

well as Antarctic parts will be opened up, and low-lying coast lands including coastal cities will be submerged.

The glaciologists during the geophysical year will be engaged in the study of glaciers and their relationship with the existing climate.

OCEANOGRAPHY

Two-thirds of the earth's surface are occupied by the oceans, and one-third is occupied by land. An extended programme for the exploration of the oceans have been chalked out. The circulation of water especially in the Southern seas will have to be investigated. The geophysical programme will also include the determination of the configuration of the ocean bed, the measurements of water and air temperatures, the determination of the salinity of the sea and the movement of waves, and the measurement of the amount of energy radiated from the sea into the air. Plankton will be collected at many places in the sea and its chemical composition will be investigated fully.

Through deep sea currents there is considerable exchange of heat between Antarctica and low latitudes. Hence such currents have a great significance in long-range weather forecasting.

We are now concerned with the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Such development will lead to the production of huge quantities of radioactive ashes as by-products which must be safely disposed of before these ashes can do any harm. One possibility is that these dangerous ashes may be dumped into the deep sea which is a very big cavity in the earth's surface. The deep sea current might spread out these injurious radioactive substances to such an extent that they would become harmless. Perhaps this will be the state of affairs for a few centuries in the beginning—but if radioactive ashes continue to accumulate in the seas for many centuries there is a great possibility for the whole sheet of water on the surface of the earth to get contaminated with the result that life and vegetation will become extinct on the surface of the earth. The only remedy is that the chemists should learn to make these radioactive ashes non-radioactive and non-injurious.

SEISMOLOGY

"Faults" which are deep within the crust of the earth are responsible for causing earthquakes. These faults are flows under the surface of the

earth which have not yet healed up as settled down. These were giant scars or cracks which were formed in prehistoric days when high mountains were thrown up and deep "canyons" were dug up in the bottom of the oceans. Much smaller tremors of the earth's crust due to causes which are much nearer the surface of the earth are called microseisms. They may also be produced by explosives. Information about the thickness of the earth's crust may be obtained by means of explosion waves and earthquake waves. During the Geophysical Year the Seismologists want to find out the thickness of ice in the Antarctic by means of explosion waves. Seismologists are now trying to devise methods by which they would be able to foretell the time of occurrence and location of earthquakes.

GRAVITY MEASUREMENTS

The earth is not truly spherical and the scientists do not yet know exactly its true shape. Consequently the pull of gravity varies from place to place. Local conditions also bring about additional changes in gravity which depend on the height above sea-level and the distribution of mass in the earth's crust. Local changes in gravity may help prospecting by giving clues to the location of minerals and petroleum beneath the surface of the earth. Deep in the interior of the earth there are tides on a small scale similar to ocean tides. Gravity measurements disclose the nature of these tides and thus give a clue to the rigidity and internal structure of the earth. Local variations of gravity over glaciated areas can throw light on the thickness of ice over such areas. During the Geophysical Year it is proposed to make extensive measurements of gravity in the Arctic and Antarctic regions and in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE

During the Geophysical Year observations will be made for the more precise determination of latitudes and longitudes at various stations all over the world. A comparison of the values of these co-ordinates with others to be obtained in future will enable the geophysicists to find out by what amount the continents are shifting with respect to one another.

UPPER ATMOSPHERE, ROCKETS AND

SATELLITES

Rockets launched from balloons which are also called rockoons have already reached an

altitude of 60 miles. When balloons have reached their maximum heights, these small rockoons are fired from them. The Aerobee rockets which are bigger and are launched from the ground have already reached the height of 200 miles. The rockets have led to the discovery of solar X-rays in one of the ionospheric layers. Rocket-borne Geiger counters have detected charged particles in the aurora. Also the density of charged particles in the ionosphere has been measured directly. The rocket programme would include measurements of pressures, temperature, density and speed of winds. Similarly rockkairs *i.e.*, small rockets which are hurled from high-flying airplanes will be launched during the outbursts of solar flares. In addition to rockoons and rockkairs, the rocket programme includes the launching of composite rockets which have been assembled as two-stage, three-stage, or four-stage combinations.

The next programme is to launch satellites which would revolve along orbits round the earth as "baby moons." A three-stage rocket-satellite combination should be able to get the satellite into its orbit. Hardly anything is known about the density of the upper atmosphere. Air density in the region of the satellite's orbit can be calculated from the geometry of its changing orbit and from the observations of its flight.

On October 4, 1957, U.S.S.R. launched the Satellite Sputnik I (1957—Alpha). Its shape was spherical. It had a weight of 183 lbs., and its diameter was 23 inches. It had initially an orbital speed of 18,000 miles per hour and its initial period of revolution was 95 minutes. Its distance from the earth at apogee would be about 600 miles, and its distance at perigee would be about 300 miles. Its orbit was inclined to the equator at an angle of 65° . Due to air resistance its orbital speed decreases. It circles round the earth for a number of times and spirals down towards it. At the same time its speed due to gravity increases and it disintegrates ultimately like meteors. From the subsequent geometry of the orbit air resistance and consequently air density can be calculated. Due to geographical variations in the shape of the earth such as the bulge near the equator there will be slight changes in the pull causing small perturbations in the satellite orbit. Hence careful observations of the variations in the orbit will yield valuable information about the

mass-distribution of the earth from which we shall be able to know something about the composition of the earth's crust. The satellite at the apogee of its orbit would be practically above the shielding atmosphere of the earth and be able to record data which would facilitate direct studies of "primary" cosmic rays.

The Second Satellite Sputnik II (1957—Beta) was launched on November 3, 1957. Its weight was 1000 lbs. and it carried within it a living animal—the dog Laika. Its orbit was inclined to the equator at an angle of 65° . Its distance at the apogee of its orbit would be about 1000 miles. Its initial orbital velocity was 18,000 miles per hour. It experiences less air resistance than Sputnik I. Hence data recorded by Sputnik II could enable the scientists to make a more correct and more thorough investigation of "primary" cosmic rays. Sputnik II was perhaps initially a four-stage rocket. The top part perhaps contained the dog and the instruments. The dog was in an air-conditioned chamber containing a limited amount of oxygen. It seems that several tiny metal apparatus were inserted directly into the body of the dog to register respiration, heart-beat, temperature of the skin and blood-pressure. As the sputnik is revolving round the earth its weight (due to earth's attraction) would be neutralised by the centrifugal force. Hence the dog would have a feeling of weightlessness unless the satellite has also a spinning motion about one of its axes which would generate a sort of artificial or synthetic gravity. Hence there is a place to give a spinning motion about the axle to the 'space-station' which would be created to accommodate the scientists and would revolve round the earth once in every two hours at a height of 1075 miles above the surface of the earth. Thus a sort of "synthetic gravity" will be created for the benefit of the scientists. It is said that the dog would be fed calorific liquid artificially through a tube. In a weightless condition it is difficult to see how this liquid food could be pushed through its throat. It has been reported since that the dog died—perhaps through lack of food and oxygen.

Sputnik II had its orbital velocity of 18,000 miles per hour where the resistance of air was very small indeed. It is only necessary to impart an additional velocity of 1500 miles per hour, so that the total velocity becomes 19,500

miles per hour, and impel the satellite towards the moon so that it may ultimately reach the moon. With this initial velocity of 19500 miles per hour Sputnik II will cross the neutral line between the earth and the moon at a distance of 216000 miles from the earth, with a velocity of 500 miles per hour. After crossing the neutral line it will fall towards the moon automatically due to moon's attraction. Hence it is not necessary to impart the whole of "escape velocity" of 25000 miles per hour to Sputnik to send it to the moon.

Perhaps it may be possible for the scientists to test the accuracy of the General Theory of Relationship by observing the motion of the perigee of sputnik's orbit. Sputnik revolves about 1400 times faster than the planet Mercury which has a period of revolution of 88 days round the Sun. So far the motion of the perihelion of Mercury's orbit is one of the chief tests of Relativity Theory.

I have given, in brief a general survey of various problems which the scientists will have to tackle during the Geophysical Year.

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CRISIS IN INDIA'S SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI,

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WORLD WAR II has given some impetus to Indian agricultural and industrial production, as it had done practically to all countries of the world. But at the end of the war and the beginning years after independence India was in a state of recession. The general unsettled condition of the country, due to a great extent to the evil effects of partition, left a very depressing mark on the people. The mass of the people did not react as enthusiastically as was to be expected from a nation at its new birth. So, the emergence of the First Five-Year Plan in 1951, promising a better standard of living, gave renewed hope to the people. It is generally agreed both in India and abroad that the First Five-Year Plan in India has been successful. Many of the handicaps during the years immediately after independence were in a large measure overcome. The recession was stopped. Agricultural and industrial production was expanded. The authorities looked beyond the traditional horizon of cotton and jute. Both government and private sectors undertook to reach a new industrial base. They envisaged an investment of about five billion dollars in basic heavy industries, such as, iron and steel, locomotives, railway coaches, shipbuilding, machine tools and fertilizers as well as some metallurgical, chemical, electrical, fuel and

consumer goods industries. It was understood that these would stimulate productivity in all fields, so that the Second Five-Year Plan, which is really a projection and consummation of the First Five-Year Plan, would be on an easier basis.

The First Five-Year Plan accomplished its purpose of raising the average annual per capita income from 220 rupees to 280 rupees. The goal of the Second Five-Year Plan is an income of 320 rupees. That is not much, as compared with the income of any of the Western countries. The average annual per capita income in the United States is about 10,000 rupees. In 1955 it was 9,200 rupees (1850 dollars). The total envisaged expenditure during the Second Five-Year Plan is about ten billion dollars.

Everybody agrees that the purpose of these plans is to raise the standard of living. Yet the plan is not going on smoothly for lack of funds. In fact if we take into account the reports which are coming from India, the Second Five-Year Plan is facing a crisis. It is indeed very serious for India and it is affecting world opinion. World may doubt the ability of India to undertake big projects. Before it becomes too late India must take all necessary steps to stop a crisis. In order to determine the causes of such a crisis it is necessary to examine the requirements for

the success of the plan. They may be enumerated briefly as follows :

1. The plan must be well-calculated and practical.
2. There must be strong determination and whole-hearted support of the people.
3. Enough capital through taxes and otherwise to meet the primary needs.
4. Ability to replenish capital by favourable trade balance.
5. Economic and efficient administration of various projects.
6. Ability to secure domestic and foreign investments and loans with low rate of interest.
7. Control of population.
8. Ability to create confidence.
9. Ability to establish good relations and to earn good will not only within the country but also internationally.

1. WELL-CALCULATED AND PRACTICAL PLAN

The Government of India has appointed a Planning Commission of which Prime Minister Nehru is the chairman. Its members are considered top specialists. It is counselled by the Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and is also under the scrutiny of the Parliament. Under these conditions perhaps the Second Five-Year Plan is the best that India could produce. In any case no alternative plan has yet been suggested from any other source. Some criticism has been levelled against the fact that much larger sum of money has been used in the public sector than in the private sector. But there is logic in the Government's argument that the need for development is so great that it is best for the public sector to develop those industries in which private enterprise is unable or unwilling to put up the resources required, on account of the risks involved. There is no evidence that public sector has in any way interfered with the functions of the private sector. In fact the Indian Government has helped some industries in the private sector, like the Tata Iron and Steel Co. to secure loan from the United States. As far as can be known from outside the relation between the two sectors is cordial and on a basis of co-operation. The Tata Iron and Steel Co. for instance has generously undertaken to train many of the technical men for the new steel plants in public sector. It is

also contended that the crisis is mostly due to a programme of over-development, specially when there is a shortage of foreign exchange. That may be a contributing factor which the Planning Commission could not foresee and for which it can hardly be blamed. Further, if it is a case of over-development, it can be remedied. But I believe we have to look for the main cause or causes for the crisis somewhere else and not in the structure of the Plan itself.

2. STRONG DETERMINATION AND SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

Strong determination of the people all over the country and their whole-hearted support are essential for the success of such a national plan. In this connection it may be pertinent to draw comparison with the Soviet Union during its similar stage of national planning. When I was in the Soviet Union as a metallurgist during its Second Five-Year Plan, I saw the devotion and earnestness with which the young men and young women worked and learnt so that their country could stand on its feet and one day may become a great nation. Russia then from one end of the country to the other was vibrating with life. To watch this new-found life was in itself an education. Throughout the country construction work was going on. All kinds of basic industries were springing up. Iron and steel, automobile, electrical, chemical, textile and other industries were started in great intensity. The young men and women were absolutely determined to be successful and they were devoted to their task. We know the result today. The United States is somewhat concerned that more students are coming out with their doctorates from universities and technical institutes than in the United States. This is not an accident but is the direct result of the determination, devotion and earnestness of the young people. This, I am very sorry, I did not find in India while I was there last year. I travelled all over the country, visited many colleges, universities, technical institutes, National Research laboratories and industrial plants and came back with the feeling that the youth of India do not have the same determination, devotion and earnestness necessary to make a national plan successful. That certainly is a depressing feeling. This lack of interest on the part of the people in the success of these national undertaking surely is

a contributory cause of the present crisis. The Government may stimulate public interest by dramatising the completion or success of each individual undertaking by various means, such as by holding mass meetings, emphasising the necessity of personal sacrifice, also by means of cinema, radio, parades, well-regulated demonstrations for short periods in schools and colleges, public celebrations and newspaper headlines, etc., so that there is a feeling of participation by the whole nation.

3. CAPITAL

It is of course commonsense that at least half the capital investment of the estimated expenditure should be ready at the beginning of all the projects, either by direct taxation or by selling Bonds and issuing Stocks. The public should be prepared for this sacrifice for a reasonably limited time. A graduated income tax should not be a great hardship. The higher the income the more tax one should pay. There are plenty of wealthy landholders in India yet who can afford to pay heavy taxes. Ability to pay should be the criterion. It is not a question of 'soaking the rich' but their ability to pay. Those who need and can afford an automobile or a taxi-cab to travel half a mile, should certainly afford to pay tax for a national emergency. Those who can afford, and there are plenty of them in India, half a dozen homes in as many cities for their convenience and luxury, should not grudge in paying tax 'until it hurts' and the late President Roosevelt used to say, so that their fellow countrymen may hope to make a living. Those who can afford to spend hundreds of dollars for drinks and cocktail parties in imitation of the wealthy people of Western nations, should certainly be willing to pay the required tax, so that they can be proud also of the country of their birth. People earning less than 50 rupees a month should be exempt from tax.

4. TRADE BALANCE

One subject that is seldom mentioned in connection with financing the Second Five-Year Plan is India's trade balance. It seems that not enough importance has been given to this subject. According to statistics available here

India's trade balance for the last few years is as follows :

	<i>Export from India</i>	<i>Import to India</i>	<i>Deficit</i>
	(million dollars)	(million dollars)	(million dollars)
1953	1,100	1,200	100
1954	1,200	1,300	100
1955	1,200	1,400	200
1956	1,200	1,700	500

Hence India's deficit in trade in these 4 years had been 900 million dollars. But up to October of 1957 India was losing in trade balance at the rate of 80 million dollars a month or 800 million dollars in 10 months. In other words India has lost 1.7 billion dollars in trade balance in less than 5 years. International trade and national government cannot function long on public charity. The Government of India like the governments of other independent countries must have responsible public officials to scrutinise and prevent such tremendous drain on the country's economy. The public should demand more vigilance on the part of their responsible officials and elected representatives. Every attempt should be made to increase India's export trade. There are millions of unemployed people in India. They should be organised and taught some handicraft. Each person can produce at least one rupee worth of article a day. India's consuls and business agents should seek market for these articles in foreign countries. Japan is selling hundreds of million dollars' worth of such handicrafts in every part of the world. No amount of success in these Five-Year Plans can bring higher standard of living to the masses unless this drain on the economy of the country is stopped. It is both unjust and unethical to tax the poor people to the bone for this drain for which they are not responsible. This drain in trade balance is certainly a principal cause of the crisis. There is no reason why the trade balance cannot be in favour of India if everybody concerned works hard for it.

5. EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT

An observer with any knowledge of industrial development does not fail to notice that in

India most of the new industries, specially those under the public sector, are managed by persons of the old school of Civil Servants who have no technological training or experience. Perhaps this is due to lack of enough technical men in India with administrative ability. This is a tremendous handicap. This is costing the industries and hence the people of the country millions of extra dollars. First of all, the contracts made with the British and German firms for the construction of the Durgapur and Rourkela steel plants are too flexible. A professional engineer would not enter into such contracts, which would permit these European firms to raise the original estimated cost by about 25% in less than two years. Secondly the capacity of production in the new steel plants is too low to be economic. The difference in the initial cost of a steel plant of three million tons and one of one million ton capacity is not much. The difference can be made up in less than a year. India still buys steel and steel products from outside. Hence there is room for increased production. The operative and maintenance cost per ton of steel in a plant of three million tons is much less than in a plant of one million. The trend in modern practice of manufacture of trade steels is production in larger scale. Only special steels, such as High Speed steels, etc., are made in smaller quantity. Thirdly, no systematic effort has been made to collect iron and steel scraps from all over the country and also from other Asian countries which are not producers of steel. Modern economic practice of making steel calls for at least 50% of scrap for every heat. The more pig iron from Blast Furnace is used for conversion of steel in the Open Hearth, the higher becomes the cost of steel. Perhaps this practice is not possible in India yet, because enough scrap may not be available. But this factor should be kept in mind and every attempt made to collect every ounce of available scrap. In the fourth place the number of persons employed in a steel plant should be proportional to the amount of steel produced. Otherwise the cost of production becomes high and burdensome to the consumer. A modern steel plant with a capacity of two million tons with modern equipments should not employ more than 8 thousand persons in the whole plant, including Blast Furnace, Open Hearth, Rolling and Fabricating mills, Coke Oven, Technical and Maintenance

departments, etc. Last year speaking with some of the administrative officers in the steel plants in India I learnt that they are using and will continue to use 20 thousand persons for one million ton plant as a matter of policy to give employment to as many people as possible. This obviously is out of proportion and quite uneconomic. The present capacity of all the new steel plants in India is one million ton per year. From business point of view this is absurd. Industrial plants are not charitable institutions. If 20 thousand people are employed where 7 or 8 thousand should be sufficient, about 12 or 13 thousand persons are really idle all the time. They are loafing on the job (to quote an American expression). These people are really paid for their idleness. In other words the management is subsidising their idleness. It has most demoralising effect, not only on the persons who are loafing but also on those who are working. One cannot help noticing as he walks through an Indian industrial plant the depressing sight of many groups of people throughout the plant, squatting on the floor and doing absolutely nothing during their working hours. This type of idleness is noticeable everywhere in the Government offices including those of the Rashtrapati Bhawan. Why cannot these persons be profitably employed in some constructive and productive work, such as building roads and houses or creating many small industries with the money they now receive for idleness? This mental attitude, inefficiency and waste must be corrected if national plans are to be successful. In the fifth place the administrative officers without any technological experience are under a great disadvantage because they necessarily have to depend on advice from not specially qualified foreign experts. They cannot be expected to watch for the best interest of India's industrial production. First-rate foreign engineers would not go to a poor country like India without a prohibitive price. This must be said not in a spirit of disparagement but to point out the realities. There are now quite a number of Indian technical men and engineers, some of them with doctorates, in America and Europe. They are doing productive and profitable work. Why cannot their services be utilised in Indian industries? Further, complaints are often heard from qualified Indian technical men, now employed in India, that managements both in

public and private sectors, in cases of new employment or promotion, often give preference to foreign technical men over an Indian who is perhaps better qualified. It is certainly high time now that management should get rid of this kind of mental servitude and adopt a saner policy to make a national plan successful.

6. INVESTMENTS AND LOANS

It is very true that such a national plan as the Second Five-Year Plan, which involves an expenditure of 10 billion dollars in a poor country like India, investments and loans from foreign countries are necessary. Systematic efforts are no doubt now made by responsible officials to obtain such investments and loans on a strictly business basis. But greater efforts should be made to secure investments and loans from the people of India. If systematic effort is made to get 3 to 5 rupees investments every year in Government Bonds from every person in the country, there can be an accumulation of about one to one and half billion rupees a year. Probably 10 per cent of the people are able to invest 10 to 100 rupees a year. There are important advantages in this kind of a plan. First, it gives a feeling of participation by the whole nation and creates mass interest. This should promote vigilance on the part of the people and thus may help to prevent corruption and mismanagement. Secondly, both the capital and the interest remain in the country. Thirdly, it enables India to choose the market and buy goods from the lowest bidder in any country. When India receive investments or loans from foreign countries she does not have that choice. She then has to buy from the creditor nation on terms usually determined by the creditor. Then again when India has to seek credits for goods purchased in foreign countries, political consideration should be set aside as much as possible for economic interest. If available, India should seek credit from places where the rate of interests is lowest, provided they can meet the requirements of India. In the last few years India has received credits both from the United States and the Soviet Union. Since independence the United States has given credits and aid to India through various agencies to the amount of about 800 million dollars for which India has to pay from 4½

to 6 per cent interest and most of them are on short terms. In the last 2 or 3 years the Soviet Union has given credit to India to the amount of 270 million dollars at 2 to 2½ per cent interest and on long terms. When Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, then the Finance Minister of India, was in the United States a few months ago, he said that India needed about one and half billion dollars more to complete the Second Five-Year Plan. If India has to borrow all of it from the United States at the recent rates of 5½ to 6 per cent interest then she will have to pay from 80 to 90 million dollars a year for interest alone. That is something India must think hard about. If Soviet Union can give this credit at 2 to 2½ per cent interest on long-term basis and also can supply the goods, there is no reason why India should not accept the terms of the Soviet Union. India then will have to pay only 30 to 35 million dollars a year for interest.

7. POPULATION CONTROL

One of the biggest drains on India's economy is her population. India's population is now about 375 million and it is increasing at the rate of 6 million a year. Considering the productive capacity of India at the present time and for many years to come and also taking into account the geographical limitation of the country, the population question is a very serious one. At the present rate of increase, India will have a population of 400 million in another 4 or 5 years. Also it may be expected that with better sanitation and health programme and better maternity care in the village reconstruction projects the death-rate will continually decrease. It is certainly desirable that child mortality should decrease and people should have longer and healthier life. In that case, if the present birth-rate continues, India's population will increase much faster. There are not enough wealth, food, shelter and productive capacity in the country to take care of this population. During the First Five-Year Plan the Union Government spent one million dollars for birth-control clinics and education and in the Second Five-Year Plan it expects to spend 10 million dollars. This indeed is a very good investment; but it is hardly enough. It should be supplemented by private endeavours. There

should be thousands of controlled parenthood clinics throughout the country to instruct men and women and supply contraceptives. Contraceptives should be manufactured in India, so that all the people may afford to buy them. Young men and young women who are fortunate enough to go to High Schools and Colleges should be thoroughly acquainted with contraceptive methods and it is their obligation as a patriotic duty to teach others who are less fortunate. If voluntary action on the part of the people does not give the desired result then restrictive laws should be enacted by Parliament. It must be realised that population control is absolutely necessary for the success of any national plan which aims to raise the standard of living.

8. ABILITY TO CREATE CONFIDENCE

Undoubtedly all responsible persons understand that confidence is necessary for the success of any business venture. Specially a big business like the Second Five-Year Plan must create confidence on a wide scale. If investment is necessary it must have the confidence of the investor; if loan is necessary it must have confidence of the lender and the creditor. Fortunately, from the success of the First Five-Year Plan, India has earned a great deal of confidence from inside the country as well as from outside. In this connection it may be mentioned that the press in general in the United States has taken a favourable attitude, though occasionally a reporter or a commentator says or writes things which do not create confidence. A reporter of *New York Times* from India has recently more than once emphasised the point that even if the United States gives to India a loan of one billion dollars, the Second Five-Year Plan cannot be saved. It is difficult to assess the correctness of the statement from this distance, but certainly its effect on the American investors cannot be good. Another commentator of *Detroit Free Press* recently remarked, "The ruling Congress Party has become fat, complacent and often corrupt . . . India's Second Five-Year Plan was a failure before it started." The only way to answer them effectively is by making the plan a success and keeping the political parties and politicians free from corruption by incessant

vigilance. Of course the recent scandal in connection with the alleged fraudulent transaction of questionable stocks (belonging to one Mr. Mundhra) by the government owned Life Insurance Corporation, involving the Ministry of Finance, has been aired in the press in this country a great deal. Though this type of offence is not peculiar to India, they point out that in the United States such offenders whether high government officials or private manipulators, usually receive stiff punishment. Undoubtedly incidents of this kind lower the confidence of the people in foreign countries and break the morale of the people at home. The remedy lies not in political manoeuvre but in the incessant vigilance of organised young men and young women. This is a job for the youth of India. It needs their dedication and their combined effort. They owe it to themselves and to the country. The success of these national plans demands that they make their utmost effort to recreate confidence.

9. GOOD RELATION AND GOOD WILL

It must be a matter of satisfaction that though there are occasional disagreements on matters of policy, India has maintained good relation and good will with almost all the countries of the world with only two or three exceptions. This is a great asset of India and in the long run may insure success for the Second Five-Year Plan. There is a large number of people in America, who are genuinely well-wishers of India. They know and realise that India has suffered much under ruthless foreign domination and exploitation for a long time and that there had been and still there is appalling poverty throughout the country. They are sympathetic and they wish to see India on her feet again. They are really concerned about the success of the democratic processes which India has so assiduously followed since her independence, if she is not able to meet the minimum needs of food and shelter for the mass of people and raise their standard of living. These friends are willing to co-operate with India. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts in a recent article in *Progressive* has given expression to their views:

"No discussion can avoid the harsh facts of India's real needs, of her dependence

upon the Second Plan's success, of that Plan's dependence upon American funds and of our dependence upon a free and independent India."

In private correspondence a few days ago he said :

"Certainly this is a problem which will be uppermost in my mind during the current session of Congress. I hope that in the near future some realistic legislation can be introduced and that India's needs, both for this year and for the life of the Plan, can be alleviated through American loan assistance."

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, two weeks ago in a Roosevelt birth-day dinner, said :

"India is the key to Asia. It is the major area in the under-developed world where the energies of nationalism have been channeled into constructive tasks by democratic means. If democratic methods fail there, our cause will suffer grievously elsewhere. Nowhere will 'too little and too late' prove more costly than in India."

The feeling is very general in the United States that the success of India's national plan is also to the interest of the United States. This sentiment is reflected in the United States Government's offer to negotiate a credit of 225 million dollars to India with a suggestion that more may follow later on. From all indications, Soviet Union and West Germany may also be willing to supply credits. All these reactions abroad give some cause for hope that if India can handle the problems in the home front satisfactorily, enough foreign assistance may be

forthcoming to meet the crisis. It may be mentioned in this connection that there are some organizations in the United States, which have done very creditable work to foster good will and good relation between India and the United States. The most important among them are the Taraknath Das, Foundation and the Watumull Foundation. They have worked earnestly for many years to bring about better understanding between these countries by exchange of professors and scholars and also by arranging lectures in various universities. They have won recognition from many universities in the United States. The Taraknath Foundation has branches also in India, Israel and West Germany. These Foundations deserve co-operation from the nationals of India, specially those who are abroad.

In the final analysis it may be observed that it is the home front which offers the real problem. The problem is not in the Plan itself but in its operation. Passive co-operation is not enough. The Plan must have the earnest and active participation of not only the Government but of all the people of India, whatever their station of life may be. All drain in the trade balance must be stopped. Management must be in the hands of experienced technical persons, and not of politicians. Humane graduated income and property tax must be enforced, exempting only those who are unable to pay. Birth-rate which gives additional burden to the economy of the country must be rigidly controlled. The major share of all the work must necessarily fall on the youth of the country and they must be willing to take the obligation for the sake of their own future and the future of their motherland. Above all we cannot afford to forget that eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XV) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (*Continued*)

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IN our preceding article¹ in this series we have dealt with some aspects of Article 31 of our Constitution as it had been amended by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. In this article we propose to deal with certain other aspects of the same Article. Before, however, we do it, we should like to refer to a preliminary point as it will have a bearing on the discussion that will follow: We mean what is known as "the police power" of the State as distinguished from its "power of eminent domain."

"The three great legislative powers usually exercised by any government are," says Professor Willis,² "the power of taxation, the police power, and the power of eminent domain. The power of taxation may be defined as the legal capacity of government to impose charges upon persons or their property to raise revenue for governmental purposes. . . . The police power is the legal capacity of government to control the personal liberty of individuals for the protection of the social interests (or common good) of the people who established such government. The power of eminent domain is the legal capacity of government to take the private property of individuals for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Eminent domain is the superior dominion of the State over all the property within the State . . . Eminent domain differs from the police power in that the police power is not a taking of any rights, whether of property or a person, from people, but a limitation on the exercise of such rights by people, although the police, however, may also result in making people lose their property . . . While the police power, taxation, and eminent domain are all forms of social control, and probably include all of the forms of social control known to the law, each differs from the others . . . Forbidding the erection of a wooden

building, and the prevention of a conflagration or perhaps of gold hoarding are exercises of the police power. Taking land for parks or for railways is an exercise of the power of eminent domain. Exacting money to make gifts to flood sufferers or to erect a monument is an exercise of the power of taxation. Eminent domain takes property for use by the public or for the benefit of the public . . . , while the police power prevents people from using their own property so as to injure others." Eminent domain, however, is, like taxation and the police power, "the offspring of political necessity." According to the United States Supreme Court, the "police power embraces regulations designed to promote the public convenience or the general prosperity, as well as regulations designed to promote the public health, the public morals or the public safety."³ Further, in *Barbier vs. Connolly*,⁴ the Supreme Court has defined the police power of the State as its power "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."⁵ There are, according to Professor Willis,⁶ "two main requirements for a proper exercise of the police power: (1) there must be a social interest to be protected which is more important than the social interest in personal liberty, and (2) there must be, as a means for the accomplishment of this end, something which bears a substantial relation thereto."

II

We shall now pass on to further consideration of Article 31 of our Constitution as it is today. The first point we should like to take up in this connexion is the question of correlation between Clause (1) and Clause (2) of

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

2. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 224-25 and 716-17.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 727.

4. 1885, 113 U.S. 27.—See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, p. 210.

5. Also see in this connexion foot-note 45 to our article in *The Modern Review* for October, 1957.

6. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

Article 31. As we have shown in our preceding article, Clause (1) has laid down:

"No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

And Clause (2) declares:

"No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose and save by authority of a law which provides for compensation for the property so acquired or requisitioned and either fixes the amount of the compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given; and no such law shall be called in question in any Court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate."

Although Clause (2) as it is now is the amended form⁷ of the original Clause (2), yet we think that what the Judges of our Supreme Court have stated regarding correlation between Clause (1) and the original Clause (2) of Article 31 is in essence equally applicable to correlation between Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of the Article. Unfortunately, there has been, as will appear from what follows, a sharp difference of opinion among the Judges on the question of this correlation.

For instance, in the course of his judgment in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri vs. The Union of India and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Chiranjit Lal* case), Das J. of the Supreme Court observed⁸ on 4th December, 1950:

"Article 31 protects every person, whether such person is a citizen or not, and it is wide enough to cover a natural person as well as an artificial person⁹ . . . What . . . is the meaning of the word 'property'? It may mean either the bundle of rights which the owner has over or in respect of a thing, tangible or intangible, or it may mean the thing itself over or in respect of which the owner may exercise those rights . . . Articles [19(1)(f) and 31] only regard that as 'property' which can by itself be acquired, disposed of or taken possession of . . . Article 31(1) formulates the fundamental right in a negative form prohibiting the

deprivation of property except by authority of law. It implies that a person may be deprived of his property by authority of law. Article 31 (2) prohibits the acquisition or taking possession of property for a public purpose under any law, unless such law provides for (the) payment of compensation. It is suggested that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic, namely, compulsory acquisition or taking possession of property, Clause (2) being only an elaboration of Clause (1). There appear to me to be two objections to this suggestion. If that were the correct view, then Clause (1) must be held to be wholly redundant and Clause (2), by itself, would have been sufficient. In the next place, such a view would exclude deprivation of property otherwise than by acquisition or taking of possession. One can conceive of circumstances where the State may have to deprive a person of his property without acquiring or taking possession of the same. For example, in any emergency, in order to prevent a fire spreading, the authorities may have to demolish an intervening building. This deprivation of property is supported in the United States of America as an exercise of 'police power.' This deprivation of property is different from acquisition or taking of possession of property which goes by the name of 'eminent domain' in the American Law. The construction suggested implies that our Constitution has dealt with only the law of 'eminent domain', but has not provided for deprivation of property in exercise of 'police powers'. I am not prepared to adopt such construction, for I do not feel pressed to do so by the language used in Article 31. On the contrary, the language of Clause (1) of Article 31 is wider than that of Clause (2), for deprivation of property may well be brought about otherwise than by acquiring or taking possession of it. I think Clause (1) enunciates the general principle that no person shall be deprived of his property except by authority of law which, put in a positive form, implies that a person may be deprived of his property, provided he is so deprived by authority of law. No question of compensation arises under Clause (1). The effect of Clause (2) is that only certain kinds of deprivation of property, namely, those brought about by acquisition or taking possession of it, will not be permissible under any law, unless such law provides for (the) payment of com-

7. See our preceding article in this connexion in *The Modern Review* for January, 1953.

8. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Parts IX & X, December 1950, pp. 920-26.

9. *E.g.*, a Corporation.

pensation. If the deprivation of property is brought about by means other than acquisition or taking possession of it, no compensation is required, provided that such deprivation is by authority of law."

Das J. referred to Article 31 of the Constitution again in May, 1952, in the course of his judgment in *The State of Bihar Vs. Maharaja-dhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga and Others* and stated:¹⁰

"Article 31 is one of a group of Articles included in Part III of the Constitution under the heading 'Fundamental Rights'. It confers a fundamental right in so far as it protects private property from State action. Clause (1) of the Article protects the owner from being deprived of his property save by authority of law. A close examination of the language of Clause (1) will show that this immunity is a limited one and this will at once be clearly perceived if we convert the negative language of Clause (1) into positive language. In its positive form Clause (1) will read:

'Any person may be deprived of his property by authority of law.'

"The only limitation put upon the State action is the requirement that the authority of law is a prerequisite for the exercise of its power to deprive a person of his property. This confers some protection on the owner in that he will not be deprived of his property save by authority of law and this protection is the measure of the fundamental right. It is to emphasise this immunity from State action as a fundamental right that the Clause has been worded in negative language. Likewise, Clause (2)¹¹ is worded in negative language in order to emphasise the fundamental right contained therein Clause (2) of the Article, in its positive form, omitting words unnecessary for our present purpose, will read as follows:

'Any property, may be taken possession of or acquired for public purpose under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition if the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired'

10. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III; Parts IX and X, November and December, 1952; pp. 988-90.

11. As it was originally before the amendment of 1955.

"Put in the above form, the Clause makes it clear at once and beyond any shadow of doubt that there are three limitations imposed upon the power of the State, namely, (1) that the taking of possession or acquisition of property must be for a public purpose, (2) that such taking of possession or acquisition must be under a law authorising such taking of possession or acquisition, and (3) that the law must provide for compensation for the property so taken or acquired. These three limitations constitute the protection granted to the owner of property and are the measure of his fundamental right under this Clause."

Patanjali Sastri C. J. did not agree with the above view of Das J. in regard to the question of correlation between Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31, and Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan J.J. concurred with him. Thus we find Patanjali Sastri observing¹² on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal Vs. Subodh Gopal Bose and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Subodh Gopal Case*):

"With all respect to my learned brother (Das J.) I am unable to share the view expressed by him. He reads Clauses (1) and (2) as mutually exclusive in scope and content, —Clause (2) imposing limitations only on two particular kinds of deprivation of private property, namely, those brought about by acquisition or taking possession thereof, and Clause (1) authorising all other kinds of deprivation with no limitation except that they should be authorised by law. There are several objections to the acceptance of this view. But the most serious of them all is that it largely nullifies the protection afforded by the Constitution to rights of private property and, indeed, stultifies the very conception of the 'right to property' as a fundamental right. For, on this view, the State, acting through its legislative organ, could, for instance, arbitrarily prohibit a person from using his property, or authorise its destruction, or render it useless for him, without any compensation and without a public purpose to be served thereby, as these conditions are stipulated only for acquisition and taking possession under Clause (2). Now, the whole object of Part III of the Cons-

12. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; Parts VI & VII, June and July 1954, pp. 600-606.

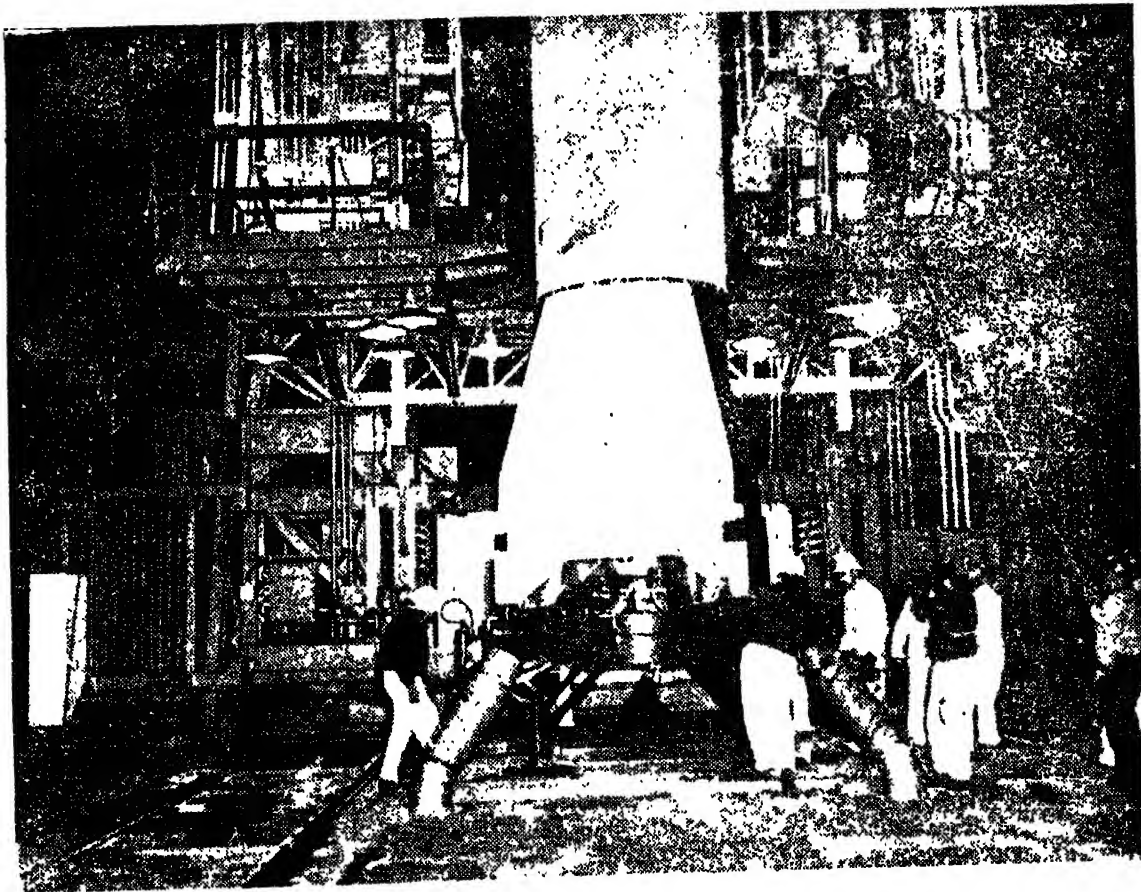


Mr. Chivu Stoica, Prime Minister of the Romanian People's Republic and members of his party, look at a bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi at the Government Museum and Art Gallery in Madras

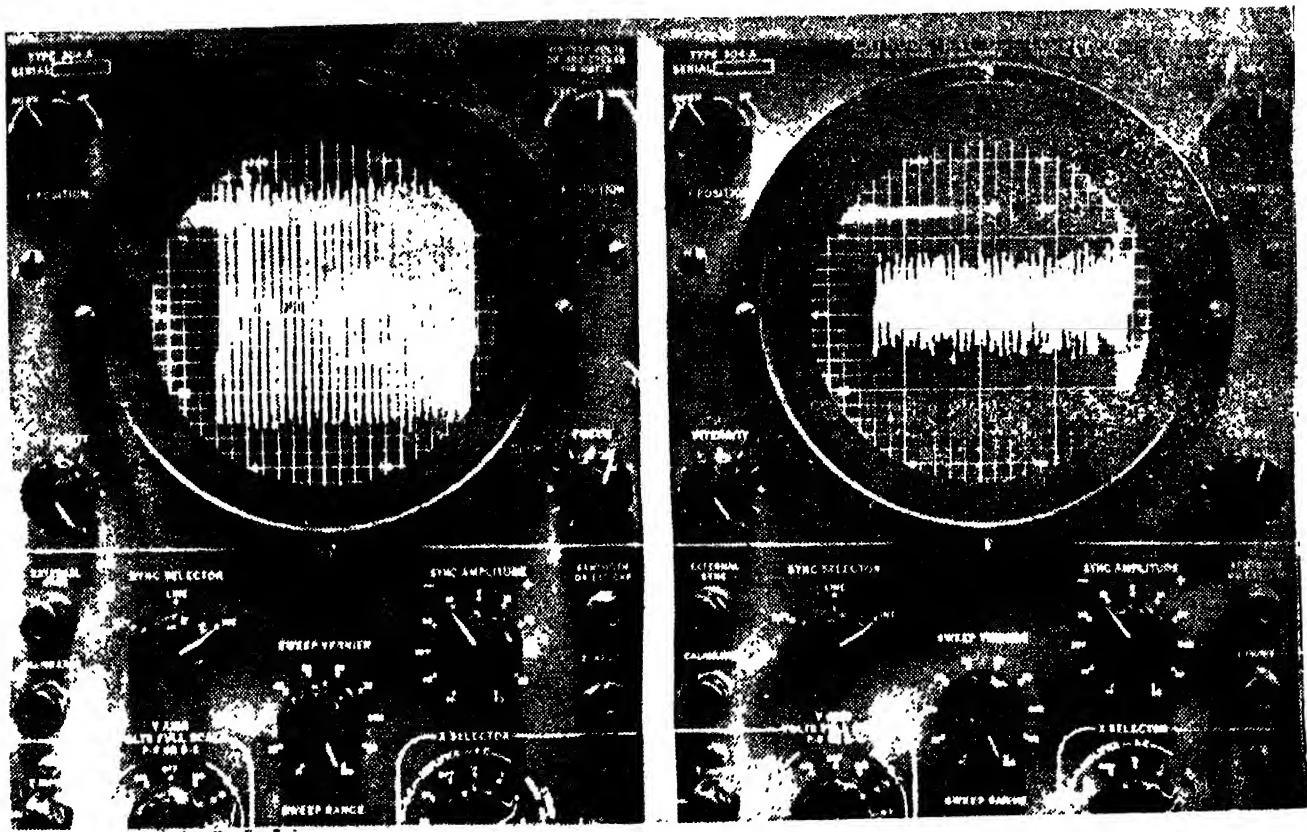


Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greets in New Delhi Mr. Lebanov, President of the House of the Union Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the leader of the Soviet Parliamentary Delegation

EARTH SATELLITE WITH JUPITER-C ROCKET



On the launching pad at Cape Canaveral, Florida, technicians and scientists check out the Jupiter-C rocket



These oscillograph records show the radio signals as received from Explorer at the Radio Corporation of America Communications Building in New York City

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

stitution is to provide protection for the freedoms and rights mentioned therein against arbitrary invasion by the State, which as defined by Article 12 (of the Constitution) includes the Legislatures of the country. It would be a startling irony if the fundamental rights of property were, in effect, to be turned by construction into an arbitrary power of the State to deprive a person of his property without compensation in all ways other than acquisition or taking possession of such property. If the Legislatures were to have such arbitrary power, why should compensation and public purpose be insisted upon in connexion with what are termed two particular forms of deprivation? What could be the rational principle underlying this differentiation? To say that Clause (1) defines the 'police power' in relation to rights of property is no satisfactory answer, as the same power could as well have been extended to these two particular kinds of deprivation. Such extension would at least have avoided the following anomaly: Compensation is paid to indemnify the owner for the loss of his property. . . . according to Das J.'s reading of that Clause (i.e., Clause 1), the Constitution-makers have provided for no indemnification of the expropriated owner. Why? Because, it is said, deprivation under Clause (1) is an exercise of 'police power.' This, to my mind, is fallacious. You first construe the Clause as conferring upon the State acting through its Legislature unfettered power to deprive owners of their property in all other cases except the two mentioned in Clause (2), and then seek to justify such sweeping and arbitrary power by calling it 'police power.' According to Das J. Clause (1) was designed to confer 'police power' on the State to deprive persons of their property by means other than acquisition or taking possession of such property. He would read the Clause in a positive form as implying that a person may be deprived of his property by authority of law. In other words, the framers of our Constitution, who began Part III (of the Constitution) by formulating the fundamental rights of individuals against invasion by the Legislatures in the country, ended by formulating right of the Legislatures to deprive individuals of their property without compensation!"

Patanjali Sastri C. J. added¹³:

13. See *ibid*, pp. 606-618.

"The American doctrine of police power as a distinct and specific legislative power is not recognised in our Constitution and it is therefore contrary to the scheme of the Constitution to that Clause (1) of Article 31 must be read in positive terms and understood as conferring police power on the Legislature in relation to rights of property. I entirely agree with the observations of Mukherjea J. in *Chiranjit Lal's* case, that 'in interpreting the provisions of our Constitution we should go by the plain words used by the Constitution-makers and the importing of expressions like 'police power', which is a term of variable and indefinite connotation in American law, can only make the task of interpretation more difficult.'¹⁴ The correct approach, in my opinion, to the interpretation of Article 31 is to bear in mind the context and setting in which it has been placed. As already stated, Part III of the Constitution is designed to afford protection to the freedoms and rights mentioned therein against inroads by the State which includes the Legislatures as well as the executive Governments in the country.¹⁵ A fundamental right is thus sought to be protected not only against the legislative organ of the State but also against its executive organ. The purpose of Article 31, it is hardly necessary to emphasise, is not to declare the right of the State to deprive a person of his property but, as the heading of the Article shows, to protect the 'right to property' of every person. But how does the Article protect the right to property? It protects it by defining the limitations on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. It is an important limitation on that power that legislative action is a

14. Mukherjea J. had made this observation on 4th December, 1950, in the course of his judgment in *Chiranjit Lal Chaurhuri Vs. The Union of India and Others*, with reference to the contention of the Attorney-General for India that "Clause (1) of Article 31 relates to a power different from that dealt with under Clause (2)" (of the Article), and that "What Clause (1) contemplates is confiscation or destruction of property in exercise of what are known as 'police powers' in American law, for which no payment of compensation is necessary". Mukherjea J. had also prefaced his observation with the remark: "I do not think it proper for purposes of the present case (i.e., the *Chiranjit Lal* case) to enter into a discussion on this somewhat debatable point which has been raised by the learned Attorney-General."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Parts IX and X; December 1950, p. 907.

15. Article 12 of the Constitution of India.

prerequisite for its exercise. As pointed out by Cooley,¹⁶ 'The right to appropriate private property to public uses lies dormant in the State, until legislative action is had, pointing out the occasions, the modes, conditions, and agencies for its appropriation. Private property can only be taken pursuant to law.' In England . . . Parliament alone could authorise interference with the enjoyment of private property. Blackstone also says that it is the Legislature alone that can interpose and compel the individual to part with his property¹⁷. It is this limitation which the framers of our Constitution have embodied in Clause (1) of Article 31 which is thus designed to protect the rights to property against deprivation by the State acting through its executive organ, the Government. Clause (2) imposes two further limitations on the Legislature itself. It is prohibited from making a law authorising expropriation except for public purposes and on payment of compensation for the injury sustained by the owner. These important limitations on the power of the State, acting through the executive and legislative organs, to take away private property are designed to protect the owner against arbitrary deprivation of his property. Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 are thus not mutually exclusive in scope and content, but should, in my view, be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of the limitations on the State power referred to above, the deprivation contemplated in Clause (1) being no other than the acquisition or taking possession of property referred to in Clause (2) It will now be seen that the two objections raised by Das J. to the view expressed above, namely, that Clauses (1) and (2) must be read together and understood as dealing with the same topic, are really baseless. The first objection is that Clause (1) would then be redundant. It would not be so, because it embodies one of the three important limitations on the exercise of the State power of deprivation of private property, namely, the necessity for the legislative action as a condition precedent to the exercise of the

power and constitutes a protection against the executive organ of the State. The second objection that the State's power in an emergency to deprive a person of his property without payment of compensation, as for example, to demolish an intervening building to prevent a conflagration from spreading, would be excluded, is equally baseless. Cases of that kind would fall within the exception in Clause (5) (b) (ii)¹⁸ (of Article 31), and no compensation would be payable for the loss caused by the destruction of property authorised under that Clause. No cut and dried test can be formulated as to whether in a given case the owner is 'deprived' of his property within the meaning of Article 31; each case must be decided as it arises on its facts. Broadly speaking, it may be said that an abridgement (of the rights of the owner) would be so substantial as to amount to a deprivation within the meaning of Article 31 if, in effect, it withheld the property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner, or seriously impaired its use and enjoyment by him, or materially reduced its value."

As we have stated before, Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ. agreed with Patanjali Sastri C. J. in his interpretation of Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31 and in his view on their correlation. Jagan-nadhandas J. also stated¹⁹ on 17th December, 1953, in the course of his separate judgment in the *Subodh Gopal* case:

"Now as regards Article 31, I agree that Clause (1) cannot be construed as being either a declaration or implied recognition of the American doctrine of 'police power.' The negative language used therein cannot, I think with respect, be turned into the grant, express or implied, of a positive power. Indeed, as my Lord the Chief Justice²⁰ has pointed out in his judgment, no such grant of police power is necessary,

18. As shown in our preceding article in this series, Clause (5)(b)(ii) of Article 31 of our Constitution has laid down as follows:

"Nothing in Clause (2) (of Article 31) shall affect the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property."

16. "Constitutional Limitations, Vol. II, p. 1119."

17. "Commentaries, Vol. I, p. 110."

19. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; Parts VI and VII, June and July 1954, p. 669.

20. *I.e.*, Patanjali Sastri C.J.

having regard to the scheme of the Constitution."²¹

Further, it may be noted here that in the course of his judgment in *Dwarkadas Shrinivas of Bombay Vs. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., and Others* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Dwarkadas Shrinivas case*), delivered on 18th December, 1953, that is, one day after the delivery of judgments in the *Subodh Gopal* case, Mehr Chand Mahajan J. expressed views similar to those of Patanjali Sastri C. J., as shown above. "Article 31," he said²², "deals with the field of eminent domain and the whole boundary of that field is demarcated by this Article. In other words, the State's power to take the property of a person is comprehensively delimited by this Article . . . Article 31(1) declares the first requisite for the exercise of the power of eminent domain. It guarantees that a person cannot be deprived of property by an executive fiat and that it is only by the exercise of its legislative powers that the State can deprive a person of his property. In other words, all that Article 31(1) says is that private property can only be taken pursuant to law and not otherwise. (Judge Cooley is then quoted here) . . . Article 31(2) defines the powers of the legislature in the field of eminent domain. It declares that private property shall not be taken by the State under a law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken. It is also implicit in the language of the Article that such taking can only be for public purposes . . . Clause (5) (of Article 31) is the saving Clause. It saves from the operation of Clause (2) laws made on certain subjects. The scope of the first Clause (of Article 31) being merely to save private property from being taken purely by executive action and the only Clause which limits legislative action in the field of eminent domain being Clause (2), the saving Clause (5) therefore concerns itself with Clause (2) only."

Further²³:

21. Jagannadhandas J., however, also observed: "On the other hand, I am unable to agree with the view that Article 31(1) has reference only to the power of Eminent Domain".—For further details see pages 670-72 of *The Supreme Court Reports* referred to in foot-note 19 above.

22. See *ibid.*, pp. 695-96.

23. See *ibid.*, pp. 696-97.

"The saving Clause (5) in Article 31 has been designed with the express purpose of saving to a certain extent laws made in exercise of the police power of the State which may lead to deprivation of property. It has also saved laws relating to tax. It has thus delimited from the field of eminent domain the field of exercise of police power and the exercise of the power of taxation. Not only has it saved from the mischief of Clause (2) of Article 31 provisions of laws made for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty and the laws made for (the) promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, but it has also saved from the mischief of the Clause the provisions of all existing laws which may be construed as amounting to deprivation of property of a person as well as evacuee property laws under which the State takes possession of properties of persons who have left India for Pakistan. In the result the saving Clause comprehensively includes within the ambit all the powers of the State in (the) exercise of which it could deprive a person of property without payment of compensation. In other words, all forms of deprivation of property by the State without payment of compensation have been included within the ambit of the exception Clause (5), while (the) other forms of deprivation of property which are outside the ambit of the exception Clause are inevitably within the mischief of Clause (2) of the Article. From the language employed in the different sub-Clauses (Clauses?) of Article 31 it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the words 'acquisition' and 'taking possession' used in Article 31(2) have the same meaning as the word 'deprivation' in Article 31(1)."

In conclusion, Mahajan J. observed²⁴.

"The learned Attorney-General (for India) suggested that much weight could not be attached in construing Article 31 to the provisions of Clause (5) in as much as the saving Clause had been introduced by the Article merely by way of abundant caution. I am unable to accede to this contention as it seems to me that the Constitution while defining and delimiting fundamental rights would not introduce in the Articles dealing with those rights

24. See *ibid.*, pp. 697-702.

some matters merely by way of abundant caution. To my mind, it was essential while delimiting and defining fundamental rights to fully define the field of the right and to say what was not included within that right. As already said, the Article read as a whole comprehensively defines the State's power of eminent domain as distinguished from all its other powers the exercise of which may amount to the taking of private property. The argument that these exceptions were incorporated in Article 31 by way of abundant caution further stands negatived by the contents of Sub-Clause (5) (b) (ii) of the Article. Only laws made for the promotion of public health or for (the) prevention of danger to life or property have been excluded from the mischief of Clause (2) of the Article, while other laws made in (the) exercise of (the) power of social control which deprive a person of property have not been saved from the operation of Clause (2). Illustratively, laws made by the State dealing with morality and which may lead to deprivation of property are outside the ambit of the exception Clause. *A fortiori*, any deprivation of property under a law made for (the) promotion of morality would fall within the mischief of Clause (2) Article 31. It is thus clear that only that form of legislation which promotes public health or prevention of danger to life or property is saved from the provisions of Article 31 (2), while other laws made in (the) exercise of the power of social control, if they deprive a person of property, are not saved from the operation of Clause (2) of Article 31 The objections envisaged by my brother (*i.e.*, Das J.) in *Chiranjit Lal Chowdhuri's* case against the suggestion that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition or taking of property do not at all oppress me and do not seem to me to be insurmountable or cogent. On the assumption that Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic, it is not clear to me why in that context Article 31(1) somehow becomes redundant. This is the only clause in the Article which gives protection to private property from being taken under executive orders without legislative sanction behind them. The first requisite for the exercise of the power of eminent domain is that it can only be exercised pursuant to law. It was necessary while delimiting the field of eminent domain to state that in the

Article The result of the above discussion is that, in my opinion, Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and Article 31 Clauses (1) and (2) (*sic*) deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property As I read Article 31, it gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. In other words, the Constitution declares that no person shall be deprived of possession of private property without payment of compensation and that too under the authority of law, provided there was a public purpose behind that law. It is immaterial to the person who is deprived of property as to what use the State makes of his property or what title it acquires in it. The protection is against loss of property to the owner and there is no protection given to the State by the Article. It has no fundamental right as against the individual citizen. Article 31 states the limitations on the power of the State in the field of asking property and those limitations are in the interests of the person sought to be deprived of his property. The question whether acquisition has a larger concept than is conveyed by the expression 'taking possession' is really of academic interest in view of the comprehensive phraseology employed by Clause (2) of Article 31."

It may also be noted here that Ghulam Hasan J., too, stated²⁵ in the course of his judgment in the *Dwarakadas Shrinivas* case:

"I am not prepared to subscribe to the proposition that Article 31(1) stands by itself and should be read separately from (Article 31) (2) and I cannot attribute an intention to our Parliament to deprive a person of his property merely by passing an Act. The two parts of the Article (*i.e.*, Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31) form an integral whole and cannot be dissociated from each other."

III

It should be evident from what has been shown above that the majority of the Judges of our Supreme Court consisting of Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Mehr Chand Mahajan and Ghulam Hasan JJ., have in essence held, in the

25. See *ibid.* pp. 737-38.

Subodh Gopal case and the *Dwarakadas Shrinivas* case, that Clause (1) and the original Clause (2) of Article 31 of our Constitution "are not mutually exclusive in scope and content," but that they "should be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of limitations" on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. Further, they have held that "the deprivation contemplated in Clause (1)" is "no other than the acquisition or taking possession of the property referred to in (the said) Clause (2)." And, as we have noted before, their reasonings equally apply in effect to correlation between Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of Article 31. It may also be incidentally noted here that the view of the majority of its Judges is the view of the Supreme Court. Still, we may now refer to the rejoinder of Das J. to the views of the majority of the Judges. The rejoinder, however, is a very long one. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote it here at length. We shall only refer to what appear to us to be the salient points in it.²⁶

In the course of his judgment in the *Subodh Gopal* case, Das J. observed²⁷ in connexion with (the *Original*) Article 31 of the Constitution :

"It is suggested that the two Clauses (*i.e.*, Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31) are not mutually exclusive but must be read together and that they are only concerned with what has been described as the State's power of eminent domain which, according to Professor Willis, means the legal capacity of sovereignty, or one of its governmental organs, to take private property for a public use upon the payment of just compensation. Reference is made to certain . . . eminent . . . writers²⁸ . . . to show that from early times jurists have insisted on three things as pre-requisites for the exercise of this power of eminent domain, namely, (1) the authority of law, (2) the requirement of public use, and (3) the payment of just compen-

sation....The contention is that Article 31 reproduces those three limitations on the power of eminent domain, namely, that Clause (1) announces the necessity for legislative sanction as a pre-requisite for the exercise of the power, thus protecting all persons against expropriation by the State acting through its executive organ, the Government, and that Clause (2) reproduces the necessity of a public purpose and payment of compensation. It is concluded that these important limitations on the State's power of eminent domain are designed to protect a person against arbitrary deprivation of his property and (that) they constitute his fundamental right in relation to his property. The proposition thus formulated is certainly attractive and, indeed, has found favour with my learned colleagues, but appears to me to be open to certain objections. I say in all humility that I consider the method of approach and the line of reasoning in support of that proposition entirely fallacious and wrong. The steps in the argument seem to be (i) that the power of eminent domain and the limitations thereon as explained by eminent jurists are incorporated in the Fifth Amendment²⁹ to the Constitution of the United States, (ii) that Clauses (1) and (2) of Articles 31 are concerned with the same topic of eminent domain, and (iii) that, therefore, Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 must be read as having reproduced the same limitations on the power of eminent domain."

Criticising the above views of his colleagues Das J. remarked,³⁰ among other things:

"If it were correct to say that the two Clauses, (1) and (2), of Article 31 deal with the same topic of the State's power of eminent domain which is inherent in its sovereignty then, as I pointed out in my judgment³¹ in *Chiranjitlal's* case . . . , Clause (1) must be held to be wholly redundant and Clause (2) by itself would have sufficed, for the necessity of

29. Reference obviously is to the following provisions in the Fifth Amendment:

"No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

30. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July, 1954, pp. 637-38.

31. Already quoted by us in an earlier part of this article.

26. For details, reference may be made to the judgment of Das J. in the *Subodh Gopal* case.—See *ibid.*, pp. 619-68 and, in particular; pp. 634-68.

27. See *ibid.*, pp. 634-36.

28. Such as Hugo Grotius, William Blackstone and Judge Cooley.—See *ibid.*, p. 635.

a law is quite clearly implicit in Clause (2) itself which alone would have served as a protection against State action through its executive organ, the government. Another and more serious objection against reading both the Clauses as dealing only with the same topic of eminent domain is, as pointed out³² by me in *Chiranjitlal's* case . . . that such construction will place the deprivation of property otherwise than by the taking of possession or acquisition of it outside the pale of all constitutional protection. As I said there and as I shall also do hereafter in detail, one can conceive of circumstances where the State, in exercise of the State's police power, may have to deprive a person of his property without taking possession of it or acquiring it within the meaning of Article 31(2). This police power of the State is also one of the powers inherent in the sovereignty of the State. The suggestion that the first two Clauses of Article 31 should be read as dealing only with eminent domain will, if accepted, lead us to hold that our Constitution has not dealt with the State's police power to deprive a person of this property and has not provided for us any protection against the State by imposing any limitation on the exercise of that power. The suggested construction will render the enunciation of our fundamental 'Right to property' patently incomplete."

Further³³ -

"To say that the entire police power of the State to deprive a person of his property is to be found only in Article 31 (5) (b) (ii)³⁴ will be to confine the exercise of that power by the Legislature within a very narrow and inelastic limit, namely, only for the promotion

of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property. On the assumption that Article 31(5) (b) (ii) is concerned with saving the police power it may cover the laws authorising the destruction of rotten or adulterated foodstuff or the pulling down of a dangerous dilapidated building or the demolition of a building to prevent fire from spreading. But it is quite easy to contemplate laws which do not fall within Article 31(5) (b) (ii) but are, nevertheless, made unmistakably in exercise of the State's police power. Consider the case of a law authorising the seizure and destruction of, say, obscene pictures or blasphemous literature. Such law is clearly necessary for the promotion or protection of public morality. Nobody can for a moment think of contending that such law will be void if it does not provide for compensation and yet that will be the result if we are to accept the suggested construction, for such a law made for protecting public morality is obviously not covered by Article 31(5) (b) (ii) and, will, according to such construction, be hit by Article 31(2)³⁵. A construction which leads to the astounding result of compelling the State to buy up obscene pictures and blasphemous literature if it desires to preserve public morality cannot merit serious consideration and must be discarded at once. Take the case of a law providing for the compulsory contribution by all banks based upon the average daily deposits for the purpose of creating a guarantee fund to secure the full repayment of deposits to all depositors in case any such bank becomes insolvent and is ordered to be wound up. This law quite clearly deprives the banks of property in the shape of their respective contributions and it is not covered by Clause (5) (b) (i) as it cannot be said to impose a tax or a penalty, and does not fall within (5) (b) (ii) either, for it is not a law for the promotion of public health or for the prevention of danger to life or property. This law being thus outside Clause (5) (b) cannot, according to the suggested construction, be supported as an instance of exercise of police power for, *ex hypothesi*, the entire police power with regard to deprivation of property is contained in Clause (5) (b) and consequently the law I have mentioned will not be protected from the operation of Article 31 (2)

32. Already quoted by us in an earlier part of this article.

33. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. 5; June and July, 1954, pp. 647-48.

34. As shown in our preceding article in this series, Clause 5(b) of Article 31 of the Constitution runs as follows:

"(5) Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—

(a) * * * * *

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make—

(i) for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty, or

(ii) for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, or

(iii) * * *

35. See in this connection the view of Mahajan J. previously quoted.

and must be void for not providing any compensation. Yet in the United States where so much is made of the sanctity of private property and from where we are prone to draw inspiration in these matters such a law has been upheld as constitutional, as an instance of a valid exercise of the State's police power 'which extends to all the great public needs'. (See *Noble State Bank V. Haskell*). Again, suppose there is a labour dispute between, say, a tramway company and its workers and the running of the tram cars is stopped. A law which in such circumstances authorises the State to take possession of the tram depot and run the tram cars by the military or other personnel during such emergency for the convenience of the travelling public is not within Clause (5) (b) (ii) and on this construction will be void if it does not provide for compensation to the tramway company. On the suggested construction pushed to its logical conclusion it will not be possible in future to impose any social control on the profiteers or blackmarketeers, for a law controlling and fixing prices of essential supplies will always deprive them of property of the value to be measured by the difference between black-market price and the controlled price. The suggested construction may even make it difficult to support any future law containing provisions similar to those in the procedure codes or other laws not strictly falling within the (*sic*) Clause (5) (b) (ii) but authorising the seizure of books, documents or other property or the appointment of a receiver or sequestrator to take possession of property, for in all such cases there will be a 'deprivation' of property. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The several instances I have just given above appear to me to furnish ample justification for rejecting a construction which may make it impossible for the State to undertake beneficial legislation to promote social interest and may invalidate laws of the kind I have mentioned."

Moreover, inquiring into the reason why Clause (5) (b) (ii) was at all inserted in Article 31, Das J. observed:³⁶

"The answer will become obvious if it is remembered that it is extremely difficult to define

precisely the ambit and scope of the State's police power over or in relation to private property and some of the instances and forms of the exercise of such police power over or in relation to property may superficially resemble the exercise of the power of eminent domain. The conclusion, therefore, becomes irresistible that although Clause (5) (b) (ii) was not strictly speaking necessary for saving the police power, nevertheless, our Constitution-makers, out of abundant caution and with a view to avoid (ing) any possible argument, thought fit to insert sub-clause (5) (b) (ii) in Article 31. It is impossible to hold that the entire police power of the State to deprive a person of his property is contained in that sub-clause."

Das J. next referred to the criticism of his colleagues that the acceptance of his interpretation of Article 31 of the Constitution would mean that there would be no "protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property in exercise of the State's police power," and that thus there might be "legislative tyranny in respect of our property." To this his reply was, among other things:³⁷

"What, I ask, is our protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property by the exercise of the power of taxation³⁸? None whatever. By exercising its power of taxation by law the State may deprive us, citizen or non-citizen, of almost sixteen annas in the rupee of our income. What, I next ask, is the protection which our Constitution gives to any person against the legislature in the matter of deprivation even of life or personal liberty? None, except the requirement of Article 21, namely, a procedure to be established by the legislature itself and a skeleton procedure prescribed in Article 22 Therefore what is there to complain of if, in the matter of deprivation of property by the exercise of the State's police power, our Constitution has, by Article 31(1), given us protection only against the executive but none against the legislature? What is abnormal if our Constitution has trusted the legislature, as the people of Great Britain have trusted their Parliament? Right to life and personal liberty and the right to private property still

37. See *ibid*, pp. 652-56.

38. See Clause (5)(b)(i) of Article 31 and Article 265 of the Constitution in this connexion.

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July 1954, p. 645.

exist in Great Britain in spite of the supremacy of Parliament. Why should we assume or apprehend that our Parliament or State legislature should (*sic*) act like mad men and deprive us of our property without any rhyme or reason? After all our executive government is responsible to the legislature and the legislature is answerable to the people. Even if the legislature indulges in occasional vagaries, we have to put up with it for the time being. That is the price we must pay for democracy. But the apprehension of such vagaries can be no justification for stretching the language of the Constitution to bring it into line with our notion of what an ideal constitution should be. To do so is not to interpret the Constitution but to make a new Constitution by unmaking the one which the people of India have given to themselves. That, I apprehend, is not the function of the Court. If the Constitution, properly construed according to the cardinal rules of interpretation, appears to some to disclose any defect or lacuna the appeal must be to the authority competent to amend the Constitution and not to the Court.

"Further, there may be quite cogent and compelling reason why our Constitution does not provide for any protection against the legislature in the matter of deprivation of property otherwise than by taking of possession or acquisition of it. It is futile to cling to our notions of absolute sanctity of individual liberty or private property and to wishfully think that our Constitution makers have enshrined in our Constitution the notions of individual liberty and private property that prevailed in the 16th century when Hugo Grotius flourished or in the 18th century when Blackstone wrote his *Commentaries* and when the Federal Constitution of the United States of America was framed. We must reconcile ourselves to the plain truth that emphasis has now unmistakably shifted from the individual to the community. We cannot overlook that the avowed purpose of our Constitution is to set up a welfare State by subordinating the social interest in individual liberty or property to the larger social interest in the rights of the community. As already observed, the police power of the State is 'the most essential of powers, at times most insistent, and always one of the least limitable powers of the government'. Social interests are ever

expanding and are too numerous to enumerate or even to anticipate and, therefore, it is not possible to circumscribe the limits of social control to be exercised by the State or adopt a construction which will confine it within the narrow limits of Article 31 (5) (b) (ii). It must be left to the State to decide when and how and to what extent it should exercise this social control. Our Constitution has not thought fit to leave the responsibility of depriving a person of his property, whether it be in exercise of the power of eminent domain or of the police power, to the will or caprice of the executive but has left it to that of the legislature. In the matter of deprivation of property otherwise than by the taking of possession or by the acquisition of it within the meaning of Article 31(2), our Constitution has trusted our legislature and has not thought fit to impose any limitation on the legislature's exercise of the State's police power over private property. Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies, in ultimate analysis, in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself."

Accordingly, Das J. reiterated³⁹ his views on "the true scope and effect of Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31" as follows :

"Clause (1) deals with deprivation of property in exercise of police power and enunciates the restriction which our Constitution-makers thought necessary or sufficient to be placed on the exercise of that power, namely, that such power can be exercised only by authority of law and not by a mere executive fiat and Clause (2) deals with the exercise of the power of eminent domain and places limitations on the exercise of that power. It is these limitations which constitute our fundamental right against the State's power of eminent domain. The language used in Article 31 (2) clearly indicates beyond doubt that the power of eminent domain as adopted in our Constitution is concerned with only that kind of deprivation of property which is brought about by the taking of possession or acquisition contemplated by that Clause."

Again :⁴⁰

"Article 31(2) has imposed three conditions on the exercise of the State's power of eminent

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July, 1954, pp. 638-39.

40. See *ibid*, p. 656.

domain over private property and those limitations constitute the protection granted to the owner of the property as his fundamental right. It insists that this sovereign power may be exercised only if it is authorised by a law. It is, therefore, clear that the executive limb of the State cannot exercise this power on its own authority and without the sanction of law. The taking of possession or acquisition must be for a public purpose which implies that this power cannot be exercised except for implementing a public purpose. It cannot be exercised for a private purpose . . . Finally, the law authorising the taking of possession or acquisition of the property must provide for compensation. Compensation, therefore, is payable only when the State takes possession of or acquires private property."

It may be noted in this connexion that with regard to "the meaning of the words 'taken possession of or acquired' and their grammatical variations as used in (the original) Article 31(2)," Das J. agreed⁴¹ "with what Mukherjea J. said in *Chiranjit Lal's* case . . . namely:

"It cannot be disputed that acquisition means and implies the acquiring of the entire title of the expropriated owner, whatever the nature and extent of that title might be. The entire bundle of rights which were vested in the original holder would pass on acquisition to the acquirer leaving nothing in the former. In taking possession, on the other hand, the title to the property admittedly remains in the original holder, though he is excluded from possession or enjoyment of the property. Article 31(2) of the Constitution itself makes a clear distinction between acquisition of property and taking possession of it for a public purpose, though it places both of them on the same footing in the sense that a legislation authorising either of these acts must make provision for payment of compensation to the displaced or expropriated holder of the property. In the context in which the word acquisition appears in Article 31(2), it can only mean and refer to acquisition of the entire interest of the previous holder by transfer of title"

And Das J. added :⁴²

41. See *ibid.*, p. 658; also *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; December 1950; p. 902.

42. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V; June and July 1954, pp. 658-61.

"It follows from what has been stated above that the word 'acquired' used in Article 31(2) must be given the special meaning which that word has acquired and cannot be read as synonymous with 'taken' as used in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.⁴³ It is . . . suggested that at any rate the expression 'taken possession of' should be read in the sense in which the word 'taken' is understood in the American law . . . (in America) there would be a 'taking' whenever any of the rights, powers, privileges or immunities making up the ownership was taken from the owner Our Constitution-makers were well aware of the very wide meaning eventually given to the word 'taken' by the American Courts. They did not, however, use the word 'taken' in Article 31(2) which they would surely have done if they intended to reproduce the wide American concept of 'taking'. Our Constitution-makers, on the contrary, deliberately chose to adopt the narrower viewpoint and accordingly used the words 'taken possession of' in order to make it quite clear that they required compensation to be paid only when there was an actual taking of the property out of the possession of the owner or possessor into the possession of the State or its nominee. Of course, the manner of taking possession must depend on the nature of the property itself

"It is finally said that both Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the topic of eminent domain and, therefore, the expression 'taken possession of or acquired' occurring in Clause (2) has the same meaning which the word 'deprived' used in Clause (1) has. In other words, both the Clauses are concerned with deprivation of property and there is no reason to think that the expression 'taken possession of or acquired' was used in Clause (2) to indicate any particular kind or shade of deprivation. The obvious retort that at once comes to one's mind is that if it were intended by our Constitution-makers to convey the same general idea of deprivation of property by whatever means or mode it was brought about, why did they use the word 'deprived' in Clause (1) and why did they use in Clause (2) a different ex-

43. Reference is to the following provision in the Fifth Amendment:

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

pression which, as commonly used and understood, connotes a much narrower meaning? It would have been quite easy to frame Clause (2) by using the word 'deprived' instead of the expression 'taken possession of or acquired'. As our Constitution-makers used different expressions in the two Clauses it must be held that they had done so for a very definite purpose and that purpose could be nothing else but (*sic*) to provide for compensation for only a particular kind of deprivation specifically mentioned and not for any and every kind of deprivation . . . it will not be unreasonable to hold that 'taking of possession' referred to in Article 31(2) is in the nature of 'requisitioning' . . . 'taken possession of or acquired' should be read as indicative of the concept of 'requisition or acquisition'.⁴⁴

IV

We have indicated above the nature and extent of the difference of opinion between Das J. and the majority of his colleagues in the Supreme Court on the question of interpretation of Clause (1) and (the original) Clause (2) of Article 31. As we have stated before, this difference of opinion is in essence equally applicable to the interpretation of Clause (1) and the new Clause (2) of the Article, although the wording of the new Clause (2) seems to be much better than that of the original Clause (2). Before, however, we express our own view on the question, we should like to mention here that the point of view of Das J. was virtually endorsed later on by some spokesmen of the Government of India in our Parliament. Thus we find Shri H. V. Pataskar, Minister in the Ministry of Law, observing in our Lok Sabha on 14th March, 1955, in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill:⁴⁵

"On a proper interpretation of Article 31(1) and (2), the Supreme Court⁴⁶ could not have come to the conclusion which they have arrived at. It is true that, if as a matter of fact, this interpretation was allowed to stand,

many of the social problems which we want to solve will be incapable of being solved in the near future and hence the necessity of this amendment . . . Now, It will come to the point as to how to interpret Article 31(1) and 31(2) and what this connotes. There is a well-known classification of the State's sovereign power regarding property in constitutional law. These categories are: the power of taxation, the power which is known as that of eminent domain and the police power . . . Police power is something which is different from actual taking over which is called the power of 'eminent domain.' Therefore, it is no good confusing the two. It may be difficult to define exactly what is meant by the power of 'eminent domain' and what is meant by police power. But the distinction is clear and one thing is entirely distinct from the other so far as constitutional law is concerned. . . . The police power is inherent in the constitution of every country in the world. For a sovereign body to carry on administration, it must have this power. Therefore, that is what is provided in Article 31(1), and 'deprivation' 'acquisition' and 'requisition' cannot mean the same thing. Deprivation means the State does not take it over.* The owner is only deprived of it . . . It is also one of the accepted principles of constitutional law that police power requires no provision for compensation, while in the case of the exercise of the power of eminent domain the question of compensation comes in. Therefore, the whole trouble has arisen out of the fact that Article 31(1) and (2) which provide for two distinct categories of these powers as if they (*sic*) are one and the same. Critics have tried to show as if the whole object of both these clauses is to make provision only for eminent domain and nothing else. That is how the mistake has occurred. These two powers are provided for in our Constitution in Article 31(1) and 31(2). Article 31(1) makes provision for what is regarded in constitutional law as the police power, and 31(2) provides for the power which is called the power of eminent domain. These are distinct categories of sovereign powers with different connotations, subserving different needs of the society and the State. Article 31(5)(b) speci-

44. See in this connexion the wording of the new Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution.

45. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 14th March, 1955, columns 1998-2019.

46. The view of the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court is the view of the Supreme Court and is, under Article 141 of the Constitution, "binding on all Courts within the territory of India."

* Does this necessarily happen in all cases?

fically exempts the taxation powers or the police power from the operation of the power of eminent domain, because there you have to pay compensation. . . . No sovereign can function without this police power to deprive anybody of the property in the interest of public in general or those over whom that sovereign has to govern. . . . Article 31(1) has . . . been designed to formulate a fundamental right against the deprivation of property by the exercise of police powers by the executive. The Constitution-makers did not want these police powers to be exercised by the executive. It can only be done by the legislature. . . . There is no written provision in the Constitution of the U.S.A. regarding the police power . . . there is no provision (there) corresponding to Article 31(1). . . . There, the Constitution does not contain a provision (to that effect). They exercise that power by passing a law. . . . Article 31(2) is, as I have said before, what is called elsewhere the power of eminent domain. Therefore, with due respect to the Chief Justice Patanjali Sastri, I have to say that he has fallen into the error of not having tried to make a distinction between Article 31(1) and 31(2). As I said, Article 31(2) is what is called the power of eminent domain, that is, property is to be acquired for a public purpose. It provides that the law should provide for compensation for property acquired or taken possession of . . . Acquisition must always mean and imply the acquiring of the entire title of the person whose title has been expropriated—whatever the nature or extent of that title might be . . . The words 'taken possession of' were also deliberately used in Article 31(2) for the purpose of making it clear that compensation was required to be paid only when there was actual taking over of the property out of the possession of the owner or its possessor into the possession of the State, the manner of taking possession naturally depending on the nature of the property itself."

The view expressed by Shri Pataskar was in essence endorsed by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, the then Minister of Commerce and Industry, on 15th March, 1955, in the Lok Sabha,⁴⁷ and by Shri G. B. Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, on 17th March, 1955, in the Rajya

Sabha,⁴⁸ in connexion with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. Notwithstanding this endorsement by the spokesmen of the Government of India of the point of view of Das J., we find it rather difficult, having regard to the language of Clause (1) and Clause (2) of Article 31, to reject as untenable the contention of the majority of his colleagues. It appears to us that the word "deprived" which means "being debarred from enjoyment," in Clause (1) of Article 31 is a general term, and that the expressions "the taking of possession" and "acquired" or "acquisition" in Clause (2) thereof, or their variants in it, are specific forms of deprivation, "the taking of possession"⁴⁹ implying a temporary deprivation and "acquired" or "acquisition" a permanent deprivation. It is, therefore, not necessary to import the American doctrine of police power in connexion with the interpretation of Clause (1) of the Article.

At the same time, we also feel that there is a considerable force in the reasoning of Das J. It seems to us that this difference of view between Das J. and the majority of his colleagues in connexion with the question of interpretation of Article 31 probably arose on account of the defective wording of Clauses (1), (2) and (5) of the Article. Perhaps, this defect in wording was unavoidable owing to the fact that, as shown⁵⁰ in our preceding article, the original Clause 24 of the Draft Constitution of India which later on became Article 31 of the Constitution had been, to quote the words of Shri G. B. Pant, Minister of Home Affairs, "the subject of a prolonged controversy," and that Article 31 "was by itself, a sort of a compromise Article."⁵¹

The defects in the wording of Article 31 are still there. It appears to us that all difficulties in connexion with the interpretation of the Article will disappear if its Clauses (1) and (2) are more explicitly and harmoniously worded with consequential changes in it, and if its present Clause (5) (b) (ii) is redrafted on the following lines:

"Nothing in Clause (2) shall affect—the provisions of any law which the State

48. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, of 17th March, 1955.

49. Or "requisitioning" (see the new Clause (2) of Article 31).

50. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1958, pp. 35-36.

51. See *Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha*, 17th March 1955, Columns 2229-2230.

47. See the *Lok Sabha Debates* of 15th March, 1955.

may hereafter reasonably make—in the interests of decency, morality, the public welfare, or the public convenience, or for the promotion of public health, or for the prevention of danger to life or property. or . . . ”

Thus redrafted, Clause (5) (ii) of Article 31 will, together with what is laid down in Clause (5) of Article 19 in relation to Clause

(1) (f) thereof, provide an ample scope for all legitimate exercise of what may be considered to be the police power of the State in India. What, therefore, is really required is a further amendment of Article 31 with a view to removing all ambiguities, obscurities, or other defects in it.

For considerations of space, we propose to continue, further, our discussion of Article 31 in our next article in this series.

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DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

His Contributions to Philosophical Studies

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SIR Brajendranath Seal's contributions to philosophical studies are many and multifarious. It is not possible within the limited scope of the present article to enumerate them all or to discuss any of them at full length. Some of his contributions bear directly on strictly philosophical topics and problems, as for instance, his monographs on the Sankhya-Patanjala theory of Evolution, the Vedantic View, the Atomic theory of the Buddhists and of the Jainas, and the Scientific Method of the Hindus in his well-known work, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. To these we may add his learned paper on "The Test of Truth" read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1899 A.D., and *The Quest Eternal* in which he sought to transcribe basic philosophical ideas in forms of pure poetry. Some other contributions of his consist in a philosophical study of religious, sociological and cultural subjects, as for example, his remarkable dissertations on "Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity with an Examination of the Mahabharata Legend about Narada's Pilgrimage to Svetadvipa," "Foundation of a Science of Mythology in Yaska and the Niruktas with Greek Parallels," "Origin of Law and Hindus as Founders of Social Science," and his most learned Presidential Addresses at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society at Bangalore in 1924, and Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions in Calcutta in 1936. Still some other contributions to philoso-

phical studies were made by him in his most instructive and illuminative talks and lectures to University students, some of which have been preserved in the form of notes, and in his wonderful "Syllabus of Indian Philosophy" based on those lectures and focussed on all the areas of the vast and variegated field of Indian philosophy, of which some have been explored and many still remain to be explored and studied. This syllabus will serve as a perpetual source of inspiration and guidance to generations of students, teachers and research scholars in Indian philosophy all over the world. But above all, the most valuable contribution he made to philosophical studies in India is his pioneer-work in the field of comparative studies in philosophy.

There was a time, which is within living memory, when the charge was often heard against Indian philosophy that it was not based on independent reasoning but on authority and, therefore, it was dogmatic, rather than critical. What was, and still now is, necessary to remove this stigma of dogmatism attached to Indian thought by uninformed Western critics, is a comparative study of Indian and Western philosophies, and a critical estimation of the value and validity of their respective contributions to the world of philosophy. Sir Brajendranath Seal was eminently qualified for this task, and it was he who probably first undertook the work in right earnest and accom-

plished it partly with great success. He is thus a pioneer in the field of comparative studies in philosophy and has inspired many other scholars to work in the same field. His great achievement in this direction is *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, published in 1915 A.D. We would here explain some of the chief contributions of this valuable work to the comparative study of Indian philosophy.

The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus is a series of monographs on the scientific concepts and methods formulated by the ancient Hindus. It is a study of ancient Indian scientific thought and it seeks to correlate the Indian scientific concepts and methods to parallel Western ideas and methods, and thereby bring out the contributions of the ancient Indians to the scientific thought of the world. These studies in Hindu Positive Sciences were intended by Sir Brajendranath to serve a preliminary to his "Studies in Comparative Philosophy," a projected work which did not see the light of day; and for this the philosophical world is left poorer today.

In *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* we have first an illuminating interpretation of the Sankhya-Patanjala theory of *prakriti* and the *gunas*. The concepts of *prakriti* and the *gunas* pervade the whole of the history of Indian thought; and they are also found in popular literature. But their philosophical import is shrouded in mystery and could not be grasped even by many competent scholars. This has been brought out by a comparative study of them in this work. The Sankhya-Patanjala theory of *Prakriti*, we are told here, is the earliest clear and comprehensive account of the process of cosmic evolution, viewed not as a mere metaphysical speculation but as a positive principle based on the conservation, transformation and dissipation of Energy.

The manifested world of objects is traced in the Sankhya to an ultimate, unmanifested ground called *Prakriti*. The unity of *Prakriti* is an abstraction; it is in reality an undifferentiated manifold, an indeterminate infinite continuum of infinitesimal Reals. These Reals are termed *Gunas* and are classed under three heads: (1) *Sattva*, (2) *Rajas* and (3) *Tamas*. *Sattva* is the Essence which manifests itself in a phenomenon, and which is characterised by

this tendency to manifestation; the Essence, in other words, which serves as the medium for the reflection of Intelligence. *Rajas* is the Energy which is efficient in a phenomenon, and is



Sir Brajendranath Seal

characterised by a tendency to do work or overcome resistance. *Tamas* is Mass or Inertia which counteracts the tendency of *Rajas* to do work, and of *Sattva* to conscious manifestation. The ultimate factors of the physical Universe,

then, are Essence or intelligence-stuff, Energy or activity-stuff, and Matter or the stuff characterised by mass or inertia. The infinitesimals of Energy do not possess inertia or gravity, and are not therefore material, but they possess quantum (*parimana*) and extensity (*paricchinatva*). The very nature of Energy is to do work or to produce motion (*chalam* and *upastambhakam*). All Energy is therefore ultimately kinetic; even potential Energy (*anudbhuta-vriti-sakti*) is only the Energy of motion in imperceptible forms.

The *Gunas* are conceived to be Reals or substantive entities. But they are not independent and self-subsistent entities; rather they are interdependent moments in every real object of the world. In intimate union these enter into things as essential constitutive factors. In everything of the world there is an intelligence-stuff by which it manifests itself to our intelligence, an energy-stuff by which it moves or sets other things in motion, and a matter-stuff which counteracts the tendencies to motion and manifestation. But though co-operating to produce the world of objects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. In any phenomenal product of their co-operation they continue to exist distinctly in different proportions. Whenever anything is produced there is a preponderance of one over the other two. Thus in a body at rest, *Tamas* or mass is patent, *Rajas* or energy is latent and *Sattva* or conscious manifestation is sublatent. In a moving body, *Rajas* is predominant, while mass or inertia (*Tamas*) is overcome. In voluntary activity, the transformation of Energy (*Rajas*) goes hand in hand with the predominance of conscious manifestation (*Sattva*), while the matter-stuff or Mass (*Tamas*), though latent, is to be inferred from the resistance overcome. Thus the interaction among the *gunas* is of a peculiar nature; in it there is co-operation but no inter-penetration or fusion of the ultimate elements of things. In Western science and also Natural philosophy, the physical world is ultimately traced to matter and motion which were once supposed to be externally related, but are now taken to be inseparably connected with each other. On the Sankhya analysis, however, all physical things contain an intelligence-stuff in addition to matter and motion. For, without such an element we cannot explain the mani-

festation of objects in experience. Just as light manifests objects which reflect it in different measures, so intelligence manifests things which contain an element of manifestation in them. Hence, there must be a manifestation-essence in things in addition to their mass and motion constituents. This essence is *Sattva*, whereas motion and mass (or inertia) are *Rajas* and *Tamas* respectively.

If we keep in mind these ideas about the *Gunas* and their interaction we can understand the process of cosmic evolution. In the beginning of the process there was a condition of equilibrium, a state of uniform diffusion of the Reals, in which the tendencies to manifestation and motion were exactly counterbalanced by the resistance of Mass. Although all the materials necessary for building a world-system were there, the impetus for the creative process had to be given by the light of the *Purusa* or the self. Just as a sleeping body begins to move and act when it is awakened or enlightened by consciousness, so *Prakriti* begins to create when it is roused from quiescence by the consciousness of the self. But the self's consciousness does not add to the *Gunas* or the reals of *Prakriti*. It only serves to end the state of their uniform diffusion and equipoise. The process of cosmic evolution goes on and is closed within *Prakriti* itself. The law of evolution, according to the Sankhya, is differentiation in integration. The process of evolution is one of progressive differentiation of the undifferentiated and within the undifferentiated. The order of succession is not from the whole to parts, nor from parts to the whole, but ever from a relatively less differentiated, less determinate, less coherent whole to a relatively more differentiated, more determinate and more coherent whole. The process of evolution is not, as on the Spencerian theory it is supposed to be, the transition from a homogeneous unity to heterogeneous parts, and then the integration of the heterogeneous parts in a whole, a process which goes on repeating itself for ever. Nor does the process conform to the Hegelian formula of dialectical development from thesis to antithesis and from that to synthesis. On the Sankhya view, increasing differentiation proceeds *pari passu* with increasing integration within the evolving whole, so that by this two-

fold process what was an incoherent indeterminate homogeneous whole evolves into a coherent determinate heterogeneous whole.

The different stadia in the order of cosmic evolution are represented as follows:

(1) The unknowable and uncharacterisable original ground of the world of objects—*Prakriti* or the Reals in a state of equilibrium.

(2) The knowable or empirical universe as the stuff of consciousness—*Mahat* or the intelligible essence of the cosmos, evolved by differentiation and integration within the formless *Prakriti*.

(3) The individuated but still indeterminate stuff bifurcated into two series—Subject-experience and Object-experience, the one comprising the empirical Ego, *Asmita* or *Ahankara*; the other comprising, through the mediation of the former, the subtle vehicles of potential Energy, the ultimate subtle constituents of the material world—*Tanmatra* or *Sukshma-bhuta*.

(4) The determinate stuff of the Subject-series in the form of sensory and motor stuff, and that of the Object-series in the form of atomic matter-stuff in which the *Tanmatras* are actualised as specific sensible Energies—the *Paramanus* or the atoms of different kinds of gross matter.

(5) The coherent and integrated matter-stuff or individual substances like inorganic objects, vegetable and animal organisms, all of which are subject to change or evolution and dissolution.

(6) So the cosmic series moves on in ascending stages of unstable equilibrium until the reverse course of equilibration and dissipation of Energy, which constantly accompanies the evolution and transformation of Energy, completes the disintegration of the universe into the original unmanifested ground, the unknowable *Prakriti*.

Throughout the process of evolution the Reals—*Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*—assume an infinite diversity of forms and powers, but they can neither be created nor destroyed. The individual objects of experience are subject to addition and subtraction, growth and decay which are only due to changes of collocation and consequent changes of state from the potential to the actual. The total amount of Energy, therefore, remains the same, while the

world is constantly changing and evolving. It follows from this that cause and effect are only more or less evolved forms of the same ultimate Energy and that the sum of effects exists in the sum of causes in a potential form. What we call the cause and the effect are only the unmanifested and manifested forms of the same thing, power or energy. All effects are contained potentially in their material causes and are manifested by certain concomitant conditions which set free the energy of the cause and make it patent and manifest. The Sankhya view of causation thus follows logically from its doctrine of the conservation and transformation of Energy. On this view of causation the perplexing problem of the relation between cause and effect conceived as two separate entities does not arise. If the cause be something different from the effect and separated from it by an interval of time and space, we cannot understand how any energy or force can pass from the former to the latter. If, however, cause and effect be regarded as two different states of the same thing or power, the hypothesis of a passage of energy from the one to the other becomes unnecessary, and the effect may be said to be a manifestation of the energy latent in the cause or rather the unmanifested causal energy made manifest. Another point of special interest that should be noted here is the Sankhya conception of atoms as complex systems. Atoms are not regarded as simple, indivisible and ultimate constituents of matter. There are three stages in the genesis of matter: (1) the original infinitesimal units of Mass which arise within *Prakriti* when its original equilibrium is distributed (*tamasa-ahankara* called *bhutadi*) and on which *Rajas* or Energy does work, (2) the infra-atomic potencies, charged with different kinds of energy, which result from the action of Energy on the original Mass-units (*tanmatra*), and (3) the five different kinds of atoms which are said to be the indivisible parts of gross matter, but are themselves complex *Tanmatrie* systems (*Sthula-bhuta-paramanu*). Thus atoms are found to be complex systems of potential powers or energies which are infra-atomic in their nature. This is a splendid prophecy about the divisibility of atoms now admitted by modern Western scientists.

The Advaita-Vedanta theory of *Maya* and

the world's evolution out of it is regarded by these are regarded as continuous and without many as a philosophical puzzle. Let us see what any atomic structure. The Vedanta speaks of light one gets on this puzzling matter from the *Anu* or the atom not as an ultimate indivisible standpoint of the positive sciences. *Maya* is discrete constituent of matter, but as the smallest regarded by the Vedantin as the material cause conceivable quantum or measure of matter. (*upadana-karana*) of the world. The power of When the gross elements are once formed, the *Maya* is the power to realise the unreal to different kinds of substance or individual things impart practical Reality or mediate existence to and beings are derived from them by the evolutionary process called *Parinama*. Matter is that which does not and cannot possess absolute constantly undergoing change of states. Cause Reality or self-existence. *Maya* is at once real and unreal, while *Brahman* (Self) is absolute tion is this change of states in matter. The Reality, absolute Intelligence and absolute Bliss. effect is only the cause in a new collocation. The world evolves out of *Maya* (*maya-parinama*), so that *Maya* in the Vedanta replaces the *Prakriti* of Sankhya. But *Maya* and without is not always a condition of change by implication the world, of matter out of necessary that more than the substance *Brahman* not by a process of evolution (*parinama*), but of *avarta* or self-alienation. The shock combine to generate new or substance self-alienation of the absolute, acting through e.g., a combination of ends from alkali, Chlorine may also be due to combination with other substances. Such combination may produce a compound substance which possesses either like qualities with the constituents or unlike and new qualities not to be found in the constituents. In this way the world's evolution goes on until the reverse process of dissolution begins and *Vayu* comes *Tejas* as a subtle radiant matter complete the disintegration of the cosmos into which contains *in potentia* the energy of light its original ground—*Maya*, the inscrutable and heat. *Ap* evolves from *Tejas* and is a subtle power of *Brahman* or the Self. The Vedanta is subtle viscous matter, instinct with the potency of at one with the Sankhya in holding that the taste. Lastly, Earth comes from *Ap* and is a self which is just consciousness as such subtle hard matter which possesses the potency is above matter and the cosmic process of of smell. These five subtle elements are compounded in five different ways to give rise to the evolution. The self is the logical presupposition and the rational ground of both the process of five gross material elements of those names evolution and the world-systems formed by it. (*Mahabhutas*). The gross element of *Akasa* is It somehow starts the course of evolution, but is produced by the combination of the five subtle is not itself subject to evolution or dissolution. elements in the proportion, four parts of *Akasa* This is a truth which no theory of evolution, and one part of each of the other four subtle old or modern, can afford to ignore and far less elements. Similarly, each of the other four deny.

So far we have considered what light a comparative study throws on the Sankhya and the Vedanta theory of cosmic evolution. The limited scope of the present paper does not permit us to study in a similar way the contributions of other Indian systems to the same subject. But the value of the entire body of Hindu positive science depends on the scientific method of the Hindus. And this we propose to consider next.

By scientific method is meant the method of discovering scientific truths. It is the method

The subtle elements (*sukshma bhutas*) are forms of homogeneous and continuous matter, without any atomicity of structure. The gross elements (*mahabhutas*) are composite, but even

of establishing general truths about the facts of experience or the objects of the world, in other words, the method of discovering the laws of Nature. The value of a science depends entirely on the value of the method it follows in its investigation of the phenomena of Nature to arrive at certain general truths. So the question as to the right scientific method occupies an important place in Indian Logic. Scientific method consists of two main parts, namely, observation of and experiments on facts, and generalisation of facts in the form of laws or principles. With regard to the first part we find that the entire apparatus of Hindu scientific method proceeded on the basis of observed instances carefully analysed and sifted. This was the source of the physico-chemical theories and classifications. But, in Anatomy, the Hindus went a step further and practised dissection on dead bodies for purposes of practical demonstration. In some sciences the observation of facts was precise, minute and thoroughly scientific, while in others it was rather defective, probably on account of the lack of practical interest. Experiments were, of course, conducted for purposes of chemical operations in relation to the arts and manufactures. But of experiment as an independent method of proof or discovery the instances recorded in books are rare. This may appear to be a serious defect in the scientific method of the Hindus. But here we should point out that the experimental proof of a scientific hypothesis involves the logical fallacy of affirming the consequent. It is here supposed that if the consequences of an hypothesis are verified, the hypothesis itself is true. But this is not necessarily so, for there may be other hypotheses that would yield the same consequences. Experiment cannot prove a scientific hypothesis simply by verifying its consequences. For this, other factors like repeated observation and careful analysis of observed facts are essentially necessary. The observation of facts must be free from the fallacies of mal-observation and non-observation. These were carefully studied by the ancient Hindu thinkers and ascribed to three principal causes: (1) *Dosa* or defect of sense-organ and of necessary stimulus, e.g., diseased condition of the senses, dim light, etc.; (2) *Samprayoga*, i.e., presentation of a part or an aspect instead of the whole; and (3) *Samskara* or the disturbing influence of mental predisposition, e.g., expectation, memory, habit, prejudice, etc.

The second part of the scientific method deals with the problems of influence and generalisation, or induction from particular facts of observation. Inference in Indian Logic is based on the establishment of an invariable concomitance between the middle term and the major term, or the ground and the object of inference (*vigapti*). Thus inference is neither merely formal nor merely material, but a combined formal-material, deductive-inductive process. It is neither the Aristotelian syllogism which is a formal-deductive process, nor Mill's induction which is a material-inductive process, but the real inference which must combine formal validity with material truth. In the West, the modern school of mathematical logic now recognises this truth and makes a distinction between implication and inference. As regards logical form, inference in Indian Logic consists of five propositions for purposes of demonstration, and of three propositions for that of acquisition of knowledge for oneself. The third proposition is called *udaharana* and is a general proposition which is supported by facts of observation. It thus combines and harmonises Mill's view of the major premise as a brief memorandum of like instances already observed, with the Aristotelian view of it as a universal proposition which is the formal ground of inference. But the question is: What is our warrant for taking the leap from observed to unobserved cases? Under what conditions are we justified to assert a Universal Real proposition on the basis of our necessarily limited observation? What is the ground or the method of induction?

According to the Buddhists, a general proposition may be based on the principle of causality or essential identity (*karaya-karana-bhava* or *tadatmya*). If two objects are related to each other as cause and effect, or if the two have the same essence, then we may say that they are universally related, i.e., wherever the one is, the other must be. There can be no exception to their uniform relation, since that would lead to the absurd position that an effect may be produced without any cause or that an

object may be different from itself. If then, we can discover the relation of causality or essential identity between two objects, we can arrive at a universal or general proposition which is the ground of inference. To discover the causal relation, the Buddhists recommend the method of *panchakarani* which consists of five steps as follows: (1) non-perception of the 'effect' phenomenon, (2) perception of the 'cause' phenomenon, (3) perception of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession, (4) disappearance or elimination of the 'cause' phenomenon, (5) disappearance or elimination of the 'effect' phenomenon in immediate succession. The method of *panchakarani*, it will be seen, is a combination of the positive and the negative application of J. S. Mill's Method of Difference and, as such, it may be called the Joint Method of Difference. It has some advantages over Mill's methods of Agreement, Difference and Joint Method of Agreement and Difference, each taken by itself. It obviates the difficulties in which each of these methods is involved. If when all other circumstances remain the same, the appearance of one phenomenon is immediately followed by the appearance of another and its disappearance is immediately followed by the disappearance of the other, we become doubly sure that the one is the cause of the other. Similarly, a universal proposition may be based on the discovery of an essential identity between two objects. Thus we know that all men are animals, because animality belongs to the essence of both, and men without animality will not be men.

The *Nyaya* method of induction is different from that of the Buddhists. For the *Naiyayikas*, causality and essential identity are not the ultimate grounds of induction, but are themselves established by induction. There is but one method of induction which consists of the following steps: (1) *Anvaya* or observation of agreement in presence between two facts, (2) *Vyatireka* or observation of agreement in absence between them, (3) *Vyabhicharadarsana* or non-observation of any contrary instance in which the one is without the other, (4) *Upadhinirasa* or elimination of all external conditions on which the relation between the two facts may be suspected to be dependent, (5) *Tarka* or indirect proof of invariability of the relation by exposing the contradictions

which may be involved in the relation. *Lakshana* perception or perception of the universal which underlies the particulars of experience and constitute the ultimate ground of induction. It will be seen here that the *Naiyayikas* agree with J. S. Mill in holding that the principle of causality is itself an empirical generalisation, although it is universal in its scope and is nowhere contradicted in our experience. But they do not accept with Mill four or five methods of induction. For them the inductive method is one, although it is a complex process in which we have to pass through several stages. That this is really so is now admitted by the Western logicians when they say that none of the methods of Mill can by itself establish and warrant induction and that they should supplement one another for conclusive inductive proof. As Sir Brajendranath says:

"Mill's Method of Agreement breaks down in dealing with cases of uniformities of co-existence unconnected with causation; the *Nyaya* method is a more daring and original attempt, and is far more comprehensive in scope, being applicable to all uniformities of co-existence and of causation alike."*

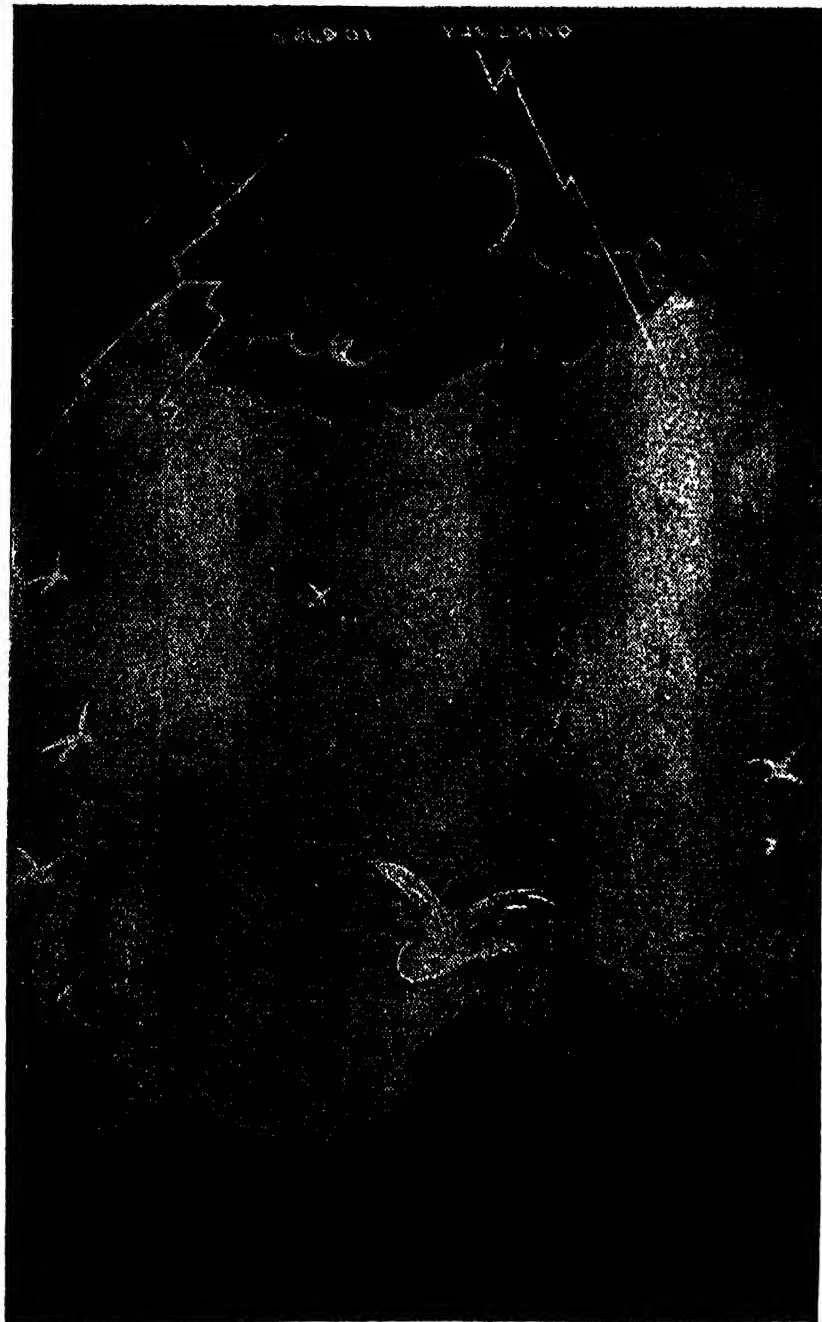
The account of *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* given here is very brief and fragmentary. It hardly does justice to the range and depth of the comparative study of Hindu positive science and its methodology that one actually finds in the book. But it will serve some useful purposes. It will give one some idea of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in the positive sciences and their methodology. It will also convince one that the contributions of the ancient Indians to these subjects deserve careful consideration even at the present day. Above all, it will, we hope, create a lively interest in the comparative and critical study of Indian philosophy. If competent scholars devote themselves to this much-needed and fruitful study of Indian thought in all its aspects, the unfinished work of Sir Brajendranath will be continued and some day completed. And the result will be a great revival of Indian thought with a great future before it.

* Cf. *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 278.

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE brilliant Exhibition of the works of Gogonendranath Tagore, the elder brother of Abanindranath, opened at the Rabindra Bharati Hall on Wednesday, 15th February last, is of exceptional interest and significance in the history of Modern Indian Painting in Bengal. The works of the two brothers stand in a peculiar relationship to each other in the modern movement in Indian painting.

The merit of the valuable contribution made by this great master of daring originality and versatility had been somewhat unjustly obscured by the world-wide fame achieved by his younger brother, for the works of Gogonendranath were no less brilliant, no less significant, no less great than the works of his more famous and illustrious brother. Gogonendranath could have and did, in fact, amicably challenge the



Thunder and Rain

brilliant quality of the works of Abanindranath, and he appears to have voluntarily stood down from the pedestal of fame setting up his brother there out of affectionate consideration, choosing for himself a comparatively obscure part in the new movement in Indian painting. Though the two brothers sat and worked side by side in two chairs in close proximity in the same studio, for years and years, they developed styles and techniques and chose subjects for painting diametrically different from each other, without in any way influencing the works of each other, and treading on independent paths working out their aesthetic career each in a different way according to his own inclination and bent of mind. Two brother artists working in intimate relationship and close physical proximity and yet developing two diagonically different kinds of outlook and technique, is a unique phenomenon unknown in the whole history of Art, surpassing the achievements of two other pairs known to history, Hubert and John Van Eyck in the Netherlands, and of the brothers Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini, the famous masters of the Venetian School.

Unlike his brother, Gogonendranath never had any formal instruction under any art-teacher, and his artistic career was built by his own exertions and initiative without any manner of preliminary training. He began to handle his brush very late in life, long after Abanindranath had made his success, in bringing a new life in Indian painting. His first entry in the world of Art was with a series of brush paintings of the studies of Indian crows, somewhat in the manner of Japanese painters, with vigorous bravura of techniques all his own. His next essays depicted the priest of the Jagannath Temple at Puri in an impressionistic style of great vigour and charm. Published in the form of two albums by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, they earned enthusiastic appreciation and Gogonendranath was at once hailed as a great talent by the best critics of the time, so that it may be said that his reputation was built in a day on the solid merits of his bold brush drawings. Unlike his brother, Gogonendranath never worked on the traditional schools of Indian painting, Rajput or Moghul, but took an independent path from the beginning. Shortly after his first success he struck a new path as

a cartoonist and a satirical artist, caricaturing the evils of Bengali society in a series of brilliant cartoons published under the title of *Virup-Jajra*, which created a great sensation and confirmed his position as an artist of new power and vision. A few selected examples of his caricatures and cartoons justly occupy a section of the current show.

The next chapter of his career opened with a brilliant series of coloured drawings illustrating the "Life of Sri Chaitanya," a collection of which provide an attractive section of the show. They are the most intimate and a reverent presentation of the life of a great Bengali saint, depicted with charming realism and rare imagination. They reveal a flavour of extreme religious saturation, challenging the quality of Giotto's "Life of St. Francis," without his pedantry and formality.

The next revelation of his talent opened with an astonishing excursion into the realm of landscapes, beginning with remarkable studies of the house-tops in this city. Followed by a series of impressionistic presentation of the open fields of Bengal, punctuated with dreamy and distant apparitions of the coconut trees of rare charm and beauty. He now occupies a unique position in Indian landscape painting, and his works can be compared with the great masterpieces of Corot, the famous French landscapist. Rarely have the landscapes of Bengal been depicted with such simple charm and penetrating vision. Fundamentally, he was a black and white artist confining himself to the medium of Chinese ink, working with an infinite variety of gradations and values, rarely using any tint or colour in his studies.

And this is nowhere better illustrated than in his large series of black and white studies of deeply mystic and philosophical symbolism in which the mysteries of life and death are interpreted and solved through the presentations of types borrowed from actual life, and visualized through a procession of dreamy shadows set off against brilliant patches of light, which create a world of its own inviting us to enter the gates of a new paradise with a promise of the solutions of the problems of this life. In these brilliant essays in black and white he reveals himself as a great thinker and philosopher occupying a position far above the mere wielder



The Puppet Queen

of the brush. But his greatest contribution to Art consisted of a new and independent interpretation of the principles of Cubism, without in any way imitating the formulas and conventions of the European Cubists. Gogonendranath's first contact with the modernists of Europe began in the year 1919 when a group of works of Wasilisky Kandinsky and his disciples was brought to Calcutta from Munich and exhibited in the hall of the Society of Oriental Art. Very few of our Indian artists visited this exhibition, and Gogonendranath was the only artist who studied those new experiments of the European studios analysing their aims and assimilating the doctrines of their new philosophy of painting.

Within a short time Gogonendranath began to give his own original interpretation of the doctrines of Cubism, boldly challenging their futility of banishing all subject-matter or spiritual contents reducing their essays to dry and naked geometrical abstractions.

Tagore justified his challenge by investing his own compositions with rich spiritual con-

and depicting a new world of romance and mystery never achieved by any Cubists in the West. By a new analysis of lights and shadows he discovered a new way of presenting solid forms in which Cubes of lights and shadows provided a new and powerful vocabulary. He invariably used typical models from Indian life, particularly Indian women, and worked them into a series of vibrating composition full of mystical meaning and significance. This is typically illustrated in his "Reverie" and "Equilibrium." His more abstract studies are more daringly original composition solving the

problems of light and shadows, as illustrated in his two great masterpieces, "Laughter" and "Lights Dream of Darkness." His works in this section are instructive lessons to our young painters slavishly copying the formulas and conventions of the "ism" painters of Europe. Tagore has ably demonstrated that there is an Indian way of interpreting Cubism without imitating the phrases and formulas, the manners and mannerisms, of the European Cubists.*

* By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Calcutta.

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REPUBLIC DAY DIARY, 1958

By K. N. MEHROTRA

UNLIKE last year, this time, I was in Delhi for the Eighth Republic Day sufficiently earlier than the actual festivities started. On reaching Delhi I noticed that the preparations for the great day had already started earlier than expected for the armed forces' parade and cultural pageant on January 26, and festival of folk dances on January 27, and 28, 1958.

On January 26, 1958 from atop the massive 130 ft. high India Gate, I could notice a great crowd massing on both sides of Rajpath (Kingsway) much earlier than the parade was scheduled to start. The crowd grew deeper and deeper as the time for the parade approached nearer and nearer.

About half an hour before the President's arrival, two helicopters flew over the waiting crowd up and down the Rajpath showering flower petals much to the excitement of children. Exactly at 9.30 hrs. the President, in hisaming State coach escorted by his mounted body-guard in red tunics and blue turbans, drove to the saluting base where he was greeted and received by the Prime Minister.

After with the breaking of the National Flag, heralding the arrival of the President of the Republic of India, a 31-gun salute was fired and the long-awaited Republic Day parade started to schedule from Vijai Chowk (Great place) much to the excitement of the huge crowd on either side of the Rajpath.

As the parade reached nearer India Gate, I noticed light and heavy tanks of the armoured



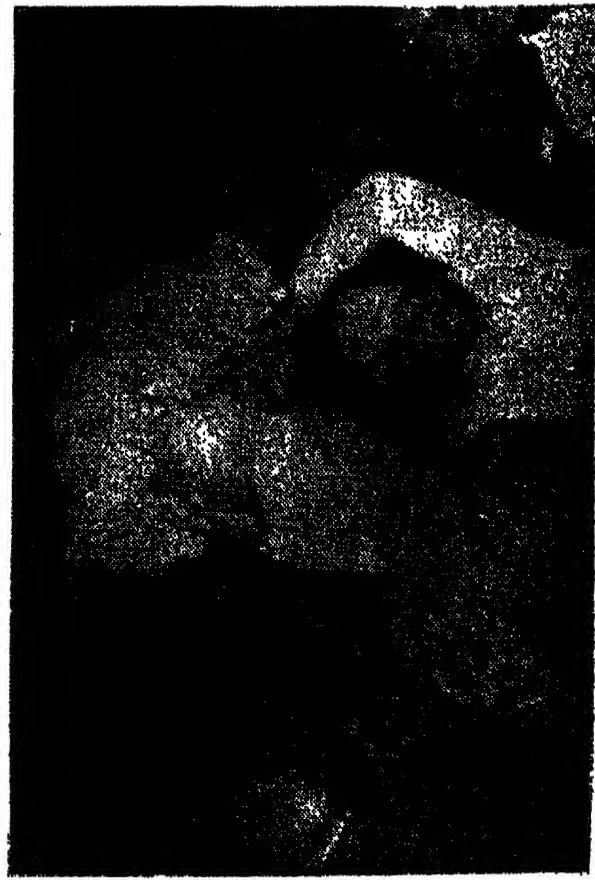
One of the richly caparisoned elephants in the Republic Day parade surmounted by howdahs and chhatris under which are sitting musicians playing sanai and drums, etc.



Bird's eye view of the crowd watching the parade just below
the India Gate around George's statue



Tableaux put up by West Bengal depicting 'Cottage Industries' in the Republic Day parade which was adjudged as
the Second best by a panel of Judges

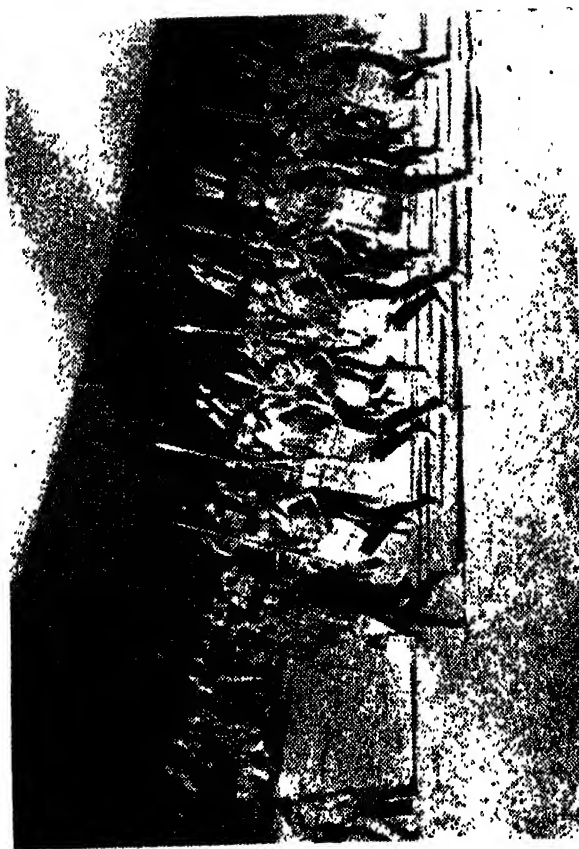




The Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, Government of India, along with other very important personalities in the Tarkona Gardens when they paid short visits to folk dancers' camps on the eve of the Republic Day.



For the first time this year came the folk dancers from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to present a Nicobari dance in the Folk Dance festival at the National Stadium



Naga dancers at the National Stadium who gave the 'Sangtam Dance'



The Jhauar dance in progress at the National Stadium presented by folk dancers from Bihar which was adjudged the best of all folk dances presented during the festival

corps moved close behind the leader of the parade, Maj. Gen. U.S. Dubey, G.O.C., Delhi Area. They were followed by other pieces of heavy, medium and light artillery and anti-aircraft guns. Then came detachments of several other corps of the Army, Navy and Airforce comprising nearly 3000 officers and other ranks besides Ex-Servicemen wearing various glittering medals, Sea cadets, St. John Ambulance Brigade, the Delhi Fire Service, etc., punctuated by various Service Bands.

Military College, Dehra Dun, as also Sea Cadet Corps of Bombay.

Then came richly caparisoned elephants, eight in number surmounted by Howdahs and coloured Chhatris under which sat musicians playing Sanai tune and drums, etc.

The elephants were followed by a score of floating tableaux from Andhra (Custard apple), Assam (Silk industry), Bihar (Community projects and river dams), Bombay (Koyna project with a figure of Luxmi), Himachal



Tableaux put up by Jammu and Kashmir depicting 'Winter in Kashmir' in the Republic Day parade which was adjudged the best of all by a panel of Judges



The state with folk dancers from Madras who gave Kinnari or Pot dance in the Folk Dance val at the National Stadium

The colourful camel corps of Jaischmer followed cavalry pieces from Jodhpur, Gwalior, Patiala and Nawanagar. There was also a small group of white-uniformed soldiers of winter warfare carrying skis on their shoulders.

In the rear of the army detachments was India's tallest soldier 7ft. 3 ins. in height Shri Janak Singh marching gracefully swinging his arms in the air.

Participating in the parade for the first time were also 51 gentlemen cadets from the

Pradesh (Shepherd's flock), Jammu and Kashmir (Winter in Kashmir), Kerala (Coir industry), Madhya Pradesh (Sanchi stupa), Madras (Navaratri festival), Manipur (Fishing girls), Mysore (Khedda operation), North-Eastern Frontier Agency (Dancing girls around their leader with a sword), Orissa (Boita Bandana), Punjab (Kulu Valley), Rajasthan (Haowa Mahal and Tower of Victory), Uttar Pradesh (Emperor Akbar holding Court at Fatehpur Sikri), West Bengal (Cottage industry), Tata Iron and Steel Company (Steel production) and Ministry of Railways (Chittaranjan and Perambur work-

shops). In the last there was yet another all-flower boat tableaux put up by the Central Public Works Department.

Later the tableaux put up by Jammu and Kashmir was adjudged as the best and next best were those put up by Himanchal Pradesh, Kerala and West Bengal by a panel of Judges.

Following tableaux were about 2,500 school children in various coloured uniforms and flags followed by folk dancers from different parts of the country in their traditional costumes singing and dancing.



Dancers from Uttar Pradesh who presented 'Baradi Nati' dance in the Folk Dance festival

While the folk dancers wended their way through the India Gate, the Indian Air Force's latest operational aircraft flew in formation over the Parade for the first time dipping in salute before the Presidential dias and all were surprised to hear a double bang overhead produced by two jets which crashed the sound barrier diving headlong from a height of 40,000 ft.

Unlike last year, this time, there were the record-breaking Canberra bombers, and the Mystere and Hawker Hunter interceptors both capable of flying faster than sound. In all there were 74 such fast running planes of the IFA having a speed of 400 to 600 miles per hour which is celebrating its 25th year Jubilee in April this year.

The last of the aircrafts of the IAF, a Toofani jet trailing clouds of red, white and green traced the tricolour across the sky.

Thereafter ended the 8th Republic Day Parade, the finest ever seen which wended its way on the five-mile route from Vijai Chowk to the Red Fort through the heart of New and Old

Delhi which presented a colourful appearance with flags, bunting and lanterns put up by residents of various localities for which the Government of India has instituted two running trophies every year, i.e., one each to the owners of the best decorated residential premises and business houses on the route.

The parade being over, I then proceeded towards the Talkatora Gardens, city of tents or the little India where rural dancers from all parts of the country had assembled for participating in the Republic Day festivities. This little township of tents was humming with activity as usual as I had witnessed on previous occasions. Here and there groups which could not or did not join the Parade were preparing their various dance items for a public show the next day afternoon at the National Stadium which has now formed an important function of the Republic Day celebrations since 1953.



A folk dancer from Rajasthan which presented the Gher dance in the Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium

Late in the evening I set out to see fire-work displays and illuminations in the Old as well as in New Delhi. Quite a good number of buildings were tastefully illuminated with multi-

coloured electric bulbs while the Rastrapati Bhawan and the Parliament House had their own place and appeared to be the best.

Next day morning after paying another visit to the Talkatora Gardens, I proceeded towards the National Stadium for witnessing the Folk Dance Festival. The stadium was full to capacity with a record crowd of at least 20,000 spectators. The President, surrounded by various tribal chiefs, the Prime Minister and his daughter and other VIPs, were at their respective places when the started on a special stage set up in the centre of the stadium exactly at 3 P.M.

The first to come on the stage were the Gaddi dancers from Jammu and Kashmir. The dance which is performed in three phases, is a popular feature of a fair at the Kaulash lake in Bhaderwah in Jammu and Kashmir State. The dance began with slow movements to the accompaniment of flutes and drums, but its tempo increased as it progressed. The dancers clapped their hands and raised slogans in praise of God.

From Madras was presented the unique Karagam or the Pot dance in which the gay dancers balanced brass pots decorated with flowers and filled with rice their respective heads with astonishing skill which kept everyone almost spell-bound till the item was over. To the accompaniment of pipes and drums, the dancers made various kinds of movements, both slow and fast, all the time keeping their heads straight with pots skillfully balanced as already mentioned above.

For the first time this year, the Andaman and Nicobar islands presented a Nicobari dance, a dance of the aborigines in which both men and women participated. The dance is an important feature of the famous annual festival 'Baradin' in the islands.

Uttar Pradesh presented one of the most popular dances from Jaunsar-Bawar area, namely 'Baradi Nati' which is performed on religious occasions and social festivals. As the

dance progressed three girls rotated brass discs on their fingers with jugs over their heads while others went through evolutions of many varieties.

Dressed ceremonially in long black overcoat-like costume, wearing a white turban and carrying a dagger and sticks, men from Mysore (Coorg) performed the Balakat dance to the accompaniment of folk songs and instrumental music.

After a short interval, Bombay presented the Gaje dance, a devotional dance dedicated to Lord Shiva. Waving their handkerchiefs to the rhythm of a haunting tune, the dancers



Folk dancers from Bihar who presented the Jhumar dance in the Folk Dance festival at the National Stadium and won the year's Republic Day trophy presented by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Sangit Natak Akademi for presenting the best dance number.

moved with gay abandon. Drums, Sanai and Cymbals created a musical crescendo as the dance progressed.

Dressed in colourful costumes, the performers of the Nati Sword dance from the Punjab (Kulu Valley) carried swords and handkerchiefs. The dance began with the blowing of trumpets, flashing of swords and waving of handkerchiefs. After a mock fight, the dancers suddenly slowed down and adopted graceful movements. Later they formed a circle holding each other's hands. Gradually, the tempo of the dance mounted to a climax when the dancers paired off and danced vigorously to the accompaniment of drums.

Pondicherry presented the Chindu Dance of the nomadic tribes (Bird-trappers, etc.) which features six persons dressed in costumes typical of their communities. A popular folk tune described happenings during trapping.

Bihu Dance, an important feature of the week-long celebration of the Bihag Bihu festival in Assam was presented by the colourful troupe from there.

Orissa presented its Paik dance number which is very similar to the ramp fire dance at present prevalent in rural areas of the State.

Quaint instruments and songs provided the musical background to the very interesting Cher dance from Rajasthan in which charming men and women participated.

In the end was presented a gay and vigorous Dhuriya or Karma Dance from Madhya Pradesh by the rural folks of Raigarh District

in which both men and women joined. The dance which began at fresh tempo continued with changing pattern with musicians taking position amidst the dancers.

Later it was reported that the Sangeet Natak Akadami trophy for the best dance troupe has been awarded by the Prime Minister to the Bihar team which presented Jhumar Dance on the other occasion and silver cups to U.P., Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Pondicherry and a Special Cup to North-Eastern Frontier Agency for their Sangatam Dance performed on other occasions.

And thus ended the gay and beautiful programme of the Republic Day Folk Dance Festival at the National Stadium and with it ended my programme too and I departed back home bidding farewell to the capital.

Photographs by the writer.

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EARTH SATELLITE WITH JUPITER-C ROCKET

Cape Canaveral, Florida: The scientific earth satellite, placed in orbit by means of a Jupiter-C rocket vehicle launched by the U.S. Army at Cape Canaveral, is gathering and transmitting information that is being shared by all nations participating in the International Geophysical Year.

Designed "1958 Alpha" and popularly called "Explorer," the projectile measures 80 inches long and 6 inches in diameter and weighs 30.20 pounds. The 18.12-pound instrument-carrying section and the 12.67-pound final stage of the rocket are orbiting as a single unit.

Instrumentation and telemetry equipment in the satellite are designed to gather and transmit four types of information: Temperature on

the surface of the projectile, internal temperature, cosmic dust erosion and cosmic ray data.

Two transmitters are dispatching the information gathered. The more powerful unit operates on a frequency of 108.00 megacycles, transmitting with a power of 60 milliwatts. It is expected to transmit for two to three weeks. The second operates on 108.08 megacycles with 10 milliwatts of power. Its predicted lifetime of operation is two to three months.

Ten Minitrack tracking stations, operated by the U.S. Armed Forces, are following the movements of the satellite and are relaying the information to the Naval Research Laboratory and a digital computing center, both in Washington, D.C. Moonwatch teams around the world are also tracking Explorer.—*USIS*.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for March, 1958, p. 196, l. 2 (top); Read Dr. J. Edward Scindia for Dr. J. Edwards.

SRI SRI GAURIMATA

By SWAMI SHARVANANDA

IN the annals of the nineteenth century, the appearance of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was a memorable event, as it was he, for the first time, who tried to stem the tide of cultural conquest of India by the West. It was he who first showed in this century that the true spirit of Hindu culture was most catholic and sublime, so much so that it could harmonize itself with all forms of genuine religious beliefs and devotional life. Only the material verities of the physical life should be reckoned, according to Sri Ramakrishna, as of secondary importance and must be subjugated to the highest ideal of spiritual attainment; otherwise the society is bound to get swamped by the natural materialistic tendencies innate in man. From the very early days of the Vedic Age, it was the main principle of the Hindu society to keep flesh under the control of Reason, and Reason under the sway of the Soul which is the Supreme reality in life; then only, the whole structure of the social life can have a spiritual basis. So Dharma was the ruling principle of Hindu society. With the first onslaught of Western culture with its armoury of material science, this Dharmic foundation of the Hindu society was about to get stultified, but Sri Ramakrishna by his life and teachings showed to the world how glorious was the true spirit of Hinduism and how its truths can be verified like all other truths of empirical science. Though he lived only for fifty years, yet within this short span of life he lived through the whole life of the nation.

It is always the case that when an epoch-making Superman comes to this world he brings with him a number of such souls who can feed and foster the force that he generates and carry on the torch of light that he has lit from generation to generation. So we see along with Sri Ramakrishna came a number of men and women who got themselves saturated in his ideal and became veritable spiritual dynamos in life. Swami Vivekananda was the chief of such of his male disciples who carried the torch to distant lands like America and England and it is kept still burning there. Gauri Mata was the principal female disciple who took up the torch of her Guru and tried to illumine the hearts of the womenfolk of her country with its light. Sri

Ramakrishna charged her with the mission of educating the women in this ideal.

Gauri Mata was seized with a tremendous religious zeal and renounced her home in her teens. She lived through a most strenuous and hazardous life as a wandering nun and travelled through all the sacred places of India gathering experience and spiritual strength. At last she came to Sri Ramakrishna and lived with Sri



Sri Sri Gaurimata

Holy Mother in Dakshineswar. It seems she had met her Guru first even at the age of nine and followed his instructions. In fact the whole of this episode was miraculous. Now by her stay with the Guru, her spiritual life was reinforced and revitalized. From that time on her connection with Sri Ramakrishna and the Holy Mother became very intimate and the Master gave her full instructions on how to carry on his mission and message to the womenfolk.

In those days the ladies of Bengal used to be very shy and timid, mostly ignorant and illiterate, their life being circumscribed within the narrow four corners of their family dwellings. Under these circumstances they could not but be simple, unsophisticated, superstition-ridden,

yet devout and pure at heart. But Gauri Mata was imbued naturally with a character that was masculine in its self-assertive and self-reliant aspect, and exceptionally brave and without any shyness, yet it had the glory and grace of a mother's heart. In her external movement one would notice that it was not a woman, but a man. On many occasions she donned the male attire of a long flowing gown with a turban on her head to cover her locks and a long stick in her hand. I remember, in such dress she attended even the Religious Conference, which was held in Calcutta sometime in 1908. But in her speech and manners at close quarters she would exhibit a wonderful tender heart and motherly concern for all those who would come to her. Her deep spiritual fervour, stern spirit of renunciation and Tapasya, a wonderful disciplined mind, deep devotion to her chosen *Istam*, yet great earnestness to acquire more knowledge and wisdom, all these went far to make her the fittest teacher and head of a women's organization to carry on the behest of her Master.

After the physical disappearance of Sri Ramakrishna, there was some confusion and uncertainty in the ways of his Sannyasin disciples. So it was with Gauri Mata also. After some ramblings she started her little Asram in Barrackpore some sixty three years ago. Through many vicissitudes her endeavour at last fructified and developed into a huge Institution today with a hundred of ladies of dedicated life and disciplined mind to carry on the mission of their Guru into the society, not only of Bengal, but also even outside the province.

Sri Ramakrishna used to say that his movement will spread like the growth of the seed of a banian tree. Though the seed is tiny and insignificant, yet it develops into a mighty banian tree with thousands of branches and thick foliage to give protection to millions of people under its cool shade and harbour thousands of birds in its branches. Similarly, every institution that is christened with the Holy name of the Master has humble beginning and slowly develop into a huge institution, "to the benefit and happiness of many." The institution started by Sri Gauri Mata, naming it as Sri Sri Saradeswari Asram, shared the same glorious fulfilment of the Master's promise. Starting from that humble beginning, it now owns large buildings in Calcutta with branches in Nadia and Giridhi. It has within a short time of, say, forty to fifty years, collected many accomplished ladies of devout soul and dedicated life as its workers; that is not a small measure of success and it speaks highly of the energy, power of organization and a spirit of discipline born of self-devotion of Sri Gauri Mata. Such institutions are the greatest need of India today. If India is to be revived and rejuvenated, her womenfolk ought to be trained and disciplined in such institutions like Sri Sri Saradeswari Asram.

In conclusion, I join the band of devotees and admirers of Sri Gauri Mata in offering our hearts' homage to her sacred memory on this day of completion of a hundred years of her advent.

Om Shanti ! Shanti ! Shanti !

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GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRAHMANS IN INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

THE Brahmans numbered 15,237,452 in 1931 in India as it was then, i.e., Bharat and Pakistan together. By the partition of the country their geographical distribution has been materially altered. Almost all, without any exception, the Brahmans have been driven out of West Pakistan; and they have been and are slowly squeezed out of East Pakistan. They formed 5.3 per cent of the total population.

Their geographical distribution as it was in 1931 is given below:

Area	Per 1,000 Brahmans
Assam	10.3
Bengal	94.4
Bihar	88.5
Orissa (Div.)	28.1
Bombay	49.5
Sind	1.6
Central Provinces	25.5
Berar	6.8
Madras Presidency	88.6
Punjab	50.3

Agra	201.5
Oudh	85.5
(United Provinces)	(287.0)
Baroda	8.1
B. & O. States	8.8
Bombay States	8.7
Central India Agency	3.7
C. P. States	1.6
Gwalior	19.4
Hyderabad	24.6
Jammu & Kashmir	16.5
Mysore	16.1
Punjab States	18.6
Rajputana	55.1
Western India States	14.1
Travancore	4.0
Cochin	2.7
U. P. States	10.1

madans, or about one-eleventh of the total population.

Area	Percentage of Brahman's	
	among Hindus	in total population
1. Ajmer-Merwara	6.4	5.0
2. Assam	3.2	1.8
3. Assam States	0.4	0.1
4. Bengal	6.7	2.9
5. Bengal States	1.4	0.9
6. Bihar	6.4	5.3
7. Orissa (Div.)	8.4	8.1
8. B. & O. States	3.3	2.9
9. Chota Nagpur (Div.)	3.8	2.7
10. Bombay Presidency	4.8	4.2
11. Baroda	5.8	5.1
12. Bombay States	3.4	3.0
13. W. I. States	6.6	5.3
14. Sind	2.4	0.6
15. Central Provinces	3.9	3.2
16. Berar	3.0	3.0
17. C. P. States	1.3	1.0
18. Madras Presidency	3.3	2.9
19. Madras States	3.2	2.9
20. N.-W. F. Province	10.1	0.6
21. " Agency	5.7	0.03
22. Punjab	12.1	3.3
Punjab States	13.0	11.4
24. Punjab Agency	12.4	5.2
25. Agra	10.2	8.6
26. Oudh	11.9	10.2
27. U. P. States	1.6	1.3
28. Central India Agency	9.8	8.6
29. Gwalior	9.0	8.4
30. Hyderabad	3.1	2.6
31. Kashmir & Jammu	34.5	7.0
32. Cochin	5.2	3.4
33. Travancore	2.2	1.3
34. Mysore	4.0	3.7
35. Rajputana	9.0	7.6

From the above distribution it will be seen that about one-third of the Brahman's are concentrated in the United Provinces region, to be exact 297 out of 4,000. Their next great stronghold is in Bengal.

Perhaps, a better picture of their influence and distribution may be obtained, if we give percentages of Brahman's among the Hindus and in the total population. The percentage figures will eliminate the effects of unequal areas of different regions, and of unequal densities of population in different regions. We give the percentages among the Hindus and in the total population both for comparison and for eliminating the effect of forcible conversion to Muhammadanism during five centuries (1200 to 1750). It will not, however, affect the effect of more rapid growth of the Muhammadans on account of absence of any restriction on re-marriage of widows among them; nor will it affect the effect of migration of tribes and clans from beyond the Indus. But the effect of migration of Muhammadan tribes and clans is of secondary importance; for, even in the Punjab, which has been the cock-pit of fight between the invaders and the Hindus, and where the Hindus have been massacred on a mass scale and transported to slavery beyond the borders of India, for several centuries, the Punjab Superintendent of Census in 1911 estimated the proportion of immigrant Muhammadans at one-sixth of the total Muham-

We have given the percentages in details by regions. It will be useful, if we combine certain regions, and give the percentages in the combined regions.

Combined Areas	Percentage of Brahman's	
	among Hindus	in total population
Assam (2 + 3)	3.1	1.7
Bengal (4 + 5)	6.5	2.8
B. & O. (6 + 7 + 8)	6.1	5.6
Bombay (10, 11, 12, 13)	4.9	4.2

C.P. (15, 16, 17)	3.4	2.9
Madras (18, 19)	3.3	2.9
N.-W. Frontier (20, 21)	9.7	0.3
Punjab (22, 23, 24)	12.2	3.7
U. P. (25, 26, 27)	10.8	9.1
Tra.-Cochin (33, 34)	2.7	1.7

From the above figures we find that the percentage of the Brahmans among the Hindus and in the total population is the highest in the United Provinces (10.8 and 9.1) followed by Orissa (8.4 and 3.1); and it is the lowest in North-West Frontier and in Sind (0.3 in total population and 0.6 in Sind).

That the percentage of the Brahmans in the U.P. would be the highest is no wonder. The religious capital of Hindudom, Benares or Kashi is within it. Within the area are the sacred cities of Prayag (Allahabad), Hardwar, Ajodhya and Mathura-Brmdaban. The sacred Ganges and the Jamuna flow through it.

Proceeding eastwards the percentage steadily falls down; in Bihar it is 5.3, in Bengal 2.9 and in Assam 1.8. Proceeding westwards it is 8.6 in Gwalior, 7.6 in Rajputana, 5.3 in W.I. Agency (*i.e.*, in Sana-htra), 5.1 in Baroda, and 4.2 in Bombay. Proceeding southwards in the Central India Agency the percentage is 8.6; further south in the C. P. it is 2.9, it is 2.6 in Hyderabad and 2.9 in the Madras Presidency and 3.7 in Mysore—after the slight lowering down in Hyderabad the percentage has somewhat improved further south. It comes down to 3.4 in Cochin and to 1.7 in Travancore. Turning north-westwards from the U.P. area the percentage in the Punjab area is 3.7; in the Frontier it is the very small figure of 0.3. The U.P. area is the radiating centre of Brahmanism.

Orissa seems to be the only exception. Here the percentage of the Brahmans is as high as 8.1. Why it is so? An explanation may be attempted. Orissa remained independent of the Muhammadans till 1568; and it definitely passed under the Maratha control in 1750. The period of Orissa's subjection to Muhammadan rule is 180 years only, during the last 10 years of which the Muhammadan control was slackened. The Oriya's conservatism and the short period of subjection prevented too many conversions to Islam. And successive dynasties of

Hindu kings have invited a large number of Brahmans to come and settle there by giving them liberal grants of land and other privileges. Their percentage would have been higher still but for the heavy migration of Orissa Brahmans from Orissa for several centuries. There are Bengali Brahmans in Bengal whose traditions say that they came from the south (Orissa); and they have lost all touch with Orissa. They number several thousands—though no accurate estimate is possible. In 1931, the number of Utkal Brahmans in Bengal was 29,744. Had they remained in Orissa the percentage of the Brahmans there would have been 8.6 instead of 8.1. We do not know how many Utkal Brahmans have gone out to other parts of India.

The percentage of the Brahmans amongst the Hindus is highest (34.5) in Kashmir and Jammu. There was serious oppression and forcible conversion of the Hindus as early as the fourteenth century. Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India* writes thus:

"*Sultan Sikandar* (1386-1410): Sikandar was a gloomy, ferocious bigot, and his zeal in destroying temples and idols was so intense that he is remembered as the Idol-Breaker. He freely used the sword to propagate Islam and succeeded in forcing the bulk of the population to conform outwardly to the Muslim religion. Most of the Brahmans refused to apostatize, and many of them paid with their lives the penalty for their steadfastness. Many others were exiled and only a few conformed."

Most of the non-Brahmans have been converted to Islam; and many of the Kashmiri Brahmans have migrated to other parts of India. The remnants of Brahmans left in Kashmir form therefore a large percentage of Hindus.

The normal percentage of the Brahmans among the Hindus in northern India seems to be about 10. Any great deviation may be explained as due to mass conversion, emigration and immigration and to other causes.

A closer and further study on regional basis is required to answer the question what is the normal proportion of Brahmans amongst a fully Hinduised population.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDU CIVILIZATION: By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Parts I and II. Bhavan's Book University, Nos. 46 and 47. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1957. Pp. 411.

This third edition of the above work by the well-known Indian historian is based, as we learn from the successive references on pages 8n, 107n, 151n, 172n, 187n (apparently a mistake for 144n), 265n, 276n and 285n, upon full utilization of the best modern works on the different phases of our ancient civilization. Part I contains, besides two preliminary studies, namely 'Introduction' (Ch. I) and 'Geographical and Social Background' (Ch. III), surveys of the Indian prehistoric cultures and the civilizations of the *Rigveda*, the later Vedic *Samhitas* and the literature of *Sutras* (or as we should prefer to call it *Kalpa-sutras*, *Epics*, *Puranas* and *Dharma-sutras* down to Narada, c. 300-400 A.D. (Chs. II, IV and VI). It does not appear why the author does not continue his survey down to the *Smritis* of Brihaspati and Katyayana which form a trilogy with that of Narada. Part II consists of a single chapter (Ch. VIII) entitled Northern India, c. 650-325 B.C. A number of maps and other plates and a good index add to the usefulness of this work. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to give a detailed review of its contents, but we may make some general remarks. High praise is due to the author for the industry with which he has collected his material at least from the best derivative sources as well as his clear and attractive style. But still there is room for improvement in some respects. Firstly, the work should be brought up to date by reference to the discoveries of relics of the Harappa civilization on the Upper Sutlej and Gujarat sites, and omission of such references as the general belief

in the beginnings of writing in c. 800 B.C. (p. 6) and the coins of the Indian king Sophytes (p. 344). Again, the description of the four great kingdoms and the republics in the period of the early Buddhist literature should be re-written by means of a critical appraisal of the traditions of different periods, the value of the *Jataka* evidence and that of the commentary on the *Dhammapada* as well as Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Nikayas* being rated at their true worth. Care should also be taken against the repetition of such loose phrases as 'the democratic elements' in the later Vedic policy, 'the parliament' of the Sakyas and of the Mallas, and 'the democratic body' of the Licchhavis together with their 'federal assembly'.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDEX TO THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY—1788-1953 (Vol. I, Part I): Compiled by Sibdas Chowdhury. Published by Asiatic Society, Calcutta-16. December, 1956. Price Rs.

Here is a most useful guide-book which every research-scholar working on oriental subjects as well as on certain aspects of science must have at his elbow. The Asiatic Society's publication in the Bibliotheca series, such as the edited texts and their translation are distinguished for their erudition and scholarship, secure from criticism behind an armour-plating of foot-notes. Hence, they are hardly offered for critical review, as a result of which works by lesser-known authors, perhaps, moulder on the society's shelves.

Thanks to the initiative of Dr. J. N. Banerji, the present General Secretary, in presenting the above index for review, the hoarded treasures of the Society's publications are now opened to the common view.

Sibdas Chowdhury, Librarian of the Society who was commissioned to undertake the compilation, has performed the work in an admirable manner. Anybody who goes to the Society and dips into its collection of ancient MSS. and modern books, becomes familiar with the gentle and elusive figure of the librarian assisting him almost imperceptibly. The temper which Mr. Chowdhury brings to bear on his work as a librarian is transparently apparent in this volume. He has drawn up an alphabetical list of the authors' names, giving their contribution serially and specifying the number and year of the journal in bold print. The scholars now have no difficulty in immediately finding the reference needed by him. The authors flit before us like the scenes in a kaleidoscope. Blochmann, Buhler, Burnes, Hodgson, Hodiwala, Hora, Sarkar, Smith, Sprenger and a host of other names introduce themselves to the reader and guide him to his particular work.

The Society's publications commenced in 1788 and have continued through various stages, such as:

(a) *Asiatic Research* from 1788-1795 in five volumes and 1798-1839 in twenty volumes;

(b) *Quarterly Oriental Journal*—1821-27.

(c) *Transactions of the Medical Society*—1821-27.

(d) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, started by Prinsep in 1832 and became the Society's organ since 1842.

Journal of the A.S.B., 1st Series, Vols. 1-74—1832-1904.

Proceedings—1865-1904.

2nd (New Series) *Journal and Proceedings*, Vols 1-30—1905-34.

3rd Series (*Letters and Science and Year-book*), since 1935.

It has been no easy task to comb through the series of volumes and put the authors and their contributions in order of consequence. The index is a remarkable publication and the scholars' debt to Chowdhury is beyond repayment.

Attention is drawn to certain slips in the Introduction, para. 2, page x, which should be "succeeded in prevailing upon the C of D to agree to the request and under certain conditions to recommend that the G of I should appropriate funds for, etc." Sentences are sometimes too involved for clarity, e.g., para 5, page xi. They should be corrected in the next edition.

N. B. Roy

BULGARIA UNDER THE RED STAR: By H. L. Saxena. Published by S. Chand and Co., Delhi, Jullundhur, Lucknow. Price Rs. 15.

Bulgaria, which forms a part of the Balkan peninsula, the soft under-belly of Europe, has an ancient and chequered history dating back to centuries. The country and the people have been the victims of ruthless exploitation for long centuries by exploiters—alien and indigenous.

Bulgaria began a new chapter in her history when the Fatherland Front Government under Kimon Georgiev took over the government of the country on September 9, 1944. Bulgaria became a Republic when monarchy was abolished and the boy King Simeon went into exile in September, 1946.

Bulgaria's career as a Republic has been marked by an all-round progress in the national life. Thus, unemployment is a memory of the past. Percentage of literacy has gone up. The industrial life of the country has been reorganised. Agricultural and industrial production has been stepped up. Natural resources have been harnessed to the service of the nation. The result is a rise in the standard of living of the people. A new Bulgaria has risen during the post-war years, a Bulgaria which faces the future with courage and confidence.

The story of Bulgaria is of immense interest to us here in India. Our past experiences are similar to Bulgaria's. We too turned over a new leaf when India awoke "to life and freedom" "at the stroke of the midnight hour" ten years ago. Our post-independence experiences are, however, different from Bulgaria's.

The author, we are pained to note, has spoiled an excellent story by his indifferent manner of presentation, his propagandist tone and last but not least, by his misreading of historical facts. These defects, we hope, will be removed in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

WISDOM BEYOND REASON: By Prof. S. R. Sharma. Published by the Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book under review deals with the deeper problems of life which baffle man who care more for the discursive reason than for intuition. The traditional rivalry between head and heart for supremacy in the supra-sensuous world leads us nowhere. The author hits a happy mean between the rival claims of the heart and the head and points a way to the attainment of

peace. This peace, both individual and social, can be attained through the fullest integration and fulfilment of human personality. Prof. Sharma's mystic experiences have lent grandeur to the volume. He had glimpses of the transformed consciousness and he spoke in his book, of the irresistible call of the 'silence of God' which, he felt, must conquer us all eventually as 'we approach the sunset hour of our life.'

The book has been divided into ten chapters. Special mention may be made of 'The Plea for Passivity,' 'A Gospel for the Godless,' 'The Value of Vedanta,' and 'The Love of Life.' The above-noted chapters reveal a clear understanding of the problems so rare in books of similar nature. The author has adroitly presented a rationale of his deeper experiences wherein the true nature of the metaphysical realities have been revealed.

Sri Dilip Kumar Roy's learned 'Foreword' is an added attraction in the volume under notice. We wholeheartedly recommend this book to the serious students of metaphysics and religion.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

INTERPRETATIONS OF GHALIB: By J. L. Kaul. *Atmaram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6.* Price Rs. 5.

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of Man and Life, but nonetheless it is a novel—plot full of suspense, characters true to life, and situations facing the middle class are there. It is a realistic-cum-interpretative novel.

J. M. DATTA

SANSKRIT

PREKSHANATAKATRAYI: By *Kovikokila V. Raghavan*.

CHHAYA SAKUNTALAM: By *Jivanlal Parikh*. Published by J. T. Parikh, M.T.B. College, Surat. Price Rs. 2.

We have here a number of Sanskrit playlets written by two Professors of Sanskrit. They do not strictly follow any of the numerous older types of Sanskrit drama but are designed to suit the taste and meet the requirements of the present age. They are, of course, based on older themes with adaptations and innovations. Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University portrays interesting imaginary incidents in the lives of well-known Sanskrit poetesses, Vijayanka, Vikatanitamba and Avantisundari, incidentally utilising the verses attributed to them in older works. Prof. Parikh supplements the story of Sakuntala as described by Kalidasa and depicts an interesting situation, in imitation of the *Chhayanka* of the *Uttara-Ramacharita* of Bhavabhuti, in which Sakuntala, in an invisible form, meets and consoles Dushyanta who comes to Kanva's hermitage and is overwhelmed by the reminiscences of Sakuntala. These are fine productions which may be successfully put on the stage on ceremonial occasions before cultural gatherings. It is understood the staging of Dr. Raghavan's playlets has already won appreciation.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NAVA JNAN-BHARATI: By *Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee*. Published by Messrs. General Printers and Publishers Private Ltd., 119, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Pp. 612. Price Rs. 20 and Rs. 15 respectively for special and ordinary editions.

The former librarian of the Visva-Bharati and the well-known biographer of Rabindranath Tagore is to be congratulated for compiling *Nava Jnan-Bharati*, the Geographical Dictionary, first of its kind in Bengali language. The volume contains short descriptions of all important countries, rivers, lakes, mountains, cities and historical sites and places of the world. Even the places, cities and countries

which have changed names have found a place in these pages, particularly those more than 650 former Indian States which have vanished from the map of India.

After the partition, Pakistan has gone out of geography of India. The author has, therefore, taken a special care to include in this volume the names of all important places of East Bengal (East Pakistan), Bengal being linguistically and culturally one and the same country in spite of political division.

In future editions, proper revision and additions should be made to make the book authoritative and dependable like the best publication of the Western countries. Maps may also be given in future editions for the benefit of readers.

As a reference book *Nava Jnan-Bharati* should find a place in all educational institutions—colleges and schools, in public libraries and reading rooms. We wish the book a wide circulation among the public. The paper, printing and binding of the book are excellent.

A. B. DATTA

BHARAT-E SWADHINATAR ITIHAS. Part I: By *Ranjit Kumar Banerji*. Published by Vam-Mandir, 44-6, Muraripukur Road, Calcutta-11. Paper cover. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book under review is a collection of rhapsodical and rambling thoughts, in prose as well as in verse, on the attainment of Independence by India. The chapters are written in a haphazard fashion, but display a great deal of zeal, fervour and patriotism of the author over the freedom struggle of our motherland. A few photos of our great leaders satisfy the reader. But there are some grammatical mistakes in the book and the bulk of the book could have been reduced by rational condensation.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

BHOODAN YAJNA: By *Acharya Vinoba*. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 32. Price four annas.

RAJAGHAT KI SANIDHI MEN: By *Acharya Vinoba*. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 80. Price fourteen annas.

Vinobaji is making history these days with his non-violent revolution to have land restored to the landless by the landlord in a spirit of sharing by the latter out of the abundance of the heart, goodness and of the material goods. These two booklets embodying some of his

speeches, mirror forth the working of his enlightened mind in the field of laying down the foundations of a love-broadbased and love-buttressed society. Vinobaji is, indeed, Gandhian gospel incarnate.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MANAVTANAN ZARANAN: *By Hon'ble Shrijit Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, B.A., LL.B., Ahmedabad. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad. 1956. Thick cardboard, with a jacket showing prison bars. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The Hon'ble Shri Mavlankar, though hailing from the centre of Maharashtra, has, by his long residence in Ahmedabad, transformed himself into a Gujarati in speech and writing. It is difficult to find out that he is a non-Gujarati. In the days of Civil Disobedience, he had to go to jail, like other followers of Gandhiji, and this

book, which he aptly calls *Humanitarian Streamlets*, narrates his jail work. Shrijit Mavlankar is a distinguished lawyer, and while in the Sabarmati Jail in 1942, he obtained permission of the Jail authorities to see prisoners, specially those condemned to death, with a view to help them, materially and spiritually. The incidents narrated by the author, read like romance, so great was the transformation brought in their minds by the straight talk given and the path of truth pointed out to them, that those who were hanged at the last moment realised how wrongly they had behaved spiritually and those who came out of jail after serving their sentence, came out socially reformed persons. The spirit of Gandhiji hovered over Shrijit Mavlankar's work. The book requires to be translated into every Indian and European language.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

The Study of Literature

Prof. M. K. Venkatarama Aiyar observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

It is necessary to understand what exactly the term 'literature' stands for. It is sometimes rather loosely used to denote all sorts of books. We speak of medical literature, legal literature and even wall-literature. But a little reflection will show that the word connotes certain qualities which entitle books to be termed literature. It is rather difficult to define these qualities, but two outstanding ones may be mentioned. They relate to the matter and manner of the book, *what* is said and *how* it is said. The subject-matter must not be too recondite or technical. Books dealing with such abstruse subjects will appeal only to the specialist. But the appeal of 'literature' is not confined to any special class of people. Its appeal is universal. The subject must therefore relate to the fundamental urges and emotions of man. This does not mean that the poet is not free to deal with other subjects. There is practically no limit to the domain from which the writer can draw his materials. But whatever the matter, the poet has a way of expressing it. He gives it an excellent form. He has the knack of presenting the matter, whatever it is, in a beautiful manner. His way of putting things ensures universality of appeal. The *Bhagavat Gita*, for example, though it deals with problems of Ethics and Metaphysics, has such an appeal because of the catching way in which the author has given expression to them. Rightly it has won its place as universal literature. So also the Upanisads and the Bible.

Such great books can be written only by men who have wide experience of life, who have sounded the depths of human nature, who have profound insight into the primary urges of life and who have unbounded sympathy for mankind and unshakable faith in human redemption. A great book can be written only by a great man. "A good book," as Milton says, "is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." The same writer says in one of his prose pamphlets that before one could write a good poem the author must himself be a poem. It is from God that the poet's thoughts

come. The grace of God is necessary for producing a great literary work.

The true meaning of all this is that the writer must forget himself, rise above his natural self, transport himself into the unself-conscious level, to be able to write good poetry. This is the idea conveyed by Matthew Arnold when he says that Nature took the pen from the hands of poets like Byron and Wordsworth and wrote out some of their best pieces for them. Great authors forget themselves when they write great poetry.

At that transcendental level, all that is merely accidental, adventitious, local and particular will fall away from the ken of the writer and he will deal only with what is permanent and abiding in human nature,—man's elemental joys and sorrows, his hopes and aspirations, his ideals and ambitions. Such themes, being intimately connected with human nature as such, will have an unfailing and universal appeal irrespective of age or clime.

Coming to form, we have to note that the way in which we say things is as important as what we say. There are some who exalt matter at the expense of manner and there are others who go to the other extreme and maintain that form is everything and that content is only of secondary significance. Both are one-sided views. If matter becomes preponderant and form goes to the background, the result will be a book of knowledge and not of power. Scientific treatises, History and Philosophy come under the category of books which are weighted with matter and which are therefore only informative. Books on travel, adventure and exploration also come under this head. We read such books for the information they impart and not in the sense of literature. Even these books may sometimes be quite readable and possess excellence of literary form. Gibbon and Macaulay, though primarily historians, have considerable claims to literary merit. Plato and Bergson, among philosophers, are known as much for the poetic qualities of their expression as for the depth and profundity of their thoughts. It is well known that Sri Sankara's great commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* is a model of Sanskrit prose style. His religious poem, *Saundaryalahari*, is as remarkable for its lyrical excellence

as for the depth of its religious emotion. No hard and fast distinction, therefore, is to be made between what Newman calls literature of knowledge and literature of power. The difference is one of degree and not one of kind. Books on History, Philosophy, Exploration, Travel and even Science may occasionally rise to literary excellence. It depends on the amount of constructive imagination that enters into such books. Poetry also may degenerate into drab prose if it lacks imagination and is over-weighted with matter. Pope's *Essay on Man* and many portions of Wordsworth's *Prelude*—'deserts of preaching,' as Lord Morley calls them—are instances in point.

If we go to the other extreme and make much of form to the utter neglect of matter, then there is the danger of the book becoming thin and insubstantial. It will cease to be of abiding interest. With a change of literary fashion the book will become obsolete. It will flutter for a brief space of time when the momentary fashion is on and will soon sink into obscurity. The true Classics are those which blend in happy measure both form and matter. We must remember that there is an intimate, vital and organic relationship between the two. We can make a razor out of steel but not out of stone or wood or wax. Form must be sustained by matter. It cannot be an imposition from without but a natural flowering of the matter. What is individual and unique in things can be grasped only by deep insight and inward communion, and not by mere scientific observation and experiment. The object, therefore, enters into the very being of the poet. It gets transformed in the process. When it finds expression it bears the stamp of the poet's individuality.

Insight and communion presuppose imagination of a high order. It is constructive imagination that enables the poet to give to 'airy nothing a local habitation and a name.' The poet writes in a 'fine frenzy'. The whole work of art takes shape in the white-heat of imagination. Then he bodifies forth his deep-felt experiences in a medium with which by long practice he is well acquainted. The poet uses language, the painter uses pencil and canvas, the sculptor works on marble stone with his chisel, and the musician plays on mere sound.

This is, however, a side-issue. Coming to our main theme, we said that the poet expresses his high experiences in the medium of language. But, as it obtains in current use, it is a very imperfect vehicle for conveying the original

insights of the inspired poet. Words are but broken light on the depths of the unspoken, said George Eliot. There is a gap between the original intuitions of the poet and the common words that are in daily use. Language is an instrument that we have forged for the transaction of everyday life. It was not intended for such high purposes. But still the poet has to take it, such as it is, and bend it to his own purposes. He sometimes takes liberties with grammar and idiom. Hence, we speak of Shakespearian grammar and we know also how Carlyle coined his own phrases which have come to be called Carlylese. But even otherwise, the poet uses common words and phrases in his own special way. That is what we call the style of the writer. It is the personality of the writer that shapes his style. It has been well said that a man's style is not like his coat or cloak which he can put on or put off at will; it is rather like his skin. There is no question, therefore, of one man adopting or copying the style of another.

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Since the poet has perfect control over the language he has chosen as his medium, he will use words with maximum effect. The right word will be in the right place and not a word too much. Coleridge has referred to this point in his Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. The critic cannot take the least liberty with the order and arrangement of the words. No word can be dispensed with as being superfluous, nor can it be replaced by its equivalent. Several words may convey more or less the same meaning, but yet the poet selects a particular word for its suggestiveness and melody. This is what is called poetic diction. We cannot take a word from where it is and put it elsewhere in the same stanza or even in the same line. Such is the organic symmetry of the piece. It is all due to the fact that the poem as a whole takes shape in the glowing imagination of the poet and drops like Minerva from the head of Zeus.

So much with regard to the form and matter of great poetry. Let us now come to the

reader. To be able to read and appreciate literature two requisites are essential. One is that the reader must try to meet the author half-way. He must be willing to be enlightened and hence he must read with sympathy. He must put himself *en rapport* with the author. It is no use beginning with a prejudice. The reader must also make allowance for the passage of time. While reading a book written two hundred years ago the reader must try to recreate the conditions and the social milieu that prevailed then. It is unfair to judge a writer of the 17th century from the vantage ground of the present age. The second requisite is the disposition of the mind that is willing to listen without being hyper-critical, what Coleridge calls the 'willing suspension of disbelief'. What we take from a book will be in proportion to what we bring to its study in terms of sympathy, imagination and willingness to be enlightened.

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Government and Administration of the United Kingdom

"An Englishman" writes in *The Indian Review*:

Parliamentary Government is one of the most important institutions to originate in Britain. Its effect is to combine responsibility with representation. While the will of the majority prevails, every opportunity is given to the minority to have its say and exert its proper influence.

Under the system of universal adult suffrage, each citizen has the right to vote periodically, freely and secretly to choose his representatives in Parliament. Therefore each citizen has an equal influence and an equal responsibility. The system has grown in strength and flexibility over many centuries, and, while much remains of traditional pageantry, which is not without point and value, it may be fairly claimed that the British Parliament is an efficient and up-to-date instrument.

The supreme legislative authority in the United Kingdom is the Queen in Parliament, that is to say the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The House of Lords is constituted primarily on a hereditary basis. Of the eight to nine hundred peers who have the right to sit, fewer than a hundred normally take any part in the proceedings. Archbishops and certain bishops of the Church of England, as well as a few members of the judiciary (law lords), also sit. New peerages are created by the Sovereign on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The House of Commons is elected by universal adult suffrage. There are at present 630 members, each representing a single-member constituency.

By the Parliament Act, 1911, the normal life of a Parliament was fixed at five years, although it may be and often is dissolved in less than that time. The main functions of Parliament are legislation and the taking of formal action, cast in legislative form, to make available finance for the needs of the community and to appropriate the funds necessary for the services of the State. Parliament also criticizes and controls the Government.

In the past, legislation was initiated from both sides of the House; but in present-day practice almost all Bills—and all money Bills—are brought forward by the Government. Bills may be introduced in either House, unless they deal with finance or representation, when

they are always introduced in the Commons. After a Bill has passed through its various parliamentary stages, it is sent to the Sovereign for Royal Assent, which is automatically given either by the Sovereign in person or, usually, by Commission.

In the normal course of events, the Lords either accept a Bill from the Commons and return it unchanged, or amend it and return it for the consideration of the members of the other House, who frequently agree to the amendments made. They cannot require the Commons to agree to amendments, nor can they delay a Bill indefinitely.

Parliament's function of controlling the Government is exercised, in the final analysis, by the power of the House of Commons to pass a resolution of 'no confidence' in the Government, or to reject a proposal which the Government considers so vital to its policy that it has made it a 'matter of confidence'; and thus to force the Government to resign.

The party system has existed in one form or another since the seventeenth century, and has now become an essential element in the working of the constitution.

The party which wins the majority of seats (although not necessarily the majority of votes) at a General Election forms the Government. The Prime Minister is appointed from its numbers by the Sovereign, usually on the formal advice of the retiring Prime Minister; and its most outstanding members in the House of Lords and the House of Commons receive ministerial appointments on the advice of the Prime Minister. The large minority party becomes the official opposition with its own leader and its own council of discussion or unofficial Cabinet.

The Cabinet is a conventional organ of government composed of a number of Ministers selected by the Prime Minister. Membership is not fixed by statute; no individual Minister can claim by virtue of his office to be included, and the number of members varies now-a-days between 15 and 25. The Cabinet is not in itself an executive, in that it has no legal authority, its decisions being valid by convention and not by law. It is designed to formulate general policy, to bring about co-operation between the different forces of the State without interfering with their legal independence, and to exercise general control.

The doctrine of collective responsibility imposes upon Cabinet Ministers the obligation to act not as individuals but (in the interests

or stability of government) as a united group. Any Minister who feels himself unable to agree or compromise with the view of the majority of his colleagues in Parliament or elsewhere must resign. If he does not resign, he is held to be responsible, and cannot afterwards reject criticism on the ground that he did not personally agree with the policy adopted. By the same token, the Cabinet is bound to offer unanimous advice to the Sovereign, even when its members do not hold identical views on a given subject. The individual responsibility of a Minister for the work of his Department means that, as political head of that department, he is answerable for all its acts and omissions.

Government Departments exist for the most part to assist ministers in the discharge of their functions by providing information and advice as a basis for the formation of policy,

and by putting that policy into effect when the necessary legislation has been passed. Both in their advisory and executive capacities Government Departments may and frequently do work with and through local authorities, public corporations and many Government-sponsored organisations which, while not forming part of Government Departments, are under varying degree of Government control.

A change of Government does not generally affect the number of functions of Government Departments, although a radical change in policy may be accompanied by a corresponding change in the Departments concerned. The widening scope of Government activity has, however, led to the formation of a substantial number of new Departments in the past half-century. A few have existed for over 200 years.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gandhi's Unknown Autograph

Alexander Shifman, Scientific Worker, Leo Tolstoy Museum in Moscow, writes in the *Information Bulletin* of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in India:

An Invaluable Discovery in Tolstoy's Library at Yasnaya Polyana

Almost half a century has passed since the times of the correspondence between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi. Nevertheless, it is still the object of great attention and deep study in many parts of the world. Numerous cultural leaders of the East and the West again and again turn to these letters of the great thinkers, amazed at the depth of their ideas and finding in it a source of criticism of contemporary bourgeois society.

The correspondence between Tolstoy and Gandhi was first published by Tolstoy's friend and biographer P. I. Biryukov in his book *Tolstoy und der Orient* (Tolstoy and the East) which came off the press in 1925 in Zurich and Leipzig in the German language. It subsequently became known in this form in many countries during several decades.

When Romain Rolland wrote in 1933 in his celebrated book *The Life of Tolstoy* on the influence of Tolstoy and Gandhi on world culture, he had before him Gandhi's letters in the way they were published by Biryukov. In this way the correspondence was also known to Stefan Zweig when he drew the portraits of Tolstoy and Gandhi in his popular book *Three Singers of Their Life*. The correspondence was also published in this form in 1939 in the Soviet Union in a special Tolstoy Volume of the *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo* (Literary Heritage) magazine.

But strange as it may seem the publishers and commentators of this outstanding correspondence did not notice that one of the most interesting and important letters by Gandhi . . . was missing. The publishers, including even P. Biryukov, did not even mention the loss of this letter; they commented on the correspondence in such a way as if it had never existed. In this they put their trust entirely in the reputation of Leo Tolstoy's archives, where every document having anything at all to do with Tolstoy

was carefully preserved, and which did not contain this letter.

Nevertheless this letter did exist and Tolstoy had read it. This is confirmed, if we are to think of them more deeply, by the letters Tolstoy sent in reply to Gandhi. This letter undoubtedly had arrived in Yasnaya Polyana and had been in Tolstoy's hands, but where did it disappear and where could it be? Almost fifty years there was no answer to these questions.

And quite recently the original of Gandhi's letter was found. It was accidentally discovered by Nikolai Puzin and Yelena Naselenko, staff members of the Yasnaya Polyana Manor Museum, while looking over old foreign magazines which had come there from all parts of the world. This letter turned out to be in one of the old British magazines; it lay together with a Russian translation of one of the articles of this magazine made for the writer by his daughter-in-law O. K. Tolstaya. The writer evidently put Gandhi's letter there with the intention of answering it. But he fell ill the very same day, the magazine was removed from his study, and this invaluable letter was lost for almost fifty years.

Now the letter has finally been found to our great joy. The big white spot in the correspondence of the two outstanding men has been filled. But what is this letter about? What does Gandhi write in it to Tolstoy? What place does this letter hold in the entire correspondence between the great thinkers? In order to reply to these questions we will have to briefly recall this correspondence. Without this it would be incomprehensible what Gandhi was writing to Tolstoy about and how the Russian writer answered his distant Indian fellow-thinker.

Gandhi wrote his first letter to Tolstoy on October 1, 1909, from London, where he had come for talks with members of the British government. The young lawyer Gandhi headed at the time the struggle of the Indian population of the Transvaal (South Africa) against the so-called Black Law, which placed the Indians under conditions of discrimination and virtual slavery. Gandhi devoted his first message to Tolstoy to description of the cruel

repressions to which the Indian population in the Transvaal was subjected.

The appeal of the Indian from the distant Transvaal whom he did not know then greatly interested the Russian writer. "The letter of the Transvaal Hindu stirred me very much," he wrote at the time to his friend V. G. Chertkov.

On October 7, 1909, Tolstoi replied to Gandhi's letter with a friendly message in which he expressed his sincere sympathy for "our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal."

"That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence," he wrote, "is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also..."

The Russian writer approved of Gandhi's intentions to distribute among his compatriots Tolstoi's *Letter to a Hindu* written in 1908. "The translation into, and circulation of my letter in the Hindi language, can only be a pleasure for me," he wrote.

Tolstoi's encouraging letter came to London just at the time when Gandhi's talks with the British officials broke up, and therefore it delighted him extremely. He immediately sent to Yasnaya Polyana a second letter in which he continued his description of the struggle waged by the Transvaal Indians against the powers that be.

This second letter to Tolstoi is the very same one which has been covered recently. Here it is:

Westminster Palace Hotel,
4, Victoria Street,
London, W.C.
10. 11. 1909.

Dear Sir:

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained in order to save you the trouble, from sending an acknowledgement, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality, but Mr. Aylmer Maude, (Aylmer Maude--British biographer of Tolstoi, and also the translator and publisher of his works) whom I have now been able to meet, reassured me that you were keeping very good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly attended to your correspondence very morning. It was very glad some news to me, and it encourages me to write to you further about

matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book written by a friend--an Englishman, who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, insofar as it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am so connected, and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy, I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle, in which the participants are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book. (This is a reference to Mr. Doke's book *M. K. Gandhi, An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, published in London in 1909.) and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world

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who may be down-trodden, and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to the ultimate success: and your encouragement in the way suggested by you can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that were going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through, and together with my colleague I return to South Africa this week, and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in this struggle, and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S.A. Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health, I remain,

Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoi.

Yasnaya Polyana,
Russia.

I have already mentioned about that Tolstoi did not reply to this letter because of his illness, although Doke's book on Gandhi he received at the same time greatly interested him.

The correspondence was resumed five months later, in April 1910, when Gandhi sent Tolstoi a new, the third, letter and with it his book *The Indian Home Rule* in English.

"It is my own translation of a Gujrati writing," Gandhi wrote to Tolstoi about this book, "curiously enough the original writing has been confiscated by the government of India. I, therefore, hastened the publication."

Gandhi asked Tolstoi to read the book and give his opinion on it, which would be very valuable for him. Together with the letter Gandhi sent Tolstoi also several copies of "The Letter to a Hindu" which he had published with his own foreword.

Tolstoi was unable, however, at the time to fully carry out his intention of writing a detailed reply to Gandhi's letter. On April 25, 1910, he sent Gandhi a brief letter in which he commented favourably on the books he had received.

By that time the struggle of the Indian patriots in the Transvaal grew still keener. Hundreds of Indian families refusing to submit to the colonial administration were ruined and deprived of home and hearth. In order to save

the most needy of them Gandhi organized a farm colony which he named 'The Tolstoi Farm' on land which his friend Kallenbach placed at his disposal. Gandhi, together with Kallenbach, wrote all about this to Tolstoi on August 15, 1910.

Gandhi's new letter, his foreword to "The Letter to a Hindu" and, especially, the book he received on the colonial regime in India drew the attention of the Russian writer to the lot of the Indian people with still greater force. For a number of days Tolstoi read with interest Gandhi's book *The Indian Home Rule* and Doke's book about Gandhi, which he noted in his diary.

These letters, as well as Gandhi's magazine *Indian Opinion* which he received simultaneously, gave Tolstoi great satisfaction: "Pleasant news from the Transvaal about the colony of passive resisters," he noted down in his diary on September 6. The same day he dictated a reply, which was his last letter to Gandhi. This letter is widely known and therefore we will not discuss it. I will merely point out that this was written two months before Tolstoi's departure from Yasnaya Polyana.

This letter reached Gandhi after great delay. At the time the Russian writer was already at the backwoods station of Astapovo on his death-bed.

That is how this remarkable correspondence which stirs the minds and hearts of progressive people to this very day terminated.

The mutual friendly messages of Tolstoi and Gandhi are a striking landmark in the history of the friendship and cultural ties between the Indian and Russian peoples. The invaluable discovery at Yasnaya Polyana enhances the great book of friendship of the two peoples by a new bright page.

9TH APRIL '58

ST. JOHN AMBULANCE

Flag Day

Help for suffering humanity

Lincoln and Gandhi

It is a fact of history that nations produce men who are equal to the times.

To America, in her time of testing, came Abraham Lincoln.

To India, to guide her freedom struggle, came Mahatma Gandhi.

Separated by space and time, these two great leaders were motivated by two common basic convictions: belief in the common man, and belief in the ultimate triumph of Truth.

Their words still live as an inspiration to free men everywhere:

ON FAITH IN TRUTH

Lincoln: I know that there is God, and that he hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know his hand is in it. If he has a place and work for me, and I think he has. I believe I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything.

Gandhi: In the midst of humiliation and so-called defeat and a tempestuous life, I am able to retain my peace, because of an underlying faith in God, translated as truth.

ON FAITH IN THE JUSTICE OF THE PEOPLE

Lincoln: Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

Gandhi: To me, Hind Swaraj is the rule of all people, is the rule of justice.

ON THE PRESERVATION OF LIBERTIES

Lincoln: If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.

Gandhi: Self-government depends entirely upon our own internal strength, upon our ability to fight against the heaviest odds. Indeed, self-government which does not require that continuous striving to attain it and sustain it, is not worthy of the name.

ON LOVE FOR ALL

Lincoln: With malice toward none, with charity for all.

Gandhi: We can only win over the opponent by love, never by hate.

ON FAITH IN THE MASSES

Lincoln: If my own strength should fail, I shall at least fall back on these masses, who, I think, under any circumstances will not fail.

Gandhi: Power resides in the people and is entrusted for the time being to those whom they may choose as their representatives.—*USIS.*

Technology—A Challenge to Humanity

Prof. Siegfried Balke, German Federal Minister of Atomic Energy, reminds the readers of the dangers inherent in technology in *Deutsche Correspondenz*, January 1, 1958:

D. K. Bonn. Technology is on the defensive today. It is frequently regarded as a troublemaker endangering the form and very structure of modern society. The psychological balance of mankind is threatened by the fear that the misdeed of Cain may have been renewed through the bombs of Hiroshima, and that it may be repeated once again in an even more horrible way at any time.

It cannot be denied that the methods of mathematics have become a determining factor in the applied sciences, forcing them along a path where biological reality is dominated by functionalism. The functional possibilities inherent in technology are undoubtedly in danger of being ruthlessly exploited, and the annihilation of the entire biological substance of the earth has become at least conceivable. If one considers that, in addition, scientific and technological research and its economic results are used not only as a means of improving man's standards of living but also, and not infrequently, as instruments of political power, those who defend the humane nature of work in the sphere of technology seem to have a difficult time of it.

Is not a pessimistic outlook on life inevitable in view of such considerations? I would answer this question in the negative. After all, technology is vitally needed by mankind because, for instance, it alone can secure enough food and adequate power supplies for coming generations. These two examples alone entitle us to be optimistic about technology. The biological existence of mankind depends largely on the extent to which we succeed in regulating and controlling the forces of nature. It is the technologist who offers to all the other applied sciences working on behalf of mankind the means without which their work could not be continued.

During the century between 1850 and 1950 the population of the globe has just about doubled, growing from 1.2 to 2.4 billion per-

sons. This unprecedented increase has given the inescapable destiny of mankind, as certain prophets of catastrophe would have us believe. We are simply faced with the challenge to guard and preserve our human rights. We should refuse to define our values in terms of civilization, to accept such concepts as "the machine age" or "the atomic age." There is always only one age, the age of man, whose existence is predicated on ideals and not on functions. I am convinced that in the long run only one social system will survive, the system that integrates man as a creature of God. It is our task to create and maintain such a system.

Man has learned to utilize the technical and economic aspects of the natural sciences, but he risks at the same time to become utterly dependent on factors of civilization, for any technically and economically well-organized society depends increasingly on the functioning of mechanisms. The fact that our life rests more and more on foundations dependent on science, has caused growing apprehensions about our robot civilization. Domination by robots, however, is by no means



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Sewing Machine of Elias Howe

The way of life of an early American inventor was often extraordinarily hard—not only for himself but also for his wife and children. The story of Elias Howe, inventor of the sewing machine, follows a familiar pattern of desperate poverty, family tragedy, indomitable perseverance and in the end success that laid the foundation of a new industrial development of far-reaching benefit to mankind.

Howe was a farm-bred boy from near Cambridge, Massachusetts, who in 1834 was supporting a wife and three children on the meagre salary he earned in a machine shop in Boston. At that time the American republic was 60 years old, growing rapidly and suffering from a shortage of skilled labour to supply its many needs. As in Europe, clothing was all made by hand, and there were not enough tailors or seamstresses to keep up with the demand. In the shop where Howe worked he heard it said that a fortune awaited the man who could invent a machine that would sew.

The desperately poor 21-year-old decided to work on such an invention in his spare time, and eventually devoted all his time to it. A former schoolmate caught Howe's enthusiasm, and in return for a half interest in the expected invention provided a home for Howe and his family and advanced him money for the necessary tools.

Apparently unaware of previous efforts in this direction, Howe first laboriously went over the ground that others had already covered. By 1845 he had developed a machine—with two needles, one moving up and down, the other back and forth beneath the cloth—that could sew a straight seam, and in September of the following year he received a patent on it.

Manufacturers inspected and admired, but were slow to adopt this new invention, so Elias's brother Amasa took one of the machines over to England to demonstrate. An English manufacturer bought the rights for that country and insisted that Elias come over and develop a machine that could be used for sewing leather. The two brothers went to England and Elias's wife and children followed. But the project did not turn out well, and the Howes were stranded without funds in London.

Howe begged money from his friends to send his family back to the States, and, by pawning his machine and his precious patent papers and serving as cook for steerage passengers on board ship, made his own way back to New York.

He was looking for any kind of employment in a machine shop there when he learned that his wife was dying of tuberculosis in Massachusetts, and only through his father's help was he able to reach her bedside.

At last, the tide began to turn for the young inventor. By this time a crushed and embittered man. Manufacturers started using his machine in increasing numbers. But his troubles were not yet over. Several other American inventors were working on the idea of a sewing machine and it seemed likely that the fruits of his pioneering work would be lost if Howe did not assert his patent rights. He found a friend in the man who had bought his former partner's half interest in the invention and with his financial support was able to sue in the courts to defend his claim. In spite of powerful opposition, the courts decided in Howe's favour.

One of the men who had manufactured a machine based on the same principles as those patented by Howe was a machinist named Isaac M. Singer. Singer had seen a crude sewing machine in operation and, unaware of Howe's work, developed an improved machine. While Singer's invention incorporated some new ideas, a court of law decided it infringed Howe's patent and ordered substantial royalty payments to Howe. Singer now made a far-sighted suggestion—that various companies with sewing machine patents should pool the best of these, incorporating the improvements in one machine, and then pay Howe a royalty on each one sold. Howe agreed; seven companies combined: Singer proved to be a promotional genius, and in a few years Howe, his brother and others connected with the invention were wealthy men. And in factories and homes the sewing machine was proving a boon to men and women all over the world—*USIS*.



A peasant in the field



Winning smile
Photo: Souren Munshi



THE BRIDE
By Panchanan Ray

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



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NOTES

Congress is Beyond Reproach

In a country like ours, where the vast majority of people have lived a life of misery for almost two centuries, and where exaction and oppression was the custom for almost a thousand years, those who are in power can work their will on the vast majority of peoples with hardly any reaction for a fairly long time. But even then there comes a time when some determined people, with some organising capacity and a fair reputation for courage and integrity, start reaction against such reckless exaction and oppression. This is what has happened many times over in this country of dumb millions, during the last few centuries.

But while there is no apparent reaction of any considerable momentum, those in power can ignore the sufferings of the people as they will. In our memory that has happened several times over, during the first half of this century, when the British were in power.

And there is reason to fear that if the Congress—which at present means Pandit Nehru—persists in this process of self-delusion, then history will repeat itself. What is more lamentable is the fact that Pandit Nehru, who formerly used to evince some anxiety about the condition of the nation, seems no longer to care, so long as his party is safely placed in the Lok Sabha. Otherwise his statement before the conference of the P.C.C. presidents and secretaries, which held quite a self-satisfied smirk within its compass, cannot be accounted for. Pandit Nehru strongly challenged the current belief that the Congress had grown weak in recent months. Such "loose" talk was "futile and useless," he declared.

Needless to say the only ground he had for this refutation was that the weaknesses in the Congress were no worse than the deficiencies in other political parties!

We are astonished at Panditji's attempt at justification of the degradation of his party. Could anything be more puerile than trying to whitewash the Congress in this way?

We know that the Congress has retained its hold on the legislatures—and on the loaves and fishes of power—simply because the Opposition had trotted out the same collection of disgruntled has-beens, clever political jugglers and slogan merchant. If they had changed their stand and widened their political approach, thereby permitting honest and earnest newcomers to enter the field, then the picture would have been not quite so rosy for the Congress.

Of course, we do not say that the Congress has no record of service to the country. Pandit Nehru is quite right in claiming that much for his party, and we allow that no other party in India has anything like that to its credit. But what we do say is that the majority of Congressmen today are far more intent on "doing good"—by any means, good or evil—to their own-selves and their precious party, than to the country or its people.

And they are doing it behind the presence and prestige of Pandit Nehru. Else there cannot be any explanation for the general blether and bleat of his followers on his announcement that he would like to give up governmental office temporarily. One of his principal party leaders went so far as to say "Panditji, you are leaving us orphans!"

Commenting on this the *Radical Humanist* says:

"But has the party in power, of which Mr. Nehru is the leader, learnt to run itself without its leader? The deliberations which went on inside the party, while considering Mr. Nehru's suggestion to relieve him of his responsibilities, betrayed a pathetic state of mind, befitting an immature adolescent, helplessly dependent on authority, a kind of emotional dependence that makes the party unworthy of leadership in a democratic country. The sentiment was best expressed by a member who made a fervent appeal to the leader not to forsake his followers, saying: 'We have smiled when you have smiled and we have wept when you have been in sorrow . . .,' and, as was but expected, the party adopted a resolution saying: 'It cannot contemplate the acceptance of any suggestion which would mean the severance, even though for a temporary period, of the ties that bind the leader to the party . . .'. These piteous entreaties of the faithful, of course, prevailed with the leader."

Did Pandit Nehru even once stop to think as to why these piteous appeals were made? We think not.

If they had vowed that they also would go into the wilderness with their leader, leaving the shining shekels of party graft, then we could have understood such devotion. But no, Pandit Nehru must be there with the lights shining on him, while they carried on their nefarious programme in the shadows, safe in the might of party power.

The people are having their life-blood sucked out by blackmarketeers. Nothing in either the First or the Second Five-Year Plan has been so meticulously planned or so logically carried out as these schemes of blackmarketeering. We refuse to believe that the Congress party bosses had no hand in the artificially created shortages, and the total denial of relief, even where acutely indicated, as in the case of imported medicines and drugs, of vital essentials.

There is corruption in high places, as is apparent to all but who would not see. Can the Congress say that it has lifted even its little finger in protest? No!

There is a general breakdown of discipline and moral values in every sphere of our life. The reason being the example shown by the

Congress party-bosses and leaders, in complete negation of the ideals and tenets laid down by Gandhiji.

Pandit Nehru has finally reversed his firm decision to retire temporarily, thereby puzzling and pleasing millions of people. But what of the future, are things to go on as they are, until the peoples' cup of misery is full and the Congress execrated on all sides?

Re-phasing the Plan

In recent weeks suggestions are being made for the pruning of the Second Plan in view of the shortage of resources. There is a section of opinion in this country which maintains that the Plan being ambitious against the availability of limited resources, the volume of deficit financing envisaged in the Plan will lead to a severe inflationary spiral. But the opposite section holds that this is the minimum amount which the country must spend for the improvement of the lot of the people and any pruning would mean a backward step. The Planning Commission is against any cut in the expenditure as laid down for the Second Five-Year Plan. The Commission, in a memorandum presented to Parliament on May 8, expressed itself against the pruning of the Second Plan to the available resources of Rs. 4,260 crores since that would entail a large cut in social services endangering the balance in the structure of the Plan. Instead it has suggested that without giving up the original total outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores, the efforts should be made not to allow the level of outlay to be incurred to fall below a minimum of Rs. 4,500 crores.

The National Development Council recently considered this memorandum and decided to split the Plan projects into two categories. The Development Council points out that there will be a shortfall in the resources to the extent of Rs. 540 crores and this amount cannot be met by further deficit financing which has been quite heavy in the first two years. It will not also be practical to rely on external assistance. The Commission, therefore, feels that the gap has to be covered by raising further resources through taxes, loans, small savings and economics in non-Plan expenditure. The Development Council has split up the Plan into two sections—Part A and Part B. The former will involve an outlay of Rs. 4,500 and

it will include the core of the Plan. The balance of Rs. 300 crores out of the original outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores has been included in Part B of the Plan and this will be implemented when resources will be available. It is with much regret we have to note the admission of the Planning Commission that a large part of the tax effort already made has been covered by other demands—defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan. In other words, only a negligible contribution has been made towards covering the original gap of Rs. 400 crores in resources.

While foreign resources are being strained to the utmost and to conserve foreign exchanges even essentials including valuable medicines are not being allowed to be imported, it is a surprise how the Hind Motors could be allowed to import so large a number of motor vehicles. About this questions were recently raised at the Lok Sabha. To allow the motor vehicles to be imported at a time when the country is frantically fighting for preservation of foreign exchanges is an act of criminal wastage. This is reminiscent of the adage, "Penny wise, pound foolish." The authorities can allow the expenditure of foreign exchanges on the import of goods which are not at all essential at the moment; but they will not allow import of certain essential goods on the plea of preservation of foreign exchanges. The import of motor vehicles has in recent years been involving a considerable expenditure of foreign exchanges. The Hind Motor case calls for an inquiry as to whether it was essential. There are many such instances of wasteful expenditure of foreign resources to which the Government of India is carefully unmindful.

The Planning Commission rightly views that the goal of the Second Five-Year Plan is well within the reach of the country, although it calls for an effort greater and more arduous than had been previously estimated, owing to unavoidable additional expenditures incurred in this direction not originally envisaged and increase in internal and external prices. The Planning Commission has estimated that for completing an outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores, the balance of resources required in the last two years of the Plan is Rs. 2,344 crores, which amount is just a little less than half of the total outlay for the Plan. The resources available for the last 2 years

of the Plan are placed at Rs. 1,804 crores, thus bringing the five-year total to Rs. 4,260 crores. In the first two years of the second Plan, the extent of deficit financing has been unexpectedly heavy and that is why the Planning Commission suggests that the deficit financing should be kept at a minimum level. But there is a danger if the Plan is pruned to the level of available resources, that is, 4,260 crores. A cut in the expenditure will present very great practical difficulties. In view of the decision to adhere to the ceiling of Rs. 4,800 crores despite increased costs, some adjustments of allocations have already had to be made in favour of industries and minerals. If in view of the resources position, the Plan outlay cannot be raised above Rs. 4,260 crores, the cut on social services will be larger. This would be undesirable from the point of view of maintaining a reasonable balance in the structure of Plan allocations. In view of this, the level of outlay to be actually incurred must not fall below Rs. 4,500 crores.

In our view, however, the actual outlay will be much higher than what has been originally estimated. The higher expenditure will be on account of rise in the price level, internal as well as external. The total outlay for even the core of the Plan will not be less than Rs. 5,200 crores. A strain on resources has been continuously felt since the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan. Wholesale prices rose by 14 per cent between April 1956 and August 1957. The cost of living index has been making a bid upwards since then. The balance of payments deficit over two years from April 1956 to March 1958 was Rs. 821 crores. This is no doubt an alarming situation. Various measures have been taken to check these trends. But the Planning Commission thinks that the stresses and strains in the system are basically related to the development effort and are expected to continue throughout the Plan period.

The outlay on the Plan in the first two years was Rs. 1,496 crores. For the current year it may come to Rs. 960 crores. The resources expected to accrue during the first three years of the Plan were as follows: Balance from revenue—Rs. 439 crores; Railway contribution—Rs. 129 crores; Loans from the public, small savings and other capital receipts—Rs. 533 crores; External assistance—Rs. 438 crores and

Deficit financing—Rs. 917 crores. The resources that were available were below these expectations. In 1957-58 the budgetary deficit was as high as Rs. 464 crores. The overall deficit in the budget for the year 1958-59 has been placed at about Rs. 200 crores.

As against the estimated deficit financing of the order of Rs. 1,200 crores during the Second Five-Year Plan, the overall deficit financing, measured in terms of withdrawals of cash balances and increases in floating debt of the Centre during the first two years is estimated at Rs. 565 crores—Rs. 185 crores in 1956-57 and Rs. 380 crores in 1957-58. The total deficit financing of the Centre in the first three years of the Plan would come to Rs. 764 crores. The total foreign assistance by way of loans and grants during the five years of the First Plan period was about Rs. 166 crores. The total foreign assistance made available since the commencement of the Second Plan to the end of December, 1957, amounts to Rs. 480 crores. This includes the loss of Rs. 17 crores suffered on the wheat loan from the USA. In the current year, the amount of foreign assistance that will be available has been estimated at Rs. 325 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 285 crores will be by way of loans and the rest as grants. The external loans will include Rs. 13.56 crores from the World Bank for the second Railway Project loan, Rs. 35 crores from the USSR for the Bhilai Steel Project and Rs. 190.85 crores from the USA. Of the loan from the USA, Rs. 22.85 crores would come under the T.C.A. programme, Rs. 68 crores under P.L. 480 and Rs. 100 crores under the aid of \$225 million. India will also receive a deferred credit of Rs. 30 crores from West Germany for the Rourkela Project. India's total foreign indebtedness stands at present at Rs. 221.32 crores.

One thing India seems to forget and it is that she will have to repay foreign loans and deferred payment arrangements. Between 1960 to 1971, India will have to repay foreign loans to the extent of Rs. 49.50 crores and deferred payments for Rs. 46.52 crores. India should, therefore, utilise her foreign exchange mainly on productive projects. It was revealed by the Government recently in the Rajya Sabha that the aggregate gap in the balance of payments over the Plan period was estimated at about

Rs. 1,700 crores against the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores. The additional amount of foreign exchange required over and above the amounts of external assistance authorised so far, in order to fill the estimated payments gap during the rest of the Plan period is placed at around Rs. 500 crores. In order to make up the gap in the internal resources, the Planning Commission has recommended additional taxation during the rest of the Second Plan period to the tune of Rs. 100 crores. The country has reached the farthest limit of taxation, both direct and indirect, and to extend the taxation structure further may lead to a breaking point.

It is about time a survey was made, by trained specialists from abroad, of the effects of the totally blind restrictions and exactions imposed on the suffering peoples. It is no exaggeration to say that the nation is being stifled and led to exhaustion.

Co-operation at the Crossroad

The co-operative movement in India has failed to make any appreciable headway towards improving the organisational structure of rural credit. At the third All-India Co-operative Congress held during the middle of April in New Delhi, an assessment was made of the trends in co-operative movement in this country. It may be recalled that the most important development in the co-operative movement in this country in the post-independence era is the State participation following the recommendation of the Rural Credit Survey. But that measure is now found to be an obstacle to the growth of the spirit of co-operation. Pandit Nehru has bitterly criticised the State participation in the co-operative movement in this country. He said that State-sponsored co-operatives did infinite harm to the movement, as they did not allow people to develop the "spirit of self-reliance and self-dependence." The result has been quite contrary as the co-operative have now developed the tendency to look up to Government for everything. He observes that the Government was quite wrong in accepting some of the recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey which tended to push the co-operative movement in this country in a wrong direction. He particularly criticised the tendency to have large co-operatives and Govern-

ment participation and control in such co-operatives. He stressed for the revision of the Government's earlier policy towards co-operatives and favoured small societies without official interference.

Sri K. D. Malaviya also pleaded for less official interference in the Co-operation in this country. He said: "A co-operative that is dependent on someone else, be it Government or any other agency, and cannot manage its own affairs, is no longer a co-operative. It can under no circumstances fulfil the basic objectives which Co-operation cherishes and stands for." In his view the progress of organising societies is that of educating and rousing the spirit and not just registration. The Co-operative Congress noted "the growing inroads being made by Governments into the independent working of co-operative institutions" and recommended the appointment of a small team to examine the legislative and administrative provisions governing the working of co-operative societies in the different States and advise on how far and in what stages and manner official control could be progressively replaced by suitable arrangements of co-operative bodies themselves instituted for the purpose. It also recommended that State Governments should proceed immediately to give up their present practice of placing officials at the head of apex and district co-operative banks and other organizations and allow them to be their presidents.

Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the supply of co-operative credit is to be increased from Rs. 43 crores to Rs. 225 crores, over 2,200 marketing and processing societies are to be formed, 5,500 godowns and 350 warehouses are to be built and the number of members of societies are to be raised from 5 million to 15 million. Sir Malcolm Darling in his recently published report on the Co-operative Movement in India has come to the conclusion that the pace set by the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of co-operative movement is too rapid even for States like Bombay, Andhra Pradesh and Madras where the movement is well-advanced. Sir Malcolm also deprecates State participation in the co-operative movement because it is likely to undermine the independence and self-reliance essential to the strength of the movement at its base. He also finds that

societies, old and new, are now being increasingly supervised and guided by persons having no experience in co-operation which presents a difficult sphere of human relations. This lack of experience extends to the highest spheres of administering co-operatives as well and the practice of making appointments of officers from outside and their frequent transfers are also greatly responsible for the inefficient working of the co-operatives in this country.

It may be re-called that the Rural Credit Survey recommended the formation of larger societies with a view to augmenting the financial resources of such societies. Sir Malcolm is against large societies as a large society will fail to develop in its members a real co-operative spirit. The formation of larger societies involves a complete break with the Raiffeisen model on which the co-operative agricultural credit system has been built up in India. Sir Malcolm observes that the larger area of operation would deprive the members of the society of the spirit of mutual help and understanding which should inform every co-operative society. A large society will lack informal atmosphere which is the basis of co-operation. Recognising the various short-comings of a small society, he suggests that experimentation with the large-sized type of society should proceed on three lines, namely, with Government participation (a) in shares and membership, (b) in shares and not-membership, and (c) neither in shares nor in membership, so that results could be judged in three or four years. He points out that the thrift aspect of the movement has been completely neglected and although incomes have generally increased after the war, deposits in agricultural societies have not increased. He pleads for the restoration of the word 'thrift' in the names of credit societies. He has warned a caution against laying down targets for loans. While the target for loans has been increased, the target for recoveries has been neglected. Larger loans have resulted only in increasing the outstandings rather than improving the recoveries. So caution is advocated in granting loans.

Cabinet Solidarity

In India, the system of Cabinet government has developed on the pattern of British conven-

tions. The Indian Constitution provides for a Council of Ministers both at the Centre as well as in the States. The formation and working of the Council of Ministers has been patterned on the conventions of the British Cabinet system. One of the main basis of Cabinet Government is the solidarity of the Cabinet. The Cabinet solidarity is founded on two principles, namely, the collective responsibility and the obligation of secrecy. In this country a practice has developed and it is the right of a retiring Minister to make a statement in the respective legislature as a matter of course. A Minister before he assumes the charge of his office, is required to take an oath of secrecy, besides the oath of office. The statement made by Sri Siddhartha Sankar Roy on his resignation may be regarded to have violated in certain respects the oath of secrecy taken by him.

In England, if a Minister differs from his Cabinet colleagues, he resigns. If a Minister wishes to speak or write in his defence on leaving the Cabinet, convention requires that he should obtain permission of the Crown. But this means getting permission from the Prime Minister. On Mr. Thorneycroft's resignation from the Macmillan Cabinet, a simple statement was made that he differed from the financial policy of the Government. In India, on the contrary, an undesirable practice has developed to utilise the situation as it were to deliver a speech something amounting to an election campaign. This is certainly not a healthy sign for the development of a responsible government on Cabinet system. As regards the importance of Cabinet secrecy, Jennings makes the following observations: "The Cabinet deliberates in secret; its proceedings are confidential. The Privy Counsellor's oath imposes an obligation not to disclose information; and the official Secrets Acts forbid the publication of Cabinet as well as other official documents. But the effective sanction is neither of these. The rule is primarily one of practice. Its theoretical basis is that a Cabinet decision is advice to the King, whose consent is necessary to its publication. Its practical foundation is the necessity of securing free discussion by which a compromise can be reached, without the risk of publicity for every statement made and every point given away."

On the same analogy it may be taken that in India the Cabinet decision is advice to the President or the Governor as the case may be and no Cabinet decision should be made public without the consent of either of the President or the Governor in appropriate cases. In England, the permission of the Crown is sought through the Prime Minister and the Crown cannot give his consent without consulting the Prime Minister. In this country also this convention should develop that without the prior consent of the Governor (or the President) no Minister should make any statement relating to decision of the Cabinet. This is essential for the healthy development of responsible government in the country.

Foreign Trade of West Bengal

The Report on the "Sea and Foreign Airborne Trade of West Bengal" for the official year 1954-55 gives many valuable information about the importance of West Bengal in the foreign trade of India and also the importance of Calcutta as the hinterland for exportable goods in the eastern region of this country. During the year 1954-55, goods worth Rs. 299.97 crores were exported. More than 80 per cent of the total exports were covered by jute manufactures and tea, of which jute manufactures topped the list with 41.19 per cent closely followed by tea with 39.71 per cent. Exports of jute manufactures advanced appreciably both in terms of quantity and value, but those of tea declined in quantity, though the total value recorded an increase over previous year's figures by Rs. 35 crores. Of other important items of exports, lac recorded a substantial improvement.

Under imports, machinery headed the list as in the last year followed by oils, mainly minerals. Other items in order of importance were metals and ores and grain, pulse and flour. More than 60 per cent of the total imports were shared by these articles. Instruments and apparatus stood fifth as in the last year. The United Kingdom and the United States of America were the leading buyers and suppliers sharing about 48 per cent of the total trade. The share of the former was about 34 per cent and that of the latter, 14 per cent. Other important countries were Australia, sharing about 6 per

cent; Burma, about 5 per cent; Canada, about 4 per cent; and Western Germany, Singapore and the Argentine Republic sharing about 3 per cent each.

As regards air traffic, 6,695 planes arrived at and the same number departed from the Dum Dum aerodrome in 1954-55 as against 8,613 planes in 1953-54. Of them 1,669 were Indian; 1,209 British, 1,153 Pakistani, 1,019 French, 424 Dutch, 348 American, 333 Burmese, 207 Australian, 188 Swedish and 105 of Thailand. The total value of merchandise imported from foreign countries by air advanced from Rs. 1.17 crores to Rs. 1.33 crores while that of exports including re-exports declined from 3.70 crores to Rs. 2.42 crores.

In 1954-55, 851 shipping vessels entered the port of Calcutta with cargoes from foreign lands, as against 951 in 1953-54. Of these vessels, 461 were British, 45 Indian, 121 Japanese, 24 Panamanian, 17 American, 32 Dutch, 36 Norwegian, 31 Philippine, 9 Swedish, 3 Grecian, 6 Italian, 6 Danish, 9 Chinese, 1 Costarican, 18 Pakistani and 32 others. The net tonnage of vessels that entered the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 was 4,799,033. The total number of coasting vessels that entered the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 with coastal cargoes was 1,326 as against 1,449 in the preceding year. The net Customs revenue earned by the port of Calcutta in 1954-55 was Rs. 63.21 crores as against Rs. 53.47 crores in the previous year. During 1954-55, the Commonwealth countries shared 53.13 per cent of the total foreign trade of West Bengal as against 51.94 per cent in the previous year. The total value of coasting trade of West Bengal in 1954-55 amounted to Rs. 61.45 crores as against Rs. 63.68 crores in the preceding year. The decline in the total trade is accounted for by the decrease in exports. Imports, however, recorded an improvement. More than 50 per cent of the total coasting trade of West Bengal was shared by Madras.

As regards the relative importance of principal articles exported from West Bengal to foreign ports in 1954-55, the export of jute manufactures represents 41.19 per cent, tea 39.71 per cent, lac 3.54 per cent, Mica 1.73 per cent, coal and coke 1.20 per cent. In the foreign trade of India, West Bengal's contribution is not less than 40 per cent of total. Tea

and jute manufactures jointly contribute nearly 30 per cent of the total foreign exchanges earned by India on her exports. Calcutta is one of the foremost ports in South East Asia. One thing that strikes us most in this connection is that Calcutta should have a ship building centre and it is more than overdue in that respect. The Government of India will shortly start a second ship-building centre. When the name of Calcutta was suggested for the site at the Union Parliament, the Union Minister, Sri Patil rejected the suggestion raising a queer plea. He said that there cannot be two ship-building centres in the eastern part of India. The second centre would be opened in Bombay. The argument is certainly without any reasoning. Bombay has two oil refineries and no objection was raised to that. Calcutta can naturally claim to have an oil refinery. Rejecting Calcutta's claim to an oil refinery, the Government of India has decided to set up one at Barauni in Bihar. One thing that evinces in such matters is the regional rivalry ignoring the overall interest of the country as a whole. Therefore, Sri Patil's plea for setting up the second ship-building centre in Bombay is based on regional preference and not on economic and strategic grounds.

In India the mobility of labour is not up to the mark. On account of that unemployment is more or less confined to particular regions. West Bengal has been over-burdened with perhaps the largest number of unemployed people in India. It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that the region should have a ship-building centre to create employment opportunities for the millions unemployed. From the view-point of employment opportunities, Bombay is much more favourably placed than West Bengal. Economic regeneration is much more important than regional rivalry and the resources of the country should be developed on a balanced basis. Over-development of one place will mean under-development and unemployment in the other. In the export trade of the country Calcutta occupies a position of pre-dominance in view of her hinterland advantages. Calcutta has the tradition of being a fine ship-building centre and the ships built here were used with admiration in the battle of Trafalgar. We do not see why that reputation cannot be reviewed in the steam and Diesel Age.

The American Recession

The United States of America was in the midst of a rather severe recession—the third since the end of the Second World War. Describing the nature of the present recession, Mr. M. J. Rossant, an American business expert, writes in the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York.

Every economic downturn, no matter how mild, inevitably gives rise to fears of a serious depression. Such fears, engendered by the current decline, appear more widespread now than in any other period since the end of the Second World War. For, in both of the previous declines, in 1948-1949 and 1953-54, strong positive forces were in evidence that not only cushioned the drop but also provided some basis for recovery. This time, though, few if any optimists are talking in terms of a new boom. Instead, the expressions of faith in the government's 'built-in stabilizers' and the 'secure underpinnings' of the economy seem calculated to exercise the ghosts of 1937 and 1929 rather than to promise a new upturn.

That the fears are not wholly unreal is furnished by the alarming number of business failures in the U.S.A. American business failures in March increased 21 per cent over February reaching a total of 1,495—the highest peak in the past 19 years. The failure rate per 10,000 businesses was 60 in March, compared with 72 in March 1939—the only year when it was exceeded since the depression year of 1933.

"Middle East Oil, 1957"

The monthly magazine, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, of New York writes in the February, 1958 issue:

Middle East oil production in 1957 showed a gain of 1.8 per cent over 1956. Every producing country but Iraq shared in the modest increase; the only spectacular expansion took place in Iranian fields. Iraq, plagued by damaged pipe-line pumping stations in Syria, suffered a loss of over 30 per cent.

The changes in production were reflected in the direct payments of the oil companies to the Governments. Payments to Iraq declined from \$207 million in 1955, to \$193 million in 1956, to \$135 million in 1957; Iran's oil revenue rose from \$90 million in 1955, to \$146 million 1956, to \$210 million in 1957.

The share of the Middle East in total world oil production declined slightly—from 20.9 per cent in 1956, to 20.2 per cent in 1957. The average daily output per well in 1957 was 3,448 barrels, compared with 13 barrels for the United States, and 28 for the world as a whole.

Estimates proved crude reserves continued their steady upward movement, using from 144.7 billion barrels at the end of 1956, to 169.8 billion barrels at the end of 1957—an increase of 17 per cent. Over half the increase was for Kuwait and the Neutral zone, and much of the rest for Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Middle East reserves account for slightly less than two-thirds of the total world reserves.

The above-quoted summary would amply indicate the reasons for increasing interest of the powers in that area. The pre-eminent American concern for the areas is explained by the sharp rise in American holdings in the oil companies operating in the area over the decade 1946-1955. The United States now has a greater financial interest in the area than all other nations combined together. Gross investment in the Middle East oil concessions increased from \$900 million at the end of 1946 to \$2,750 million at the end of 1955, of which American companies accounted for \$1,290 million, and all other companies \$1,460 million. A detailed comparison is provided by the following table:

Changes in total Financial Interests in Middle East Oil Conventions
(In percentage)

	1946	1955
American	35.3	58.4
British	49.9	28.4
Anglo-Dutch	6.8	7.0
French	6.8	5.3
Others	1.2	0.9

The State of the Congress Organisation

The Congress Working Committee in its early April session gave much anxious consideration to the means to enforce discipline within the organisation. It was decided that henceforth signature campaign against Congress Chief Ministers on Cabinets by Congress Legislators would not be tolerated and firm actions would be taken against the rebels. It was further decided to hold another session of the All-India

Congress Committee in New Delhi on May 10—the third such meeting in New Delhi within a year—evidently to obtain more authoritative sanction to the directives of the Working Committee.

The problem was by no means so easy as could be solved by such flat directives. The root of the problem lay much deeper and unless some fundamental changes were effected in the outlook and the organisation of the Congress, indiscipline could hardly be expected to be checked. "Srikrishna," the *Bombay Chronicle* columnist, neatly summarises some of the points about current Congress organizational ferment. We reproduce below a few paragraphs from the dispatch published in the *Bombay Chronicle* for April 14:

"The Congress Working Committee held its session here during the week. The Congress is faced with the rising tide of revolt within its own ranks. One method of arresting the tide was to ban the signature campaign. The crisis has deep roots. It is largely due to imposing leaders on State organisations.

"The case of Dr. Kailash Nath Katju should illustrate the point. He has spent better part of his life in Allahabad. For the sake of elections to the Union Parliament, a constituency in Madhya Pradesh was given to him. This by itself was an imposition. Because of the Congress prestige, Dr. Katju was elected. On the strength of this election, he was sent to Madhya Pradesh to become the Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature and its Chief Minister. This was over the head of the Congressmen, who had spent their lives in the service of their State.

"For reasons still undisclosed, Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab was brought from Orissa to join the Union Cabinet. One morning he was dropped out of the Union Cabinet. Meanwhile young blood in Orissa Congress, had been promoted. Dr. Mahatab after his wanderings in the wilderness returned to Orissa. His return is creating unhappy results.

"The case of Punjab stands by itself. Here again it is a case of imposition by the Centre. The present Chief Minister is backed because he is a 'safe Sikh'. Some issues arise.

"Firstly, discipline is not a slogan. It is necessary in a civilised society. Congress leaders

talk of discipline but refuse to enforce it. This is why Congress is falling to bits.

"It may look a paradox but an employer prefers to deal with a Communist controlled trade union because it is able to honour its agreement by enforcing discipline amongst its members. The Labour Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, may quote figures to prove the representative character of INTUC, but events have shown that the Communist controlled trade unions are gaining strength every day. This is again by the way of illustration.

"So long as Congress is not prepared to do the unpleasant duty of enforcing discipline, it would never be able to put its own house in order.

"Secondly, there should be some age of retirement even for Congressmen.

"The Prime Minister had raised great hopes when he had spoken against the practice of Mahantship, Congressmen sticking to their jobs till they were cremated. Maulana Azad, for example, might have been living today had he retired last year. There are men who are sick in bed for almost three days in a week. And yet they refuse to go home. Any suggestion for their retirement is met by a signature campaign.

"Thirdly, no top-ranking leader is prepared to leave his Ministerial assignment to devote himself to Congress. Men who are managing the Congress affairs have not the requisite stature to evoke respect and following."

The Problem of Official Language

The Official Language Commission headed by the late B. G. Kher did not specifically say if a general changeover from English to Hindi in the Centre would be found practicable by 1965. Two members of the Commission—Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. P. Subbarayan—it may be recalled, emphasised the fact that it would be unwise to introduce Hindi in 1965. It is now reported that the Parliamentary Committee on the Union's official language which was appointed with the task of reporting to the President its opinion on the recommendations of the Official Language Commission resumed its session since the middle of March.

The Committee cannot be unaware of the fact that the majority of the people in the South and East India are opposed to the idea of the introduction of Hindi in 1965. It would,

however, appear that even the saner section of Hindi intelligentsia does not consider it wise to introduce Hindi in 1965. The *Hitavada* of Nagpur in a leading article on April 8 gives expression to the views of the right-thinking Hindi people about the matter. We reproduce below the substantial parts of the article which must strike everybody by its objectivity and reasonableness. Opposing the suggestion that Hindi must be introduced by 1965 the *Hitavada* writes:

"Right-thinking persons in the non-Hindi areas are not opposed to Hindi being made the official language of the Indian Union. By virtue of the fact that it is spoken by 42 per cent of the Indian population, Hindi has a claim to the mantle now worn by English. But sufficient time must be allowed both for the non-Hindi-speaking people to acquire a grasp of the Hindi language and for Hindi to be equipped for the role that English is at present playing. The Hindi enthusiasts would do well to recognise the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking areas and to acknowledge the fact that Hindi has yet to be developed. The observance of an 'Anti-English Language Week' is hardly the right way of promoting the cause of Hindi and of allaying the fears of the non-Hindi-speaking people. The Prime Minister has supported the Gauhati approach to the language issue. The Gauhati Session of the Congress wanted the approach to be 'flexible and practical' and suggested that English may be used after 1965 for official purposes as provided in Article 343(3) of the Constitution. The Gauhati resolution does not, in our view, meet the practical needs of the situation. The fact remains that we are not in a position to switch-over from English to Hindi by 1965—either from the practical or psychological points of view. Instead of forcing the pace and hustling the non-Hindi-speaking people into accepting Hindi in place of English, we are of the view that it would be advisable if the target date of 1965 were changed to 1990, as was once proposed by 40 M.Ps. elected from the non-Hindi areas. The Constitution can and should be amended so as to provide for the retention of English as the official language till 1990. During the intervening period Hindi could be propagated and equipped for its appointed role. Such a decision would create the

right atmosphere for the adoption of Hindi for official purposes in those areas where it is not spoken at present. It is not suggested that the Constitution should be amended in order to drop all reference to the choice of Hindi as the official language. All that we expect is that the target date for the switch-over from English to Hindi should be changed. The Constitution has been amended several times in the past and for less important reasons. There is, therefore, no reason why we should fight shy of making another change when the unity of India is at stake over the language issue."

It is to be hoped that the Parliamentary Committee would take note of this sensible view at the time of making its recommendations to the President.

Population Studies in India

Professor S. Chandrasekhar, the internationally recognised authority on demography, writes in the latest issue of the bi-annual *Population Review* of Maddas:

"A fruitful and widely accepted way of studying human populations is to approach them from three clearly demarcated points of view: facts, problems and policy.

"Perhaps, the most important and the basic minimum needed for any demographic study is factual data. These include total numbers, trends of growth or decline, composition and characteristics or what is sometimes called formal demography, the vital processes involving births, marriages and deaths, and last, quality both positive and negative aspects.

"The second approach is to consider the total group in terms of a problem—economic, social or cultural or whatever the criteria adopted. The problem arises from the social or economic or other values in contemporary vogue which might vary from time to time and from country to country. The problem might be one of 'too many people' or 'too few people.'

"The third approach," Dr. Chandrasekhar writes, "stems directly from the second. If a problem of population is granted to exist, something can or should be done about it. Hence, the need for social action. But such action is possible only when there is both awareness of desire and capacity for social action. Therefore,

all demographic problem areas, no matter what the exact nature of the problem, may not embark on governmental or non-official policies. And such policies when embarked upon may differ from country to country depending on the nature of the political system, traditional, cultural and religious values and cherished political, economic and other goals."

It is now admitted on all hands that in India a problem of population does exist. However, Indian efforts to study the population-growth in the country have not been very conspicuous. No doubt, individual scholars like Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji, Dr. Gyanchand and Dr. Chandrasekhar had made valuable contributions to the understanding of the various aspects of our population-growth, but no concerted effort was visible until the formation of the Indian Institute for Population Studies. The Institute is carrying out valuable researches in quantitative and qualitative aspects of population with special reference to India and Asia. It publishes a biannual journal, the *Population Review*, which serves as a forum for the exchange of information and ideas between scholars. The latest issue of the *Population Review* contains discussions on topics which are not to be found often, e.g., a case study of the ecological structure of Indian cities (Bangalore), the phenomenon of longevity (the factors that determine longevity), spatial aspect of housing in Indian cities (a case study of Aligarh), psychiatric institutional services in India and an essay on the composition of India's population according to the 1951 Census. The contributions reach the highest standards and pool together much useful information for further research as well as for forming an intelligent opinion about Indian population. They also indicate an integral approach to the problems of numbers, housing, health and other social and economic problems. We hope that the Institute would soon become the foremost centre of demography in India and Asia as well.

Rural Water Supply

India is a land of rivers. Yet, paradoxically enough, India is one of the worst affected of countries as regards the adequate supply of water for drinking and other purposes. There

are places in what are known as fertile regions where no water of any description is available. In the villages of West Bengal, summer portends a very hard day for the villagers. It would, however, not be correct to think that only villagers suffer from shortage of water. The cities and towns are no less affected. The present cholera epidemic in parts of Calcutta is ascribed largely to defective water supply. The condition in smaller towns is still worse. The picture holds good for all parts of India with minor variations. A *Press Trust of India* report (dated April 13) from Igatpuri says that a number of women with empty vessels on their heads and babies in their hands marched to the municipal office demanding adequate supply of drinking water. The women told the municipal councillors of their extreme difficulty in getting water even if they stood in queue for hours together.

Referring to the scarcity of water in the rural districts of Madhya Pradesh, the *Hitavada* writes:

"The Public Health Sub-Committee of the Vidarbha Divisional Development Council, it is reported, has asked the District Development Boards to draw up lists of villages suffering from acute water scarcity. This would enable the Sub-Committee to approach the Bombay Government for immediate measures to solve the problem of water scarcity in the rural areas of Vidarbha. There is acute scarcity of drinking water in the rural areas on account of the recent drought. The villagers are undergoing great hardships as, according to reports, the wells have started drying up. The Bombay Government would do well to give priority to the question of providing safe drinking water to the villagers by deepening the existing wells and constructing new wells in those areas where water scarcity is acute. If the supply of pure drinking water is not ensured during this summer to the villagers, there is the possibility that water-borne diseases like cholera and typhoid might break out in an epidemic form."

In view of the exceptionally heavy incidence of cholera in Calcutta, the Government of West Bengal might also consider early the desirability of taking effective steps so that the disease does not spread to the villages.

Russia and Hungary

M. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister and Communist Party Chief, made a tour of some of the East European countries immediately upon his election as the head of the Soviet Government. In the course of that tour he went to Hungary. Contrary to previous practice Mr. Khrushchev this time put forward some explanations for the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of October-November, 1956. Obviously, he was trying to induce the Hungarian people to forget the wounds caused by the Soviet intervention. He had perforce to tell some truth and had therefore to admit, though in a rather roundabout way, that the Hungarian uprising of 1956 had substantial working class backing and was not the "all-bourgeois affair," it had earlier been sought to be described. M. Khrushchev spoke of "painful days" of consideration before the Soviet Government had decided to send its troops to Hungary. "Believe me, my friends," M. Khrushchev told his Hungarian listeners, "we spent painful days and nights before making a decision. If we had not given our help, the dearest dreams of the Hungarian people would have been drowned in blood."

M. Khrushchev's sense of justice was betrayed by his characterisation of "error" and "treason." He characterised Imre Nagy's actions (M. Khrushchev did not specify the actions) as treason. Nagy, it should be noted, acted in complete good faith and the views now being criticised by the Soviet Premier were not new. Moreover, it should also be recalled that the Communist Party of Hungary (and indirectly the Soviet Government) found no better man in those crucial October days to save the regime than Nagy, who was until then an expelled member of the Communist Party. Yet through the magic of "dialectics" Khrushchev did not find any difficulty in calling Nagy a traitor. On the other hand, M. Khrushchev described the actions of the former Hungarian Premier and party leader Matyas Rakosi as "errors"—on the face of the fact that Rakosi had killed in cold blood and with full consciousness hundreds of thousands of Hungarians including leading Communists who had later on to be rehabilitated to glory. Indeed, the Hungarian uprising, as everybody including Com-

munists everywhere admitted, was the culmination of grave popular resentment against "Communist fascism" of Rakosi and his gang. But to Khrushchev these criminal actions were only "errors." Why? Because, after all, Rakosi had never failed to glorify the "great Stalin" and "the land of Socialism," the Soviet Union. The test of Communism would now seem to rest upon one's attitude to the Soviet Government irrespective of what one might do in practice for the betterment of the masses in one's own country. Thus we find an otherwise Communist country Yugoslavia being despised by the Communists because of her critical attitude to the Soviet Government.

The Revival of Stalinism ?

The Soviet Affairs Analysis Service published by the anti-Soviet Institute for the study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich wrote in its issue dated the 5th March as follows: "Ideologically, . . . the way has been prepared for a revival of Stalinism. This, of course, does not mean that a revival of Stalinism has, in fact, taken place. . . . Nevertheless, there is at the present time an unmistakable trend towards re-Stalinization. It is impossible to say how far this process will go, since it is determined by a number of unknown factors."

The subsequent developments would seem to bear out this analysis to a degree. During the last week of March, M. Nikita Khrushchev, following Stalin's example, stepped into the position of the Prime Minister in addition to retaining his existing position as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Internationally, the Stalinist technique found expression in the concerted move of the diplomatic representatives of Communist States, resident in Yugoslavia in leaving the session of the Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists when Mr. Rakovic, the Yugoslav Communist leader, rose to reply to the debate on the political report before the Party Congress. Ostensibly the pro-Soviet Communist diplomats left the hall to show their disapproval of Yugoslav criticism of Soviet policy and actions. They did not care to show even the formal courtesy of attending the session (the Polish ambassador came back, the report says).

This allergy to criticism of any type is a

peculiar Soviet characteristic. Even when wrong, the Soviet leadership would not stand criticism—even from friends, who are Communists, or even from their own comrades in the Soviet party and government. To be in the good books of the Soviet leaders, one should be prepared always to praise whatever they do. This snobbery has been raised to the level of "principle" of proletarian internationalism by the ideological imbecility of the greater majority of non-Soviet Communists who, though utterly failing in acting up to their promises in their respective spheres, consider all crimes forgiven so long as one would be willing to acknowledge the absolute superiority of the Soviet Government and Party in all spheres.

Murders and Torture in Algeria

Sixty-two thousand Algerian nationalists had been killed by the French since November, 1954, when the Algerian movement for national liberation began. This was disclosed by the French Minister of Defence, M. Chaban-Delmas. In contrast six thousand Frenchmen lost their lives. This clearly showed that the nature of the unequal struggle in Algeria where the French had all the material support and the nationalists nothing but their ideal of independence and self-sacrifice.

The unemotional figures are, however, poor conveyors of the magnitude of French terror and the extent of endurance by the Algerian nationalists. French conduct in Algeria has surpassed all previous records in torture and murder—even their own in Vietnam, Morocco and Madagascar and the British barbarities in Kenya and Malaya.

Mr. Henry Alleg's book *La Question* gives an idea of the nature of French torture in Algeria. It presents a record which the French Government did not want to show its own people in France, so that the French police confiscated the issue of the weekly *France Observateur* which carried excerpts from Mr. Alleg's book. We reproduce below a few paragraphs (in English translation made by the *Manchester Guardian*) from his book which would shock civilised people everywhere. The story reads as follows:

"J., still smiling, waved in front of my eyes the clips at the ends of the electrodes. Small, glittering steel clips, long and toothed.

'Crocodile clips,' as the telephone engineers call them. He attached one of them to the lobe of my right ear, and the other to a finger of my right hand.

"Suddenly I strained against the ropes that tied me, and yelled at the top of my voice. C. had just switched the first shock of electricity through my body. A long spark flashed near my ear, and I felt my heart pounding in my chest. I screamed and twisted, tensing till my muscles hurt, while C., with the switch in his hand sent the shocks through me one after another. To their rhythm C. repeated the same question over and over hammering out each syllable: 'Where is your hide-out?'

"Between shocks, I turned to him and said: 'You shouldn't do this. You will be sorry for it'. Furious, C. turned the switch all the way on, and said, 'The more you moralise, the more I turn on the juice,' and as I went on screaming, he said to J., 'Bon Dieu, what a big mouth he's got! Stuff a gag in it!' J. rolled my shirt into a ball and forced it into my mouth, and the torture went on. I bit hard on the cloth, and almost found some relief in doing so. Suddenly I felt as if the teeth of an animal were ripping my flesh. Still smiling over me, J. had clipped the wire on to my penis. The convulsions were so violent that the straps that held my ankles came undone. They stopped to fasten them, and went on.

"Shortly afterwards the lieutenant took over from J. pulled the wire free from one clip, and ran the end of it over my chest. I shook all over with more and more violent convulsions, and the business went on. They had poured water over me so that I would get the full force of the current, and so between shocks I was shivering with cold. Around me, seated on their knapsacks, C. and his friends were drinking bottles of beer. I bit my gag to ease the cramps that were twisting my muscles. No use.

"At last they stopped. 'All right, untie him!' The first session was over.

"I stood up, staggering and put on my trousers and jacket. K. stood before me. My tie was on the table. He took it, knotted it round my neck like a rope, and, to the laughter of the others, dragged me after him like a dog, into the adjoining office.

"Well?" he said. 'Is that enough for you?

We shall't let you go. Get down on your knees!' With his huge lumps of hands he slapped me across the face, putting his full strength into it. I fell to my knees, but I could not hold myself upright. I swayed from side to side, his blows knocking me up straight each time—those that did not flatten me on the ground. 'Well, are you going to talk? You know you're done for. You're as good as dead now . . .'

"K. roughly pulled me to my feet. He was furious. This was going on too long. 'Listen, you bastard! You're finished. You're going to talk! You hear me? You're going to talk!' His face was close to mine, almost touching, and he went on shouting, 'You will talk! Everybody talks here. We fought in Indo-China—that's where we learnt about you people. This is like Gestapo. Have you heard of the Gestapo?' Then, ironically, 'So you wrote articles about tortures, did you, you bastard? Well, now you're getting some from the 10th Parachute Division.' I heard the torture squad laughing behind me. K. slapped my face with his hands, and drove his knee into my stomach. 'We'll do what we're doing here in France too. Your friends Ducloux and Mitterand, they'll get what you're getting, and your . . . Republic, she'll get it too. You're going to talk, I'm telling you.' A piece of hardboard lay on the table. He picked it up and hit me with it. Every blow stupefied me more, but at the same time strengthened my determination not to give in to these animals who flattered themselves that they were as good as the Gestapo

"Can you swim?" L. said, leaning over me. We're going to teach you. Come on, under the tap."

"Between them they lifted the plank with me, tied to it, and carried it into the kitchen. They rested the end where my head was on the sink. Two or three parachutists held the other end. The kitchen was lit only by a faint light from the passage. In the shadows I made out K., C., and Captain D., who now seemed to have taken over. L. fitted a rubber tube to the tap that I could see gleaming above me. Then he wrapped my head in a rag, and D. said 'Put a wedge in his mouth.' Through the cloth, L. gripped my nose. He tried to force a piece of wood between my jaws, so that I would be unable to close my mouth or spit out the tube.

"When it was all ready, he said to me 'When you want to talk, all you have to do is move your fingers,' and he turned on the tap. The cloth quickly became soaked. The water ran everywhere—in my mouth, in my nose, all over my face. But for a while I could still breathe short gulps of air. I tried, by tightening my throat, to swallow as little water as possible, and to resist suffocation by holding my breath. But I could only manage to do so for a short while. I felt as if I was drowning, and a frightful terror took hold of me, like the terror of death. Involuntarily every muscle in my body tightened in vain effort to rescue me from suffocation. Involuntarily, the fingers of both hands moved wildly. 'That's it! He's going to talk!' said a voice.

"The water stopped flowing, and they took the cloth away from my face. I could breathe. In the shadows I could see the lieutenants, an captain, with a cigarette in his mouth, striking swinging blows at my stomach, to make me throw up the water, I had swallowed. Drunk with the air I was breathing, I hardly felt the blows. 'Well?' I said nothing. 'He's making mugs of us! Put his head back under!'

"This time I clenched my fists, digging my nails into my palms. I was determined not to move my fingers again. I might as well die of suffocation straight away. I was afraid that once again I should have that terrible sensation of sinking into unconsciousness, and struggling against death with all my strength. I did not move my fingers, but three times in succession, I felt that intolerable fear. When I was in extremis, they let me get my breath back while they made me throw up the water I had swallowed.

"The next time I lost consciousness . . .

"When, a long time afterwards, the door opened again, K. came in with two officers I had not seen before. In the darkness, one of them crouched down by me, and put a hand on my shoulder in a confidential manner. 'I am General M's aide-de-camp.' This was Lieutenant M. 'I'm sorry to see you like this. You're thirty-six—that's young to die'. He turned to the two others and asked them to go out. 'He wants to talk to me alone', he told them. The door closed, leaving us together.

"Are you afraid that someone will know

you talked? Nobody will know. We'll take you under our protection. Tell me everything you know, and I'll have you transferred to the hospital immediately. In one week you'll be back in France with your wife. You have our word. Otherwise, you will disappear.'

"He waited for an answer. I gave him the only one that came into my head. 'That's too bad!'

"You have children,' he went on. 'Perhaps I could see them. Would you like me to tell them that I knew their father? Well? You don't want to talk? If you let me leave here, they will come back. And this time they won't stop.'

"I remained silent. He got up, but before he went he said, 'The only thing left for you is to kill yourself'."

We have to resort to this rather long quotation as no summary can substitute it. And the world must know the truth.

Accra Conference on Algeria

The Accra Conference of eight African States in a resolution expressed its concern at the continuance of the war in Algeria and the denial by France to the Algerian people of the right of independence and self-determination despite various United Nations' resolutions and appeals urging a peaceful settlement, notably the offer of good offices made by the Moroccan and Tunisian heads of States.

The Conference, the resolution reads:

1. Recognises the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination.

2. Deplores the appalling scale of hostilities and bloodshed resulting from the continuance of the war in Algeria and urge an immediate cessation of hostilities.

3. Calls upon France (a) to recognise the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination; (b) to enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement; and (c) to put an end to her present military occupation of Algeria.

4. Appeals to friends and allies of France to refrain from helping France whether directly or indirectly in her military operations in Algeria.

6. Affirms its determination to make every possible effort with a view to helping the

Algerian people towards the attainment of independence.

The Accra Conference of African States has reiterated what the people everywhere have been demanding for the past four years. The French Government does not, however, even now seem to be nearing any sensible course of action with regard to Algeria.

Maghreb

One of the direct results of French colonialism, has been a new sense of unity amongst the people of North Africa. The *New York Times* gives a vivid picture in the following report:

"Maghreb—'the west' in Arabic—was the name given by the Eighth Century Arab Empire to its holdings in North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic. Present-day Arab nationalists have revived the name to denote their ideal of a union of the 24,000,000 inhabitants of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. The primary obstacle to a new Maghreb is French rule in Algeria, the geographic heart of the area, where nationalist rebels are fighting for independence with the open sympathy of Morocco and Tunisia.

"Last week representatives of the three lands met in Morocco to discuss Algeria and Maghreb. The participants were leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front, the chief rebel group, and the dominant political parties of the independent nations.

"Their major decisions were: (1) On Algeria, to recommend formation of a rebel government-in-exile 'after consultation with the governments of Tunisia and Morocco.' (2) On Maghreb, to recommend formation of a permanent organization to work out the details of union. In addition, Morocco was understood to have promised the rebels she will open her border as a rebel arms route.

"Although the decisions did not formally commit the Tunisian and Moroccan Governments, they were regarded as indications of a trend in both countries toward formal challenge to France's contention that Algeria is an integral part of France. The Arab stand also is expected to intensify the political pressures within France, which for eighteen days has been without a Government as a result of a crisis over policy on Algeria."

The Gulf of Aqaba

Places unknown to the world have a way of coming suddenly to prominence, in these days of world turmoil. Aqaba has acquired such notoriety through the Israeli troubles, as the *New York Times* reports:

"The Gulf of Aqaba is a 100-mile-long arm of the Red Sea that touches Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. At its entrance is the three-mile-wide Strait of Tiran, in territorial waters of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. At its head is the Israeli port of Elath, which gives Israel access by sea to the markets of East Africa, South Asia and the Far East.

"In 1950, Egypt, after fortifying her side of the Strait of Tiran, imposed a blockade on Israeli shipping through the gulf. The breaking of the blockade was one of the major objectives achieved by Israel in her 1956 Sinai campaign. When Israel withdrew from Sinai, after destroying the Egyptian fortifications, a United Nations force took over the position at the strait. Israel has warned that she would regard any future blockade 'as an attack entitling her to exercise her inherent right of self-defence.' Traffic through Elath is small (currently 4,000 tons of dry cargo a month, plus imports of oil in quantities which are substantial but are kept secret). But the Israelis hope for considerable expansion in the future.

"Israel, with U.S. support, rests her legal claim to the right of transit through the Gulf of Aqaba on the principle in international law of 'innocent passage.' This holds that shipping may pass through territorial waters, such as the Strait of Tiran, if it does not threaten the security of the coastal State. Egypt holds that the gulf is historically 'Arab waters' and that a technical state of war allows her to impose a blockade under belligerent rights. Since Sinai, the Arabs have not backed up this claim with action.

"Last week the Israeli view was implicitly upheld by a U. N.-sponsored international conference in Geneva which was convened to try to codify maritime law. The conference adopted, by a vote of 62-1, an article specifying that 'there shall be no suspension' of innocent passage. The article will bind only those nations that ratify the Geneva agreement. An Israeli delegate described the agreement as a 'clear-cut

decision' for free passage. The Arabs abstained, and Saudi Arabia said it would not recognize the article. The likelihood, however, is that the Arabs will think twice before challenging Israel's access to the gulf in the face of her threat to fight."

Indonesia

In Indonesia, some party is fishing in troubled waters as the adjoined report from the *New York Times* would show:

"For ten weeks the jungle-clad island of Sumatra has been the focal point of Indonesia's 'shadow war.' The rebels, who have proclaimed an anti-Communist regime in opposition to the leftward drift of President Sukarno's Central Government, have faded into the undergrowth whenever Mr. Sukarno's overwhelmingly superior forces have appeared.

"Recently the war has taken a new turn. The rebels, who did not command a single plane at the outset of the insurrection, have launched an air campaign against the Central Government, harassing shipping in the archipelago and strafing coastal ports. During the week the big Royal Dutch Shell oil refinery in East Borneo closed down after rebel planes attacked two British tankers in the area.

"Where the insurgents have got the bombers is an international mystery. The rebels claim they bought them on the Asian black-market and that they are based on the rebel-held Northern Celebes. Jakarta during the week charged that it had 'proof' that the bombers had been 'smuggled' into Indonesia from the Nationalist stronghold of Taiwan and were flown by 'United States and Taiwan adventurers.'

"President Sukarno warned the U.S., 'Don't play with fire in Indonesia.' He raised the spectre of Soviet bloc 'volunteers' aiding the Central Government and said, 'If some circles assist the rebels, others would assist us and the results would be a world war.'

"Washington which has enunciated a policy of 'strict neutrality' in the conflict and barred U.S. arms shipments to either side, was disturbed. President Eisenhower was asked by correspondents to comment on the Jakarta allegations. Mr. Eisenhower declared, 'Our policy is one of careful neutrality.' But the

President added that every rebellion 'has its soldiers of fortune' and that he did not believe there was anything more in the Indonesian allegations than that."

"Search for Security"

The weekly *Vigil* of Calcutta in a leader on April 5 under the above caption refers to the broader aspects of international security in the background of the unilateral Soviet suspension of further nuclear tests. The magazine, while welcoming the Soviet move as a step in the right direction, points to its limited character—not wholly due to Soviet reservations that the tests might be resumed if the Western States would fail to respond with reciprocal suspension of nuclear tests.

One thing which was not sufficiently clear to many, the *Vigil* points out, was the fact that a nuclear war would spell complete ruin to all. Governments could not be depended to give guarantees against the happenings of a nuclear war. "In the final analysis," the magazine says, "so long as the objects and constitutions of governments remain as they are, 'agreements,' even if made, will prove useless in a crisis." In this connection it refers to the recent decision of the French Government to manufacture nuclear weapon in complete reversal of its declared policy to the contrary.

So long as there was any chance of war, there would be the danger of the use of nuclear weapons. To dispell the nuclear threat would necessitate the abolition of war itself. "But," the *Vigil* comments, "war cannot be abolished without a fundamental change in the conception of security now prevailing among the governments of the world. Such a change, again, is impossible without a change in the conception of government itself. It has to be realized that in this so-called nuclear age the very conception of a government defending with force of arms a nation's territory or other values which in other ages might be so defended, has lost its validity, because war has been rendered suicidal by the new inventions. If there is need for defence, it has got to be conceived in other terms than force of arms. Then, if defence by violence becomes self-defeating, the basis of the present constitution of governments goes. An institution whose basic function is to wage or regulate

war loses its principal *raison d'être* in a context where war postulates total annihilation. It is illogical to think that war can be abolished by 'agreements' between the governments of the world. Such agreements might be useful for regulating or limiting wars for a period but in the present context limitation or regulation has no meaning because a war once started is bound to break the limits and become a nuclear war sooner or later."

However, there was obviously a feeling among the communities about the need of some sort of defence. When "agreements" and "negotiations" proved to be inadequate for abolishing war, the need arose for an alternative course of action.

"The way to such a substitute," the *Vigil* adds, "has been shown by Gandhiji. The inexorable logic of the situation is forcing men like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall—not a pacifist but an expert on military strategy—to the conclusion that defence in the nuclear age must eschew arms and become non-violent. He has given a detailed programme for a non-violent defence of Britain under possible Soviet attack and even Soviet occupation. What is remarkable about it is not that many of Sir Stephen's proposals appear to derive directly from Gandhiji's prescription—that was inevitable—but that even those who still support the British Government's defence strategy based on the H-bomb as the ultimate deterrent have treated Sir Stephen's thesis with respect and admit that it calls for a point-by-point reply."

The *Vigil* points out three weak spots in Mr. King-Hall's thesis. It says:

"Unlike Gandhiji, he does not base his plan of action on the rock of an unshakable faith in *ahimsa* and its superior efficacy over force. It is doubtful whether without such a faith people can be trained to that degree of moral strength which will be necessary to carry out a programme of non-violent resistance of the kind envisaged.

"Secondly, the spirit in which a concomitant political war in Sir Stephen's programme is conceived does not seem to be in tune with the moral training necessary for non-violent resistance. For this, it is not enough to have a fanatical faith in one's way of life. Non-violence will be of no use for protecting anything wrong.

So the moral training for non-violent resistance must include purification of one's own position. Otherwise, the resistance will not rise above being passive resistance and will not yield the full fruits of non-violent resistance.

"Thirdly, Sir Stephen's thesis, while it postulates a declining military role for the state, assumes the possibility that the task of training the country for non-violent resistance can be taken up by the existing state apparatus, more or less unchanged. This is doubtful. For non-violent defence the community life will require to be reoriented and reorganised at many points. In fact in a society capable of non-violent defence the state as we know it at present will have worn away in many spheres, giving place to a variety of organs of power in which popular participation will be more extensive, direct and creative. In spite of these lacunae, Sir Stephen's proposals are a most significant contribution whose impact we are sure will not be limited to Britain."

The Other View

In contrast to King-Hall's plan, or rather hypothesis, the *New York Times* of April 20, gives the following summary of the controversy that has arisen in the U.S. War Department, over the measures that have to be taken in view of the present situation:

"The controversy over Pentagon reorganization was summed up in these statements last week:

"President Eisenhower: 'The waging of war by separate ground, sea and air forces is gone forever. * * * We must achieve * * * unity of our fighting forces.'

"Carl Vinson, House Armed Services Committee Chairman: 'The Department of Defense organization is essentially sound. * * * After all, the country won the last war.'

"The battle began seventeen days ago when the President sent Congress a strong plea to centralize the Pentagon. The opposition ranged from extreme partisans of one or another of the armed services, who demanded decentralization, to more moderate groups which sympathized with the President's objectives but felt he had gone too far. Eleven days ago Mr. Eisenhower warned he would wage a 'real, hard fight' for his plan.

"Last week the debate grew warmer. The Administration sent its reorganization legislation to Congress and key members opened up on it. The President, in a nationally televised speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, vigorously defended it.

"This is the set-up the President wants to change:

"The Secretary of Defense is the overall boss of the Army, Navy and Air Force. He exercises his authority indirectly, through the three service secretaries and the military chiefs who are directly responsible for administration, training, research, weapons, military operations, etc.—and who can challenge the Defense Secretary. Army, Navy and Air Force combat units, in turn, are merged loosely into 'unified commands' which operate under 'unified commanders.' The Pacific command, for example, is under Admiral Felix B. Stump who takes his orders from the Chief of Naval Operations. But since the Air Force Chief is responsible for airmen, he can give orders to the air units in Admiral Stump's command. The three military chiefs also function collectively, with a chairman and a staff, as the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a strategy planning board which advises the Defense Secretary.

"These are the President's proposals and the arguments on each side:

"The *proposal*: The Defense Secretary would receive full and unchallenged control over the services, the unified commands and their military operations. He—not the individual service chiefs—would issue orders to the unified commanders. He would control all weapon research, eliminating inter-service duplication and rivalry. Most controversial, he would be empowered to transfer functions and a small percentage of defense appropriations from one service to another.

"The *President's* argument: 'We cannot allow differing service view-points to determine the character of our defenses. * * * Chiefs of individual services should not direct unified operations * * *. Secretary of Defense authority must be clear and direct * * *. The Secretary should have greater flexibility in money matters [to provide] greater efficiency, more responsiveness to changing military requirements * * *.'

● "The *opposition* argument: The Defense Secretary would become a 'czar'. He would probably build up the Air Force at the expense of the Army and Navy. The Constitution provides that Congress should run the armed forces. Senator Mike Mansfield charged that Congress was being asked 'to surrender its authority over the purse and the designation of roles and missions.'

"The *proposal*: The Chiefs would delegate individual service responsibilities to deputies and would function jointly as the Defense Secretary's planning and operations staff. The Joint Chiefs and the Chairman, aided by an enlarged and streamlined Joint Staff (which would be responsible to the Chairman), would draft unified plans and direct the unified commands, relaying the Defense Secretary's orders to the commanders.

"The *President's* argument: 'It is impossible longer to diffuse . . . strategic planning and the control of military operations . . . among three competing services. . . . Modern war demands . . . complete unity.'

"The *opposition* argument: The proposal would lead to creation of a 'Prussian-style general staff' which would take over the country. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs would dictate military policy, leaving no room for democratic discussion or service advocacy. Mr. Vinson charged that the plan was dangerous because the men who made military plans would no longer have power to execute them; he quoted Winston Churchill's statement that 'any clever person can make plans for winning a war if he has no responsibility for carrying them out.'

"The *proposal*: While the Army, Navy and Air Force would retain their separate identities, they would lose much of their autonomy. Each service would continue to recruit, supply, train and equip its members. The service secretaries and chiefs would be downgraded; they could no longer present recommendations to the Congress on their own initiative or conduct publicity campaigns to advance service interests.

"The *President's* argument: 'The over-all efficiency of the Defense Department will be increased. The tendency toward service rivalry and controversy . . . will be sharply reduced.'

"The *opposition* argument: The service secretaries would become little more than

'housekeepers.' Service morale and loyalty would be shattered."

Ganatantra Parishad Arrest

There was a demonstration by the Opposition in the Lok Sabha on April 28, on the Ganatantra Parishad arrests in Orissa. The *Statesman* gave the following report:

"New Delhi, April 28: Except for a few Independents, all the non-Congress members present in the Lok Sabha today walked out when the Speaker disallowed a sheaf of adjournment motions on the arrest of Ganatantra Parishad leaders in Orissa.

"The walk-out climaxed an hour of heated argument with Opposition spokesmen charging the Orissa Government of 'throttling democracy' and 'prostituting judicial processes for political purposes.'

"Pandit Pant replied that the arrests were entirely within the jurisdiction of the State Government and the Centre was not empowered to interfere.

"The Speaker held that while Parliament was concerned with the preservation of democratic rights and civil liberties, the arrests had been made under the Indian Penal Code and would come before the courts.

"The House could only take up the matter if it was proved that they were motivated by political considerations.

"He accordingly asked the Home Minister to use his influence to expedite the proceedings and make a statement on the subject within two or three days.

"This did not satisfy the Opposition who insisted that the adjournment motions be held over until fuller information was available. Although the Speaker indicated at the outset that he would be willing to accept this course, he finally disallowed the motion on the ground that he had given enough opportunity to both sides to state their case.

"A Ganatantra Parishad member, Mr. S. Mahanty, opened the discussion by asserting that in Orissa 'public opinion is being bludgeoned, the Constitution being raped and democracy being outraged.'

"He argued that the arrests were not a question of law and order but a violation of the democratic rights to change the Government by

peaceful means. They offended constitutional safeguards and were therefore the concern of Parliament.

"Mr. Mahanty was supported by Mr. S. N. Dwivedi, a PSP member from Orissa and Prof. Hiren Mukherjee (Communist) in construing the arrest of the Opposition M.L.A.'s as an attempt by the Orissa Government to retain power in spite of losing majority support.

"The mildest Opposition speech came from the Communist leader, Mr. S. A. Dange, who asked the Speaker to consider whether as 'the custodian of parliamentary democracy,' the House should not be concerned with actions which reflected on its working."

Nehru on the Congress

The *Statesman* gave the following report on April 20:

"New Delhi, April 20: Before it concluded this evening, the conference of P.C.C. presidents and general secretaries heard Mr. Nehru strongly dispute the current belief that the Congress had grown weak in recent months.

"Such 'loose' talk by the Opposition parties, and occasionally by Congressmen themselves, was 'futile and useless,' the Prime Minister declared.

"While he admitted that the Congress suffered from many weaknesses, Mr. Nehru pointed out that these were no worse than the deficiencies in other political parties. After World War II there had been a general decline in normal and political standards of the people as a whole and these needed to be raised.

"But with all that, the Prime Minister asserted, the Congress had by and large rendered effective service to the country both before and after independence.

"An important point made by him in this connexion was that the present squabbles within the Congress, though deplorable, were not altogether new. They were, indeed, endemic and were by no means absent in the days when Mahatma Gandhi was alive.

"According to reliable accounts of Mr. Nehru's speech, he did not refer either to his own feeling of fatigue and staleness or to Mr. Dhebar's desire to relinquish the office of Congress President. He, however, paid a tribute to

Mr. Dhebar for his able stewardship of Congress affairs during the past two years.

"Although Mr. Nehru spoke generally about the obsolescence of old ideologies in the nuclear age, he did not refer to the latest policy changes by the Communist Party which were sharply commented upon by the Congress President yesterday.

"Pandit Pant, however, spoke on this subject and observers noted that his tone was milder than Mr. Dhebar's. The Home Minister interpreted the Communist declaration of adherence to peaceful and democratic means as a tribute to the growing strength of the Congress.

"Pandit Pant said that on paper the changes made by the Amritsar congress of the Communist Party looked good, but it remained to be seen whether the Communists' change of heart was genuine."

Labour in Calcutta

The following report speaks for itself:

"Mr. B. C. Ganguli, Director of Operation, West Bengal Government's Transport Directorate, was stabbed on the left side of the abdomen in front of his office at P-11, Mission Row Extension, Calcutta, on Wednesday morning. Mr. Ganguli, who is about 43, was taken to the Medical College Hospital in a precarious condition.

"A police constable in plain clothes, who was on duty there, caught the alleged assailant, Krishnalal Kanjilal, a discharged conductor of the State Transport.

"It is stated that Mr. Ganguli was attacked as he got down from his car to enter his office at about 10 A.M. A constable on duty at the office gate immediately secured the alleged assailant. With the dagger still in his hand, the man resisted, freed himself after a few seconds, and tried to run away. Another overpowered him within a few yards.

"The incident cast a gloom in the State Transport office. Mr. Ganguli is known to be a popular officer. The arrested man, aged about 30, is said to have been dismissed from service about a year and a half ago on charges of misappropriation and insubordination."

POWER POLITICS IN INDIA

By Dr. SASADHAR SINHA

EVERY schoolboy knows that the division of India in 1947 was an unmitigated disaster for the entire sub-continent. It was a catastrophe and for over ten years has continued to be a calamity not only for those directly affected by it—the peoples of the Punjab, Sind and Bengal—but for many others in India (and Pakistan). Indeed, all our post-independence problems—the refugee question, food shortage, foreign exchange difficulties, mounting expenditure on defence, strained relations with Pakistan, unstable internal situation and above all continuing poverty—all stem from Partition. Instead of providing for a scheme of orderly exchange of populations as part of the settlement with Britain, the matter was left to chance, with consequences for the whole world to see. For human suffering, for its tragic poignancy, the Indo-Pakistan refugee problem has no modern parallel, unless, of course, one thinks of the massacre of six million Jews under Hitler, only a slightly more horrible instance. In spite of the cheerful prophecy of many experts, the violent disruption of an essentially integrated economy immediately brought India face to face with all kinds of shortages, foodgrains in particular. When we launched on our independent career, we got off to a good start, for our financial standing was high, but we have squandered our assets, largely to finance imports of rice and wheat and to buy equipment for defence. Nor has the promise of an early easing of food situation been fulfilled. Our huge expenditure on defence continues to be a colossal drain on our national resources, for, in spite of it, we are in no position to oppose a major enemy. It has brought us no security and has merely made us increasingly more dependent on the leading Powers of the world for sheer survival, not to speak of progress. Meanwhile, the national mood of high expectancy has steadily given place to disappointment, if not disillusionment. The millenium is as far away as it ever was. It has been said that the division of India was British Imperialism's parting kick. If that was so, it must be admitted that we at least invited it and even gloried in the way freedom came to us.

Hindu and Muslim, could have been unaware of what was in store for the country. It was not as though they were chopping up a log of wood to be distributed among rival claimants. They were dealing with human beings—millions of men, women and children. But this is exactly what they did do. They were bent on a settlement. But to what end, one asks? If one looks back to the war years, it will be recalled that the talk of division was not on the side of the Muslim League alone. An important section of the Congress was also thinking along similar lines. Even in London, we heard echoes of such thoughts. In fact, I remember being asked by an important personality, who was then the Congress spokesman in England, why Bengal should be so large, why it should not be broken up. At that time, I took this to be merely a token of his characteristic cynicism but I know better now. In retrospect, I realise that the partition of India had already been decided upon and his rhetorical question was only an attempt to draw me out. There is also a hint of the shape of things to come in the book, *The Discovery of India*, which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, wrote during the war and published in 1946.

The British, of course, were conscious that they could not hold India for long after the war but at the same time they were not prepared to give her up without safeguarding their essential interests. This was the *raison d'être* for their final decision to acquiesce in Partition, although military opinion was opposed to it, but there was complete unanimity among the political parties in Great Britain on the question and manner of ending British rule in India. Therefore, when Lord Mountbatten came to India to formalise the transfer of power, the main parties in the settlement, the British Government, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, were all agreed on the basic issue of Partition. The choice of Lord Mountbatten, a national hero, was a genial stroke on the part of the Labour Prime Minister, Lord (then Mr.) Attlee, for a settlement the former brought about could not be repudiated by any party in the United Kingdom nor could

It is unbelievable that our leaders, both

the Indian parties derive much comfort from trying to play upon the differences in British Party politics.

I can think of at least four reasons why the Indian National Congress decided to agree to the division of India, notwithstanding their past professions to the contrary. First, of course, was the general frustration in the country, which was relatively more pronounced among the leaders than among the people. Both the Congress and the League leaders, many of whom were getting on in life, wanted power for themselves, almost on any terms. The unseemly haste with which they plumped for Partition was one among many signs of this desire. The desire for power is all too human nor is it unworthy in a politician. But there is nothing to indicate that by holding out for unity our leaders could not have obtained more favourable terms than they actually did. Indeed, anybody familiar with wartime England will bear me out that Labour's anxiety to come to terms with India was actuated more by internal motives than by external considerations. Promises made to the British people during the war had to be made good and this, they knew, could be done largely on the basis of a settlement with India. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that the Labour Party was irrevocably committed to the idea of partition.

The advent of the Labour Government in 1945 raised many hopes among the Congress leaders and their optimism was superficially justified. It would be easier, they argued, to come to terms with Labour than with the Tories, not a very convincing argument, since our settlement with Britain was a *national* settlement on her part and not one between India and the Labour Government. It is important to realise that whatever Government came to power in Britain after the war would, in any event, have sought a settlement with India and therefore we should have lost nothing by waiting.

The post-war internal situation in India and the rest of Asia must have been a source of great anxiety to both the Congress and the Labour leaders. There was a revolutionary temper abroad, as is evidenced by contemporary developments, and the Congress Party probably thought that unless they came to speedy terms with the British they would be overtaken by events. This was, however, an argument which

cut both ways. On the face of it, the Labour Government was as anxious for a settlement as the Congress but the latter was obviously in no position to bargain as it had given the game away already.

The argument which, I think, really clinched the matter in favour of division was the memory of the past. In the olden days, Bengal and the Punjab had always played a dominant role in Indian politics and the struggle for leadership within the Congress before the war, as is generally known, mainly turned on the question of eliminating Bengal's influence from the Congress. There is no need to go into details but it can be presumed with a fair degree of certainty—and the sequence of events since 1947 has confirmed this belief—that when the prospect of the division of India presented itself the dominant section within the Congress jumped at the idea, for here was an opportunity to rule India unchallenged by either Bengal or the Punjab. Mahatma Gandhi always remained a firm opponent of the dismemberment of India and his advice that the Congress should be wound up after India became independent carries its own commentary. Being a shrewd judge of men he knew what was at stake and the developments since his passing serve to underline his worst fears. It is of melancholy interest also to recall Sarat Chandra Bose's plea for an independent united Bengal, which although probably an impractical idea at that time, showed at any rate a lively awareness of the tragic consequences that were to follow Partition.

Appetite grows on what it feeds on. Unopposed enjoyment of power by the Congress since 1947 has not only led to increasing irresponsibility but also to unbounded ambitions. Outwardly, it is a democratic organisation but its method of working is through an inner coterie. The pattern of power, both within it and the Central Government, will clearly demonstrate that it has come more and more to be identified with a particular area, which indeed is the point of departure for a new sinister development in Indian politics. What is being aimed at is nothing short of a calculated application of geopolitics to the Indian setting, that is, an attempt to dominate the whole of India from a strategically advantageous position by a system of checks and

balances, by a graduated system of patronage. Bengal and the Punjab have been put out of the way. Now it is the turn of the other parts of India to be subjected to the same process of emasculation.

Let me explain. Look at the political map of India today and two things emerge. One, in drawing the State boundaries no uniform principle has been followed. Neither language nor size nor stability has been the determining factor. It is on the whole narrow political considerations which have guided the choice. The Maharashtra claim to Greater Maharashtra with Bombay as capital, for instance, has been denied for no valid reason. But the underlying political motive is not far to seek. The massive strength of the South, which was an essential element in the political balance of India, has been broken up, while some of Bengal's legitimate territorial grievances have been ignored. Two, the position of Uttar Pradesh remains unrivalled as formerly. It is not only the most populous State in the Union but also the most important politically. At the head of the States stretching right across India, from the east to the west, it provides a fulcrum to the so-called Hindi block now in the making. Having seized control of the machinery of the Congress and the Central Government, it wants to give its power an impregnable territorial basis. The insistent demand for the introduction of Hindi as the State language, now evident to anybody, is the inevitable concomitant of this unfolding process. A political structure without a dependable administrative foundation will always remain unstable and the obvious hope is that in the course of time the pre-eminence of Hindi as the official language of India would give the people from the Hindi-speaking areas, primarily Uttar Pradesh, a predominant share in the administrative and other Government services, which is not the case at present. What has come to be known as Hindi chauvinism is thus a complex ambition, in which the linguistic is a comparatively minor element. Its political implications are overwhelming, accounting largely for the growing opposition in many parts of the country to the acceptance of Hindi as the official language.

It would be a mistake to think that this ambition for political domination was not backed by an appropriate economic theory and practice. Indeed, in the modern context, politics

and economics are inseparable, one supporting the other. Broadly speaking, it would not be untrue to say that economic planning in India today is designed to strengthen the material foundations of the politically most significant part of the country and relatively to reduce the importance of the older established areas of economic activity. This is being done in the case of Eastern India by maintaining, or at any rate by not discouraging, the Cold War that has plagued the relations between the different States of this region since British days although any reasonable man would admit that a political understanding or *detente* among them is the first condition of material progress for the people of this area who are among the poorest in India. Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Assam are the principal sources of economic strength of the whole of India and yet they have the least to say for themselves. Meanwhile, Calcutta, the largest port of India and the main outlet for the products of the entire Gangetic plain, is gradually being reduced in importance and Bombay's status correspondingly enhanced, which incidentally explains why the latter city was denied to Greater Maharashtra. Any place which is likely to provide an ultimate rallying point for a challenge to the present repository of political power is being methodically neutralised.

Incidentally, the Zonal Council, which has been set up to co-ordinate the economic activities of Eastern India, is not concerned with its main problem which is political understanding. Otherwise, can one really satisfactorily explain why there is no solution to the refugee problem in Bengal? Can it be doubted that with adequate co-operation among the Eastern States and suitable planning the settlement of the refugees would not have taken place long ago? Or is it that our rulers are afraid of upsetting the present demographic balance in this region to the detriment of their basic policy of checks and balances?

Now we come to the heart of the problem. India is called a Union of States but it must be realised that the States, at present, are beginning to count for less and less and more and more power is being concentrated at the Centre. This tendency towards increasing centralisation is, indeed, the *fons et origo* of current power politics in India. Through its central organisation the Congress controls all

its members in the States and only those who are prepared to suspend their right to private judgment, to dance to the tune of the Party bosses, have any hope of political preferment. The result is that, by and large few honest people have any chance, as members of the Congress, of playing their part in the public life of the country. Another type of influence exercised on the States is through the Central Government's financial control over development. Reflecting as it does the dominant coterie within the Congress, the inference is obvious. The result is that the legitimate interests of the States are sometimes overlooked and aid given them is looked upon as a favour and not a rightful claim. Is it any wonder that there is widespread corruption in Indian public life today and no radical attempt has been made to deal with it? Patronage is the rule and what it implies in terms of power politics from the top downwards can well be imagined.

Clearly, present trends in Indian politics and administration are a challenge alike to Indian statesmanship and Indian patriotism. If they are allowed to continue, they will mean the end of India's unity, which is meagre enough as it is, and we shall relapse once more into chaos as we have done so often in the past through the operation of regional and personal ambitions. All Indians have a vested interest in the country's unity, for disunity spells a worse fate for all concerned. But the way to unity is not through the concentration of power in a few hands but through its greater diffusion among the States, by increasing opportunities for material and cultural progress in the States, in the vindication of elementary justice for all Indians, irrespective of their place of origin.

As far as I can see the immediate need is to reverse the process of increasing administrative centralisation and to restore genuine autonomy to the States. The country will thus truly become a Union of States and cease to be a stalking-horse for an irresponsible oligarchy. It is in this manner that integrity and efficiency in administration will be furthered and the decencies brought back into public life. In the future the Central Government should be the co-ordinating agency of the common interests of the country that it was originally meant to be. It should therefore confine itself to a few things—defence, foreign affairs, finance and communi-

cations. In other matters, there should be as little interference in the affairs of the States as possible, for, as I have argued, Central interference, in all its implications, is the major source of current demoralisation in Indian administration and public life. Correspondingly, there should be more direct dealings between the States themselves, again without the intermediary of the Centre, so that they grow up as parts of a common organism and have an opportunity of finding solutions for their common problems through normal personal contacts.

Since our root problem is poverty, the machinery of economic planning also needs drastic change. At present, it is too centralised, too top-heavy and far too remote from the people to be of effective use. If there is to be a central organisation at all it should be a purely advisory and co-ordinating body; the major responsibility for planning should be thrown on the States themselves. Being closer to the people and subjected directly to both constructive and destructive popular criticism, they will be in a better position to respond to popular needs as well as to mobilise popular enthusiasm for the execution of the plan than is currently possible. This measure will at the same time eliminate very largely the element of patronage, an evil inseparable from centralisation.

Our foreign policy, too, requires a new orientation, if our resources are to be used to the best advantage. Non-alignment is too negative a concept to be of much constructive use to the country. Charity begins at home, so we must make Indo-Pakistan understanding the sheet-anchor of our external relations. It will be of ultimate benefit to both India and Pakistan, for if we succeed in bringing them closer, we shall at one stroke come nearer to a common solution of our defence and economic problems. The competitive economic and defence policies of the two countries have multiplied our problems without giving either of us economic or strategic security. We must start thinking of geopolitics, not in the sense of power politics, but of our common economic and political destiny as part of a common geographical area, clearly marked out from the rest of Asia. The clear lesson is that precious resources which are now being wasted can, given the

basic understanding, be put to constructive use for the first time, for the removal of the intolerable poverty which weighs down the peoples of both countries, for the material and cultural progress without which political freedom has no meaning. To talk of historic enmities is to talk nonsense. They belong to the realm of the imagination and not to reality. Europe at this very moment is going through a process of reintegration, bringing erstwhile enemies together in the defence of common interests, thereby proving that in international relations nothing can be taken as permanent. But, perhaps, I am anticipating.

In any case, however, you look at the problem of national unity, there is no future for the Indian people (and for the people of Pakistan for that matter) through the pursuit of power-politics either at home or abroad. It is only through a common sharing of power, national resources and opportunities for material and cultural progress that true unity will be forged. Democracy and socialism will then cease to be mere catchwords without relevance either to the present or the future.

London, April 12, 1958.

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THE U. N. AND THE KASHMIR PROBLEM

BY PROF. DR. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

THE U.N. has been established with a view to maintaining international peace and security. For this purpose among other things, it is expected "to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."¹ Since its birth in 1946 the U.N. has tried to perform this all-important duty, the main burden of which has fallen on the Security Council, the organ which is primarily responsible for it. One test-case for it has been the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir which has defied solution so far and in which the members of the Security Council have not been able to adopt a detached and non-partisan outlook.

BACKGROUND OF THE DISPUTE

The Jammu and Kashmir State which is at present one of the fourteen States of the Indian Union was a semi-independent princely State ruled by Maharaja Sir Hari Singh when the British rulers abdicated power in India. On the eve of the transfer of power they declared that on the relinquishment of the sovereignty of the Crown in India, its paramountcy over the Indian States would lapse and the latter would become free to accede to either dominion or not to do so at all.²

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan had his eyes on Kashmir and he wanted to visit the State ostensibly on grounds of health, the real purpose being to persuade the Maharajah to accede to Pakistan. But the Maharajah declined permission to Mr. Jinnah to spend the summer in Kashmir and he also asked the latter's Secretary to leave the State. On August 12, 1947, the Maharajah made a proposal to both the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with them. The Government of Pakistan promptly agreed to the proposal and such an agreement between it and the Maharajah was signed on August 16, 1947. But the Government of India wanted time. Pakistan, however, was not satisfied with this type of agreement. She cut off essential supplies to Kashmir and resorted to the economic blockade of the State in order to coerce it into accession. It also organised communal raids on the Kashmir border. Actually, Major-General Scott, Chief of Staff of Jammu and Kashmir Forces, reported a number of border raids as early as August 31, 1947. Pakistan incited the Afridis

partition and who became the Secretary of the States Ministry in independent India remarks: "I told Sardar (Vallabh Bhai) that under the Cabinet Mission Plan, the States need not join either of the Constituent Assemblies but that they could have particular arrangements with the Government of the Dominion to which they were geographically contiguous."—*The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 93-94.

1. Art. 1(1) of the U.N. Charter.

2. On this issue V. P. Menon who was the Constitutional Adviser of the Governor-General before

and tribal people to invade Kashmir.³ Moreover, a plot to kidnap the Maharajah and the Prime Minister, Shri Mehr Chand Mahajan, when they were to visit Bhimber on the border of the State on October 21, 1947, was also hatched. But instinctively the Maharajah cancelled his tour programme and visited the place one day earlier with the result that Pakistan's game was foiled.

At this critical juncture the Maharajah who was wavering all this time firmly decided to fight Pakistan's aggression and requested India for help. The Government of India replied that they could not give any help to Kashmir unless she acceded to India. On October 25, 1947, Mr. Mahajan, the then Prime Minister of the State was instructed to fly to India, if he could get a plane or to go to Pakistan for surrender. But at that crucial moment Mr. V. P. Menon, the Secretary of the States Ministry of the Government of India, reached Srinagar. Hence, Mr. Mahajan was directed by the Maharajah to accompany him to Delhi for talks on the question of accession and military aid. He met the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister and asked for immediate military help. In his own words, he said:

"Give army, take accession and give whatever power you want to the popular party, but army must fly to Srinagar this evening, otherwise I will go and negotiate terms with Mr. Jinnah as the city must be saved."⁴

At this the Prime Minister flew into a rage and asked him to get out. But at that time Sheikh Abdullah who was in the Prime Minister's house and who was over-hearing the talks sent a slip to the Prime Minister who said to Mr. Mahajan that the Sheikh also was of the same view. In a moment the Prime Minister cooled down.

Thereupon, the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession with the then Dominion of India on October 26, 1947. This request was also supported by Sheikh Abdullah, the then most popular leader and President of the Jammu

and Kashmir National Conference. But on the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten the Government of India accepted the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir provisionally subject to its ratification by the people of Kashmir through a plebiscite.⁵ Lord Mountbatten "expressed the strong opinion that, in view of the composition of the population, accession should be conditional on the will of the people being ascertained by a plebiscite after the raiders had been driven out of the State and law and order had been restored. This was readily agreed to by Nehru and other ministers."⁶ The Maharaja being a Hindu hesitated to accede to Pakistan. At the same time he was unwilling to accede to India because of the composition of the population of the State. Actually "to the inordinate desire of coercing Kashmir into acceding to Pakistan, and the consequent devastation of the Happy Valley of Kashmir by the raiders is due the accession of Kashmir to India."⁷

After accession Indian troops were sent to Kashmir by air. The same day, i.e., October 27, 1947, Mr. Jinnah also ordered the Pakistan forces to March into Kashmir. There is a

Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan says that after Indian troops reached Srinagar negotiations started between the two Governments under the mediation of Lord Mountbatten. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan came to Delhi and Mr. Mahajan was also called. One of the terms of settlement was plebiscite to which Mr. Mahajan was opposed. He says: "I raised the question about the meaning of the word. A dictionary was sent for and it was discovered that it did not mean a decision by direct adult franchise but it could be a plebiscite, if the duly elected representatives of the people according to the election law of the State supported the Maharajah's accession and this would be sufficient. By way of compromise I said this term would not do any harm as the only politically conscious party in the State that could form a government was Sheikh Abdullah's party and it was of the same opinion as the Maharaja."—"Fact on Kashmir IV," in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 9, 1957.

6. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 399. According to Mr. Mahajan, Lord Mountbatten advised the Maharajah to accede to Pakistan. He writes: "When I met him for the first time from the one hour's talk I had with him, I inferred that he felt that there was no option for the Maharaja but to accede to Pakistan in view of its geographical situation, though he said that as Governor-General of India he would naturally like if His Highness acceded to India. On the second occasion he was brutally frank."—"Facts on Kashmir—I," in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 5, 1957.

7. *Kashmir Story* (Publications Division, Government of India), p. 46.

3. Lord Birdwood says that the Pakistan Government had no hand in these raids but they were engineered by the Muslim League, the ruling party in Pakistan.—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 54.

4. Mehr Chand Mahajan, "Facts on Kashmir—II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated June 7, 1957.

difference of opinion about Mr. Jinnah's order. Lord Birdwood and V. P. Menon are of the view that he issued it after he heard that the Indian army had marched into Kashmir. But Mr. Mahajan is of the view that he issued the order without having any knowledge about the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir. But his Commander-in-chief refused to carry out the order unless the Supreme Commander had been consulted. The Indian armies rescued the Srinagar Valley from the raiders. But then it was discovered that they were receiving substantial support from Pakistan. They were not only supplied with modern arms and ammunition but also had bases in Pakistan. They drew ration from the Pakistan army and were trained by Pakistan army officers. In fact, the mysterious leader of the raiders called "General Tariq" was later identified as Major General Akbar Khan of Pakistan army. To rout them it was necessary to destroy their bases which would mean invasion on a foreign country. At this stage Lord Mountbatten "pressed both Gandhiji and Nehru to adopt his original suggestion to invoke the good offices of the United Nations Organisation. Nehru ultimately accepted the suggestion, though some of his colleagues had misgivings about the wisdom of the step."⁸ Therefore, on December 31, 1947, the Government of India referred the matter to the U.N.

HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Before the Security Council considered the problem its President sent an identical note to the two Governments informing them that the Council was about to consider the matter and appealing to them "without prejudice to any decision on the part of the Council, . . . to refrain from any step incompatible with the Charter and liable to result in an aggravation of the situation, thereby rendering more difficult any action by the Security Council." The two Governments assured the Council that they would not do any such thing. The Council took up this matter on January 6, 1948 and passed a resolution on January 17, 1948, calling upon both the Governments to take immediately all measures calculated to improve the situation

and to refrain from those likely to aggravate it. It adopted another resolution on January 20, 1948, establishing a Commission composed of the representatives of three members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, another to be selected by Pakistan and the third to be designated by the two so selected.

The Commission was assigned the task of investigating the facts under Article 34 of the Charter. It was also called upon to exercise any mediatory influence to carry out the directions of the Security Council and to report how far the advice and directions of the Security Council to the two Governments had been carried out. By its resolution, dated April 21, 1948, the Security Council increased the membership of the Commission to five.⁹ This resolution also stated that the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir was likely to endanger international peace and security and recommended to India and Pakistan appropriate measures to bring about a cessation of fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the question of accession. It passed another resolution on June 3, 1948, directing the Commission of Mediation to proceed without delay to the areas of dispute with a view to accomplishing in priority the duties assigned to it by the resolution of April 21, 1948.

In the beginning Pakistan denied having anything to do with the raiders, although as early as April 20, 1948, the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan had suggested that the regular units of the Pakistan army should be sent into Kashmir and this proposal was put into effect in early May, 1948.¹⁰ But after the arrival of the Commission in the sub-continent in July, 1948, Pakistan officially admitted the presence of its regular troops in Kashmir. In December, 1948, the Commission made certain proposals for holding plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after the restoration of normal conditions. Both the Governments having accepted the proposals, the Government of India took the initiative in calling a halt to fighting. As Pakistan had by that time lost the initiative on

9. The members were Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.A.

10. Actually Pakistan's troops marched into Jammu and Kashmir on May 8, 1948, although they were posted behind the line of the raiders since January, 1948. See Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, pp. 67-68.

8. V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 410.

practically all the fronts, she readily agreed to a cease-fire which became effective from the midnight of January 1, 1949. The cease-fire line was settled six months later.

The Commission adopted two resolutions, one on August 13, 1948, which was divided into three parts, viz., cease-fire, truce agreement and the plebiscite and the other on January 5, 1949. It aimed at making the two sides agree to withdraw their forces so that appropriate conditions for holding the plebiscite may be established. But it could not secure the agreement of the parties. In March, 1949, the Secretary-General after consulting India appointed Admiral Chester Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator but he could not take over till the withdrawal of troops had taken place. In December, 1949, the Commission proposed to the Security Council that it would be better if a single U.N. representative with broad powers was appointed. The President of the Security Council of that month, General McNaughton of Canada tried to help a settlement but failed. In April, 1950, the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon as the U.N. representative substituting the U.N. Commission to help the parties in demilitarization. He was particularly authorised to place before the parties or the Security Council "any suggestions which, in his opinion, were likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir."

The first U.N. representative did not succeed in getting a withdrawal of forces. Therefore, he made a proposal for the division of the whole territory between India and Pakistan and for holding a vote in a limited area. When he could not secure the agreement of parties he reported failure and said in his report that in his opinion it would be better to leave the matter to the parties themselves for settlement. He pointed out that the parties thought that the responsibility for a solution rested on the Security Council but the latter could settle the matter only after agreement between them. He said when actual fighting was going on it was natural that the Security Council should intervene but even after cease-fire the initiative was thought to lie with it. He concluded:

"The whole question has now been

thoroughly discussed by the parties with the Security Council, the Commission and myself and the possible methods of settlement have been exhaustively investigated. It is perhaps best that the initiative should now pass back to the parties. At all events I am not myself prepared to recommend any further course of action on the part of the Security Council for the purpose of assisting the parties to settle between them how the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to be disposed of."

On the request of the first U.N. representative to be relieved of his post, the Security Council appointed on April 30, 1951, Dr. Frank Graham as U.N. representative. He held talks with the two Governments during the summer of 1951. He took up the problem of demilitarization and was successful in narrowing the area of disagreement between the parties. In April, 1952, he reported to the Security Council that both India and Pakistan had considerably reduced their forces, although they could not agree on the final number to be stationed on the cease-fire line. He also arranged meetings of the representatives of the two Governments with himself acting as a mediator. But his efforts proved fruitless. On March 27, 1953, he submitted his report to the Security Council and pointed out the desirability of direct negotiations. In June, 1953, the Prime Ministers of the two countries established their direct conferences to arrive at a settlement but the problem could not be solved.

In the meantime a Constituent Assembly was convened in Jammu and Kashmir in 1951 to frame a constitution for the State. At that time Pakistan represented to the Security Council that the Assembly should not decide the question of accession of the State. Sir B. N. Rau, the Indian representative, therefore, clarified the position of the Government of India on March 12, 1951, in these words:

"Honourable members will please note that the machinery of the Constituent Assembly was not devised only for Kashmir but for other similar units of Indian federation as well . . . Accordingly, provision was made for a Constituent Assembly for settling the details of the Kashmir Constitution. Will that Assembly decide the question of

accession? My Government's view is that while the Constituent Assembly may, if it so desires, express an opinion on this question, it can take no decision on it."

He reaffirmed this view on March 29, 1951. On March 30, 1951, the Security Council passed a resolution to the effect that the decision of the Constituent Assembly with regard to accession would not be regarded as affecting the final disposal of the question of plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

In February, 1954, the Constituent Assembly unanimously ratified the accession of the State to India and in November, 1956, adopted a constitution which legalised the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a unit of the Indian Union. It dissolved itself on January 26, 1957, when the new constitution was formally inaugurated. But Pakistan grew nervous at this and her then Foreign Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon requested the Security Council in a letter dated January 2, 1957, to meet at "a very early date" to consider the Kashmir question as he feared that India was taking steps to integrate the State into the Indian Union on January 26, 1957. Two days before this date the Security Council passed a resolution calling for a *status quo* in Kashmir and declaring that the convening of the Constituent Assembly and any resulting action regarding the future of Kashmir would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the principle embodied in previous United Nations resolutions on this matter. On February 20, 1957, the U.S.S.R. vetoed a resolution sponsored in the Security Council by four powers for sending United Nations forces in Kashmir for solving her problem.

Immediately after its rejection the U.S.A. moved another resolution which proposed that the President of the Council, Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, should proceed to the sub-continent and confer with the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to exploring the possibilities of settlement of the dispute. He was to report to the Security Council not later than April 15, 1957. This time-limit was extended by a fortnight and Mr. Jarring submitted his report on April 30, 1957. In his report he admitted his failure to make any concrete proposals for settling the dispute but pointed out:

"I could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia."

Obviously, he was making a reference to the various military pacts entered into by Pakistan with a view to tilt the military balance in her favour as against India.¹¹ In the course of his report he also remarked that

"The implementation of international agreements of an *ad hoc* character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily, may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change."

Recently the Security Council considered this report and discussed a five-power resolution providing that Dr. Frank Graham should again be requested to inquire into the question of augmentation of forces on either side and to help the solution. But since Soviet Russia threatened to veto it, an amended resolution deleting some obnoxious features was worked out by the Swedish representative. That resolution was passed by the Council on December 2, 1957, notwithstanding the objection of India to it. The new resolution authorises the United Nations representative (Dr. Graham) to visit the sub-continent and to make recommendations to the parties to take appropriate action for the implementation of the U.N.C. I.P. resolutions and for a peaceful settlement. It also calls upon the parties to refrain from saying or doing or causing anything to be done which is likely to aggravate the situation and to appeal to their respective peoples to maintain a peaceful atmosphere for the promotion of further negotiations.

ISSUES INVOLVED

The Kashmir problem has been before the Security Council for ten years but it has failed to solve it because of its fundamentally wrong approach to it. When India complained of Pakistan's aggression in Jammu and Kashmir

11. Even Lord Birdwood admits: "It is impossible to deny that Pakistan, strengthened with modern arms of equipment, could, if she so wished, use her increased power to enable her to strike more effectively from off her soil into Kashmir."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 143.

the Security Council should have at the outset decided whether the complaint of the Indian Government was justified or not by holding an inquest into the matter but it broadened the whole issue into a general consideration of the relations between India and Pakistan. Frank Moraes, the biographer of Pandit Nehru describes it as "the wholly inexplicable attitude of the Security Council on Kashmir." He also remarks:

"It almost looked as if the Security Council was anxious not to treat aggressor and aggressed on the same basis but to put India rather than Pakistan in the dock."¹²

In fact, going through the debates of the Security Council on the Kashmir problem, one is bound to get the impression that the Security Council has proceeded on the assumption that India has forcibly occupied a portion of the Jammu and Kashmir State which should rightfully go to Pakistan.¹³ It does not seem to have accepted the Indian sovereignty over Kashmir and has actually reopened the issue of accession of the State. It has never considered the question of that area which Pakistan has been illegally occupying for the last ten years. At best it has regarded Jammu and Kashmir as a no-man's land and has debated the question as to which State should acquire it. Thus it has treated the aggressor and the aggressed again on a footing of equality. This attitude of the Security Council or to be more exact, some of its prominent members, has been strongly resented to by India. It may be pointed out here that even Lord Birdwood has indirectly admitted the legality of Kashmir's accession to India.¹⁴ Moreover, in 1949, when Kashmir elected four members to the Constituent Assembly of India, Pakistan complained to the U.N.C.I.P. that it was illegal. But the Commission said that in its view, "it is difficult to oppose India on purely legal grounds."

To many keen analysts of the international situation this attitude of the Security Council

was due to two reasons. Firstly, due to the strategic position and military importance of Jammu and Kashmir, the important members of the Security Council, particularly the U.S.A. and Great Britain, could not be expected to remain disinterested judges.

Although it cannot be maintained that the British Government in any way encouraged the raiders, it is difficult to say so in the case of some individual British Officers. In this connection V. P. Menon makes a very cautious statement. He remarks:

"It is a fact that several top-ranking British Officers serving in Pakistan did have an inkling of these preparations and plans, though I do not suggest that they took any hand in their execution."¹⁵

Brigadier Ghansara Singh, the then Governor of Gilgit, giving an account of the raid there stated that it was Major Brown, British Commandant of Gilgit Scouts who planted the Pakistan flag in Gilgit on November 3, 1947.¹⁶ After this he sent a number of wireless messages to Pakistan reporting that her Government had been established in that area. The British Governor of the then North-Western Frontier Province, Sir George Cunningham, wrote a letter to the then Indian Commander-in-Chief, Sir Rob Lockhart, that the tribal raids were to begin soon but the latter concealed it from the Government of India and the Defence Minister of India.¹⁷ The account published by Mr. G. K. Reddy, former Director of Public Relations of the Azad Kashmir Government in the *Blitz*,¹⁸ dated June 9, 1948, showed that the hands of General Gracey, the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, and Sir George Cunningham were not quite clean.

The Maharaja had received information regarding the contemplated raids about a month in advance. But he thought that his Dogra forces would be more than a match for any raiders. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan says:

12. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 397.

13. Even Lord Birdwood admits that "as the inquiry continued the sympathies of the Council noticeably moved towards the Pakistan case. Certainly, so far as the United States were concerned, Mr. Warren Austin left no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to where his sentiments lay."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 90.

14. *Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 62.

15. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 414.

16. This story is confirmed by V. P. Menon. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 404-5.

17. Lord Birdwood says that the letter never mentioned Kashmir (*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 53).

18. *A Bombay Weekly*.

"But His Highness did not know that his British Commander-in-Chief had so distributed the armed forces that they could not effectively function if such an attack came from across the border. Small units of the army had been split up from Gilgit, Leh, Poonch, Mirpur Koti, Kshtwar and alongside the border. Seven strong battalions had been made ineffective by having been spread over far-flung places."¹⁹

Secondly, Pakistan being a camp-follower of the Anglo-American bloc, it is natural for the U.S.A. and Great Britain to support her in her dispute with India. To them Pakistan would be a better custodian of Jammu and Kashmir than India. Thus the problem has become an issue in the cold war between the two major power blocs in the world. The fact that Pakistan is a member of the Baghdad Pact with which the two above-mentioned powers are also associated has complicated the issue further and the members of the Pact have openly lined themselves up with Pakistan against India. Actually Turkey and Iraq, two members of the Pact, submitted an aide-memoire to the Government of India on May 4, 1956 and June 3, 1956, respectively showing their concern in the matter.

At first India had no idea of securing the accession of Kashmir to herself. But the circumstances in which the raiders started a reign of terror in Kashmir made India sympathetic to the sufferings of the people. V. P. Menon, who as Secretary of the States Ministry formulated the policy of the Government of India regarding Kashmir emphatically asserts:

"We had no territorial ambitions in Kashmir. If the invasion by the raiders had not taken place, I can say in the face of any contradiction that the Government of India would have left Kashmir alone. Indeed, Lord Mountbatten on his return to England publicly stated that he had, on the authority of the Government of India, informed the Maharaja that he was perfectly free to accede to Pakistan if he chose to do so."²⁰

19. "Fact on Kashmir II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 7, 1957.

But Lord Birdwood says: "The dispositions of the armed forces had been previously decided by the Maharaja himself, Brigadier Scott's advice being ignored." *Two Nations in Kashmir*, p. 56.

Actually according to Mr. Mahajan Lord Mountbatten wanted to persuade the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. That is why the latter pleaded an excuse of illness on the last morning of Lord Mountbatten's visit to the State. The motive of the Government of India is also clear from the fact that she accepted accession provisionally.

But it would not be correct to say that India has no interest in Kashmir. Actually her interest in the state arises due to four reasons. Firstly, she is of great strategic importance and, thus, necessary for the security of India. Secondly, she is the embodiment of the principle of secularism and a refutation of the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was founded. Thirdly, India has the freedom and progress of the people of Kashmir at heart. Lastly, India has regarded herself as inheriting the suzerainty of the British Government in India. In a speech in the Indian Parliament Pandit Nehru remarked:

"Since she (Jammu and Kashmir) was not independent, it was our responsibility as the continuing entity to see that Kashmir's interests were protected. I wish to say this, because it was undeniably our duty to come to Kashmir's aid, irrespective of whether she had acceded to India or not."²¹

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian Defence Minister, speaking in the Security Council on October 9, 1957, also used a similar argument and remarked:

"We are the legitimate successor to British authority in India. We are the successor State and even without accession we had an obligation to go to the rescue of the peoples whose land was being plundered and women raped."

The Indian case has been that India referred the Kashmir situation²² which was likely

20. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, pp. 413-14.

21. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-53*, p. 340.

22. Goodrich and Simons point out: "The Charter contains no precise indication regarding what constitutes a 'situation'. It may be presumed that the term is used to describe a set of conditions slightly broader in implication than a 'dispute,' which may be considered as a controversy in which the parties and the issues are capable of fairly definite determination." *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, pp. 230-31.

to endanger international peace and security to the Security Council under Article 35 of the U.N. Charter for investigation and settlement. Thus the Security Council could, according to the Indian point of view, only investigate into the matter and make suggestions for the removal of the situation. As a first step, therefore, she suggested that the Security Council should declare Pakistan as an aggressor and ask the latter to vacate her aggression. But the Security Council has not treated the problem as a situation and has handled it as a dispute. Goodrich and Simons point out in this connection:

"The point may be considered established that it is for the Council itself to decide whether a question is a dispute or a situation if the determination is to be made. Many of the cases brought to the Council as 'situation,' such as, the Indo-Pakistan question and the question of the Greek frontier incidents have been, in fact, handled as disputes."²³

According to the above-quoted authors in dealing with the Kashmir problem, "The Council concentrated its efforts on achieving a peaceful settlement of the dispute."²⁴ This, however, does not seem to be convincing as the same body went out of its way to declare China as aggressor during the Korean war and Soviet Russia in Hungary last year, although no useful purpose could be served by such action in these cases.

Moreover, India cannot understand how the aggressor and the victim of aggression can be placed on the same footing. In fact, neither the Security Council Resolution of April 21, 1948, nor the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948, did so. Both these resolutions proposed that first the Pakistani nationals and forces should be withdrawn and then India should also reduce her forces to the minimum for maintaining peace and security in the State. The U.N. C.I.P. Resolution referred to above which was accepted by Pakistan stated:

23. *Ibid.* p. 231. But Lord Birdwood says that "acting as it did under Chapter VI of the Charter, the Security Council could only say what should be done. Its recommendations were therefore but pious hopes, depending on their acceptance by the two parties concerned."—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 92.

24. *Ibid.* p. 61.

"As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from the State."

After two years Sir Owen Dixon, the U.N. representative said that

"When the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe, October 20, 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May, 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."

In this connection it is refreshing to note that when the matter was being considered by the Security Council in February, 1957, the Colombian delegate pointed out that India accepted the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of January 5, 1949, after a number of assurances asked for by Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in his letter of December 20, 1948, to the Chairman of the U.N.C.I.P. were given to him. But according to the *Times of India*²⁵ Pandit Nehru wrote the letter on August 20, 1948, and the assurances asked for were given to him before India accepted the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948. They were as follows:

1. Responsibility for the security of the State rests with India.
2. The sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question.
3. There shall be no recognition of the Azad Kashmir Government.
4. The territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated.
5. Pakistan shall be excluded from all affairs of Jammu and Kashmir.

As a result of further correspondence the following additional assurances were given to the Government of India:

- (a) The plebiscite proposals shall not be binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement Part I (cease-fire)

25. Delhi Edition, February 22, 1957.

and Part II (Truce) of the Resolution of August 13, 1948:

- (b) There shall be a reversion of the administration of the evacuated areas in the north to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India.
- (c) "Azad Kashmir" forces shall be disbanded and disarmed.

That none of these conditions has been fulfilled is common knowledge. Pakistan has still not vacated her aggression over a portion of the State and is forcibly keeping it under her iron heel. This is evident from the fact that on November 1, 1957, the Pakistan Socialist Party demanded immediate elections and restoration of democracy in the so-called "Azad Kashmir territory." Moreover, recently prominent leaders of the Pakistan-occupied area of Kashmir in an open letter complained of the presence of a 'reign of terror' in Gilgit and Baltistan.

India has, therefore, emphatically asserted that the plebiscite which she promised to the people of Kashmir (and not Pakistan) could only take place after Pakistan vacates her aggression. In fact, Mr. Gunnar Jarring in his report submitted to the Security Council on April 30, 1957, pointed out that the Indian case as represented to him was that two factors stood in the way of the implementation of the two U.N.C.I.P. Resolutions. In his own words, "The first of these was that Part I of the resolution of August 13, 1948, and in particular Sections B and E, had in their (Indian Government's) view, not been implemented by the Government of Pakistan."²⁶ The second impediment which related to Part II of the above-mentioned resolution was that the Security Council had so far not expressed its views on Pakistan's aggression over Indian territory.

Pakistan has contended that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was fraudulent. It has charged India with trying to destroy Pakistan. It has also charged India with genocide, although actually the boot is in the other leg. Pakistan has nearly eliminated the minorities in her western wing and she is now determined to put

an end to them in the eastern wing. The harrowing tales of constant and unprecedented influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan into India which are reported in the daily press are an irrefutable evidence of this sadistic policy of Pakistan.

MISTAKES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In handling this complicated problem, the Government of India have made a number of mistakes. It may be regarded as being wiser after the event to say that the Government of India should have unconditionally accepted the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir²⁷ and also that they should not have referred the matter to the U.N. Perhaps, in the circumstances in which these decisions were taken they were or they seemed to be proper. But one more criticism has been made that having decided to refer the matter to the Security Council the Government of India should have done so under Chapter VII which is concerned with acts of aggression and not Chapter VI which deals with "Pacific Settlement of Disputes." Frank Moraes, the biographer of Pandit Nehru who has made this criticism, says:

"By invoking Chapter VI India enabled the Council to traverse a field which included charges by Pakistan of genocide against India instead of pin-pointing the issue of Pakistan's aggression against India."²⁸

But it may be pointed out here that it would not have made much difference if Chapter VII was invoked. In fact, as pointed out earlier, the Security Council has treated this matter as a dispute and not as a situation and in February, 1957, it even discussed a proposal to send its force in the area.

26. Section B of Part I of the U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of August 13, 1948, envisaged a military *status quo* while Section E assured "an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations."

27. As the cases of a number of other States, such as Junagadh and Hyderabad were being tackled at the same time, the Government of India wanted to follow a consistent policy in the matter of accession. Pandit Nehru in a broadcast from New Delhi on November 2, 1947, outlined the policy of the Government of India in these words: "And here let me make clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that State. It was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir."—*Independence and After*, p. 57.

28. *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 395.

But there is no doubt that the Government of India committed a number of mistakes in handling this problem. When the Maharaja made an offer to enter into a Standstill Agreement with India she did not take timely action. V. P. Menon says in this connection:

"Pakistan signed a standstill agreement. But we wanted time to examine its implications. We left the State alone. We did not ask the Maharaja to accede, though, at that time, as a result of the Radcliffe Award, the State had become connected by road with India."²⁹

The reasons given for this indifferent attitude of the Government of India by the same author are the peculiar problems of the State arising out of the composition of the population and the pre-occupation of the Government of India with other States. But they hardly seem to absolve the Government of India of their responsibility in the matter. This actually meant that from August 15, 1947, till October 25, 1947, the Government of India had no formal relations with Jammu and Kashmir. It is quite possible that this attitude of the Government of India may have encouraged Pakistan to pursue its nefarious design of coercing Kashmir into submission.

In Pandit Nehru's own words:

"In September, news reached us that tribesmen of the North-West Frontier Province were being collected and sent to the Kashmir border. In the beginning of October events took a grave turn. Armed bands moved into the Jammu Province from the neighbouring districts, West of the Punjab, committed serious acts of depredation on the

local inhabitants, burnt villages and towns and put a large number of people to death. Refugees from these areas poured into Jammu."³⁰

Yet the Government of India took no action except writing letters to Pakistan which were not even acknowledged. Even after the accession of the State till the reference of the matter to the U.N. on December 31, 1947, the Government of India did not take firm action in driving out the raiders from Pakistan. One more year elapsed between the reference of the matter to the U.N. and the cease-fire on January 1, 1949.³¹ During this period the raiders should have been doggedly chased out. Even the U.N.C.I.P. said in so many words that Pakistan utilised the period when the Commission was in active negotiation with the two parties to consolidate her position. But the Government of India made a half-hearted effort to drive out the raiders and proposed a cease-fire when the enemy had lost the initiative on practically all fronts and was handicapped in several ways.

India allowed the question of accession of the State to be reopened by the Security Council. In the words of Mr. Mahajan:

"The question of accession of the State was outside the Charter of the Security Council and it had no jurisdiction to entertain it at the instance either of India or Pakistan, as under the Act of Independence it was only within the competency of the ruler of the State or of the Government that was established under his authority and of which he was the constitutional head."³²

Indian diplomacy also has not been effective enough to help us in attaining success in regard to the Kashmir dispute. Even the American friends of India are of the view that the Indian case has been legally unassailable. Mr. Chester Bowles who was the American ambassador in India from 1951 to 1953, remarks:

29. *Independence and After*, pp. 60-61.

30. Even an official publication, *Kashmir Story* admitted that "while, after July 15, military activity on our side was confined to defensive and 'mopping up' action, Pakistan was steadily exploiting the situation in our endeavour to gain the offensive," p. 62.

31. "Facts on Kashmir-II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 8, 1957.

32. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 395. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan comparing the indifferent attitude of the Government of India with the attitude of Pakistan says: "What did India do on the other hand? When we got news of the raid, we sent our Deputy Prime Minister with a letter from His Highness to the Prime Minister of India. I also sent personal letters, asking help on humanitarian grounds to save us from this unprovoked act of aggression. We also sent with him a letter of accession. The British Prime Minister was approached by cable but no response came. 24th and 25th the two most anxious and most exciting days we passed but no reply came from anywhere." He goes on to say: "Pakistanis were giggling and were too sure to capture us and take possession of the whole State while India was neither giving help nor sending even a reply to our request."—"Facts on Kashmir-II" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 7, 1957.

"As ambassador to India it had been my responsibility to study carefully the legal and political aspects of the Kashmir question. It was my belief that on this issue the Indians have always had a justifiable legal claim."³³

But there is no doubt that at least in the beginning India spoilt her case by not playing her cards well. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan remarks:

"In my humble opinion, the representatives of India in the Security Council except perhaps on the last occasion were not able to bring out the strong points in India's favour during the debate. Possibly they were not apprised of all the facts in support of their contentions. Mr. Krishna Menon for the first time fought the battle with vigour and bravery in a heroic manner but single-handed and approached the case from a true angle of vision, but he too was handicapped for want of material of convincing nature . . . Possibly Mr. Krishna Menon also found himself embarrassed by uncalled for and gratuitous commitments made in the past."³⁴

Moreover, the policy of non-alignment which India has adopted in the international field has not been helpful in solving this problem. In fact, it has made its solution more difficult. It has made India friendless and forlorn in the comity of nations. Speaking at Calcutta on August 25, 1957, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian Defence Minister, said:

"While we have no enemies in the world we have none too friendly a country at the present time."

But it may be asked who is responsible for this? If India is trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for other countries why cannot she rely on them for the advocacy of her cause? Mr. Asoka Mehta, the P.S.P. leader, speaking at Nagpur on February 2, 1957, said that in spite of the personal popularity of our Prime Minister we could not gather "any support for our cause." He went on to say:

"Justice is on our side and yet when we

go before the bar of world opinion we are insulted and accused of intransigence."

Moreover, by his undiplomatic talks sometimes our Prime Minister annoys foreign powers to the detriment of our national interest. As for example, the question of the entry of Red China in the U.N. has become an obsession with India so much so that she has even stolen a march over the U.S.S.R. in this matter. She pleads the cause of China in season and out of season in every international gathering to the great annoyance of the U.S.A. And what is the attitude of China towards the Kashmir problem? In the last winter when the Kashmir problem was before the Security Council, the Chinese Prime Minister visited India and the only words which fell from his lips were that it was a matter for the two countries to decide among themselves. Similarly, India made the cause of Egypt her own during the last Suez crisis. It is not suggested here for a moment that India should not champion just causes or that she should be a hypocrite. But India could have avoided being so boisterous as she was with the result that she antagonised England to the point of exasperation. India's critical attitude towards the U.S.A. and England resulted in an anti-Indian feeling in the two important members of the Security Council culminating in February, 1957, in the four-power resolution for stationing United Nations forces in Jammu and Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, described this resolution as "collective aggression or collective approval of aggression" on February 21, 1957. Moreover, speaking at Kanpur on March 4, 1957, he charged the U.S.A. and Britain with deliberately trying to humiliate India on the Kashmir issue.³⁵ But did we not humiliate Britain on her Suez debacle? Do we not humiliate the U.S.A. often by vehemently criticising her foreign policy? To the present writer it seems very necessary that the Prime Minister of so large and important a country as India should not make so many speeches and statements about the affairs of others. It comports with our self-respect and dignity that our

33. *The New Dimensions of Peace*, p. 174.

34. "Facts on Kashmir—I" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad), June 5, 1957.

35. Addressing a Press conference at Tokyo on October 7, 1957, Pandit Nehru said that there was "active international gangsterism" in Kashmir and "some of the great powers who talk about aggression in other places," were supporting it in Kashmir.

Prime Minister should not unnecessarily meddle in others' affairs and should only state his opinion if somebody is keen to know it.

PLEBISCITE

The question of plebiscite is quite dead now. It was an offer made by the Government of India to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and not to Pakistan or even the U.N. Her stand has been that the question of plebiscite arises only when Pakistan vacates her aggression. Pakistan has not done so so far. On the other hand, she has in the meantime augmented her power by obtaining military aid from the U.S.A. and by joining the S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact. This has changed the pattern of power relations in Asia.³⁰ In fact, addressing a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament on Foreign Affairs on November 15, 1957, the Prime Minister remarked that the Security Council as constituted at present was really the "Baghdad Pact Council." Due to these reasons Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the then Minister without portfolio of the Government of India, winding up the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on March 28, 1957, stated that the offer of plebiscite had lapsed as its preconditions had not been fulfilled.

India's point of view with regard to Kashmir is being gradually better understood now by the liberal and enlightened sections of the world press. In October, 1957, the *News Chronicle* published a report from its New Delhi correspondent who wrote:

"I am convinced that the much-criticised Premier of India is right. A plebiscite in Kashmir would be a folly," because it would end in a wholesale slaughter between Hindus and Muslims and might "be a spark which ignites the holocaust of a deep space atomic war."

The correspondent, Miss Patridge, also pointed out that even if a plebiscite is held, it would not yield any clear-cut result because in Jammu, the Hindu majority would vote for India while in the valley of Kashmir where

36. Even Mr. Gunnar Jarring admitted this in his report to the Council. Moreover, Dr. Herbert Evatt, the opposition leader of Australia, told a Press conference in New Delhi on July 20, 1957, that the American military aid to Pakistan had rendered the solution of the Kashmir problem more difficult than before.

there is a Muslim majority, the verdict would be pronounced in favour of Pakistan. Moreover, near the cease-fire line where the raiders committed excesses the people were in favour of India. Thus even a plebiscite would, according to her, end in the partition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the recent attitude of our Government is quite realistic. A plebiscite is not necessary after ten years' wrangling specially when the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir has itself approved the accession of the State to India as final. There is a fully democratic Government in the State³⁷ which has made rapid progress under it. This was testified to by no less a person than Lord Attlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, when he visited Kashmir last year.

Thus the chapter of plebiscite is a closed one so far as the Government of India is concerned,³⁸ although it is interesting to note that with regard to the suggestion of Mr. Gunnar Jarring at the Security Council meeting on November 13, 1957, that the questions of accession and plebiscite should be referred to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinion, India has said that she would examine this proposal with an open mind while Pakistan has totally rejected it. In fact, India has more or less reconciled herself to the partition of Jammu and Kashmir. Even Mr. Chester Bowles is of the view that a solution could be found only if some kind of partition of the State was accepted. He remarks:

"I have always felt that with a little more flexibility on the part of the Security Council, and particularly on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom, an agreement might have been reached in the winter of 1952. At that time

37. Taya Zinkin, the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, wrote in a despatch to that paper about the last general elections in Jammu and Kashmir that they were free and fair.

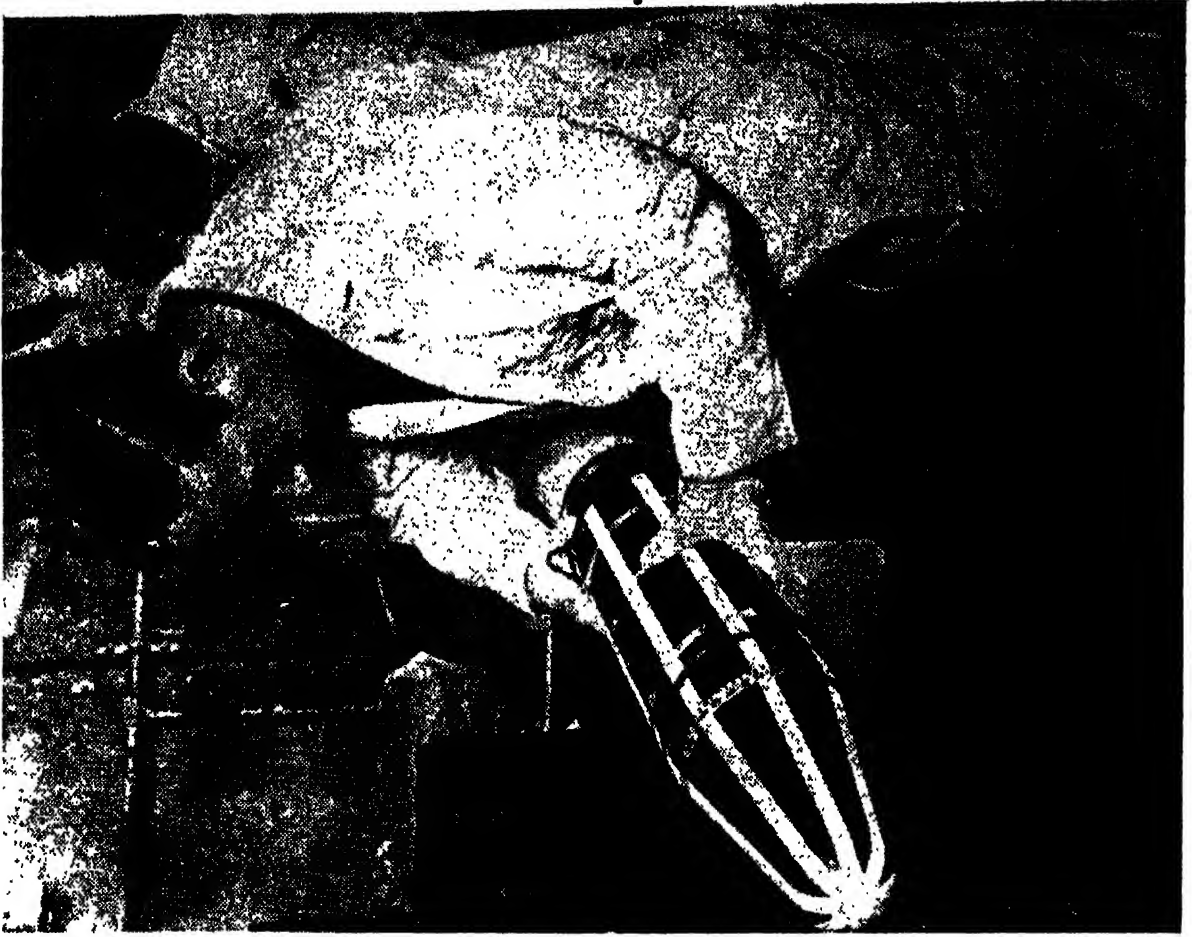
38. Lord Birdwood says that "having made the initial concession to idealism, he (Nehru) gradually re-orientated his views and searched constantly for the means by which he could rationalise his own interpretation of a plebiscite and the method by which it is to be conducted. For him the plebiscite became a dilemma. Each time the subject is mooted a fresh delay is introduced, until it seems clear that the motive has become one of so postponing the evil day as to render it for practical reasons beyond our reach."
—*Two Nations and Kashmir*, p. 192.



President Eisenhower, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan and Ambassador G. L. Mehta



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with Mr. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand



Check-out satellite and Booster of the U.S. Army's Explorer III, now circling the earth. s being checked by a rocket-technician



कंसनन्द सम्मेलन
मेवाकोष्ठतल रक्षाया विरुद्ध मयुगमगतः
रःवं कस्य बाधितं कथं कुरु रा मु क ३ १ ६॥ भाग-३६ ००२१२११ ५ पृष्ठ-०२५

Kans-Nanda Sammelan (Udaipur style of painting) in Kotah Museum, Rajasthan

there was considerable indication that if the Azad Kashmir area, then occupied by Pakistan troops, were given outright to Pakistan and the Jammu and Ladakh areas, which are comprised almost wholly of Hindus and Buddhists, given outright to India, it might have been possible to agree on a plebiscite confined to the valley of Kashmir itself."³⁹

Pandit Nehru's biographer writes:

"On Kashmir, it must be confessed, Nehru's mind is now virtually a closed book."⁴⁰

At another place he says that

"His own attitude to the Kashmir problem has hardened until it now seems almost ossified into a wilful determination to congeal the position on the cease-fire line allowing only for some minor local adjustments. He appears no longer prepared to trust the holding of a plebiscite to the tender mercies of countries whose basic *bona fide* on Kashmir he distrusts."⁴¹

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it may be remarked that the U.N. has not been quite fair to India in dealing with the Kashmir problem. Speaking at Srinagar (Kashmir) Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the labour leader of Great Britain, said on April 7, 1957, that although he did not want to criticise the world organisation, it seemed to him that U.N. was unconsciously creating difficulties in the way of a settlement in Kashmir. Mr. Chester Bowles has also found fault with the U.N. and the American personnel which cannot escape its share of blame in the matter. He says:

"Despite the high calibre of these men, and all the good will in the world, the U.N. effort to achieve a Kashmir settlement inevitably took on the character of an American operation. In a situation where passions run high, we have not only failed to achieve a settlement but have inevitably come in for a sharp criticism."⁴²

But probably some responsibility for this lies on India also because, as already pointed out, by her foreign policy and the occasional undiplomatic outbursts of her Prime Minister, she has annoyed some of the major Western powers. But Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, is of the view that India may have to

face minor difficulties on account of her foreign policy but ultimately she would gain. Answering his critics in the Lok Sabha on May 16, 1957, during the debate following the President's address on the convention of the Second Parliament, he remarked:

"You have to understand a basic thing and it is that we have to bear the consequences of our not joining any military alliances or power bloc. I am, however, sure that in the ultimate analysis we will gain by remaining unaligned."

With regard to the advocacy of our cause it should be pointed out that "if India initially made some tactical mistakes both in Kashmir and at Lake Success"⁴³ her present stand is, no doubt, a realistic one.

Actually, however, the reference to the U.N. has proved to be very unfortunate and that august world organisation cannot even claim, except very indirectly, the credit for the cease-fire.⁴⁴ In fact, Goodrich and Simons go to the extent of saying that the U.N. cannot solve this matter. The two authors remark that

"It seems unlikely that the original programme endorsed by the Council for a plebiscite under United Nations supervision will ever be carried out, or that a satisfactory settlement along other lines is imminent . . . It is unlikely, however, that any settlement by resort to force will be attempted or, if attempted, will succeed, for although neither the Council nor individual member-States have been willing to bring substantial pressure to bear on the parties, either or both would be quite likely to do so if the situation were to deteriorate to the point at which a breach of the peace seemed imminent."⁴⁵

Although a portion of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir is still under the military occupation of the aggressor, in a way it may be said that the Kashmir problem has already been solved and the partition of the State may be regarded as a *fait accompli*.*

43. Frank Moraes: *Jawaharlal Nehru*, pp. 398-99.

44. Lord Birdwood says that the credit for it should go to the two British Commander-in-Chiefs of India and Pakistan and not the U.N.

45. Goodrich and Simons: *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*, pp. 316-17.

* Paper submitted to the 20th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Poona from 27th to 29th December, 1957.

39. *Ambassador's Report*, p. 253.

40. Frank Moraes: *Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 398.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

42. *Ambassador's Report*, p. 254.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION IN WEST BENGAL—AN ANALYSIS

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Area—34,944 sq. miles.

Population—26,160,000

Density of population—749 per sq. mile.

Assembly Electorate—15,118,061*

Votes polled—10,461,231*

THE Second General Election of India—a gigantic experiment in applied democracy in recent history, came and passed off during the first quarter of the year 1957. It has significant lessons for all serious students of political science and it attracted observers from other lands also. I shall make an attempt here to study the main features of the election in one of the fourteen States of the Indian Union, namely, West Bengal. That will enable us to form an idea of the election in the country as a whole. The polling in West Bengal commenced on the 1st of March, 1957 and continued for the greater part of the month. Although West Bengal shares with other states some common elements having bearing on the election it has also certain features peculiar to itself which should be noted for assessing the result of the election in proper perspective.

In the first place, the state of West Bengal has undergone territorial change twice within the last decade, once in 1947 due to partition and next in 1956 due to states reorganisation. By the first change the area and population of what is now West Bengal became almost half of undivided Bengal and by the second change these have slightly increased over what they were just after partition. The result has been an inordinate increase in the density of population which is the next highest among the fourteen states of India at present and only next to Kerala. It stands at 749 per sq. mile as compared with 928 in Kerala. This increase has been mainly brought about by the ceaseless flow of refugees from East Pakistan. The capacity of the state to sustain the increased population has reached beyond saturation point and the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced persons has

strained the economy of the state almost to the breaking-point without reaching a solution.

Another notable peculiarity of the electoral situation of this state is the existence of a huge concentration of displaced persons from East Pakistan which is still in the process of steady flow. This accounts for an element of floating population with no roots in life, in a state of complete nervous and physical exhaustion and therefore emotionally upset beyond measure. The existence of this unstable element in the population has not only presented a formidable problem of social and economic rehabilitation before the Government but a stupendous problem before the election officials in effecting their registration and arranging for the exercise of franchise by them. People in such an unstable and abnormal condition naturally introduced an element of uncertainty in the way of their voting. Most of them in seeking a scapegoat for their lot found it in the ruling party and voted against it. This psychology of frustration was also taken advantage of and systematically worked up by the parties in opposition. But in some places again promises of bettering their lot by some candidates of the ruling party, particularly if such happened to be sitting candidates with some record of real work to their credit tilted the scale in favour of these candidates of the ruling party. Thus the vote of this element of population was not cast normally on the basis of a reasoned judgement of the programmes placed by the different political parties, but almost in a state of mental stupor brought on by a sense of frustration all round. This introduced an element of uncertainty and unpredictability into the results of the election.

Another peculiarity is the existence of a large industrial belt in the state scattered over the whole area with a growing urban population giving the election a distinct urban complexion.

* Vide A. B. Patrika, dated 30.3.57.

The average rate of literacy in the state is higher as compared with many other states. The political consciousness of the electorate is also correspondingly higher than in other states. In a sense the voting results of Calcutta with suburbs with a large urban population epitomise those of West Bengal as a whole.

Let us now note some general features of the elections with special reference to this state.

ENTHUSIASM OF POLLING IN ELECTIONS

It varied so much from constituency to constituency that it is difficult to generalise. Startling reports of excessive zeal for casting votes such as octogenarians coming to polling booths on stretchers or supported by grand children, or of large caravans of villagers coming from remote parts in the interior in bullock carts after one or two days' drive appeared in the press from time to time, sometimes with pictorial illustrations. Generally speaking polling was heavier in urban areas than in rural, although there were exceptions. Some specific rural areas were marked by great enthusiasm for voting, resulting in a heavy poll, as also some urban areas showed conspicuous indifference to the whole affair of election. Women voters were also as a rule more keen on exercising their rights of vote in urban areas than in rural. But in some rural areas women voted in quite large numbers and evinced great interest in the elections. On an overall average, something between 40 to 50 per cent of the qualified voters polled. This shows a slight increase in the figure of polling, though not very remarkable, over the last elections. The figure should have been higher. In particular, in urban areas larger polling was to be expected in view of the concentration of population and comparative nearness of polling booths, higher literacy figure, greater political consciousness and more intensive campaigning, etc. This is explained by the cynical apathy, unconcern and indifference of a large section of voters to the affair because of prevailing economic distress, soaring unemployment, spectacle of prevailing corruption and nepotism in administration generating a fatalistic attitude, that things will go on as they are, whoever be elected. This, however, is very ominous from the standpoint of success of democracy. In rural areas non-

exercise of the franchise has been more due to the non-realisation of the value of its exercise and a lack of sense of civic responsibility. But even in rural areas cynical apathy was not altogether absent. According to the report of the staff reporter of a Calcutta newspaper villagers in some places were heard to say: "What will be the utility of voting? He, who will be elected will only draw his monthly allowance and will attend Governors' dinner party, whereas our position will not improve and probably we shall not get two meals a day." Absence of separate polling booths for women in rural areas where the influence of *purdah* is still strong was another factor explaining poor polling due to abstention of many women voters. One reason of the indifference of voters to the exercise of their franchise is perhaps that political parties have not been very active in educating the electors in the interval between the two elections and that they concentrated their campaign within a small area with a bigger concentration of voters and a large number of constituencies than in wide stretch of rural areas with voters scattered over a big area constituting a single constituency.

PARTY CAMPAIGNS

This brings us to the role played by the parties in the last elections. Parliamentary democracy is essentially party Government and a general election through which a Government is selected by popular vote and installed in office for a number of years is mainly a fight between the different political parties to persuade the majority of electors to vote for their respective candidates. Election on the basis of adult franchise in a country of the dimension of ours with big constituencies calls for mobilisation of tremendous resources both of workers and money which is hardly within the reach of individual candidates without party backing. But unfortunately we have not yet in this country well-organised political parties except only one, namely, the Congress party. The other parties are not strictly speaking political parties worth the name, but only splinter groups excepting perhaps the Communist party. The reason is, it seems to me, that in pre-independence days political power being in the hands of foreign rulers there was no scope for the functioning of political parties. In post-Independence India the necessity of politi-

cal parties for the successful running of parliamentary system of Government which the people got as a legacy from the British and which they also accepted by choice and also free thinking led to the growth of many parties. One of these, the Communist party of India has arisen more as an appanage of the international network of the same party in different States of the world heading up to the Communist Party of Russia with headquarters at Moscow feeding on Marxist ideology and the programme of the Third International than as a national party having its roots in the soil. Having a socio-economic programme and a materialistic outlook more in accord with the present scientific age it has been able to capture the imagination of working classes and the younger generation, specially the student population. As such it has no dearth of active workers. It has also an efficient organisation throughout the country. It has made a better showing in the last elections than in the previous one, because it could fully exploit the popular discontent particularly of the middle classes due to economic depression in the wake of an all-round rise in the cost of living, soaring unemployment, the spectacle of waste in public expenditure and jobbery and corruption in the ranks of the public service. In a contest between a party in office and the party in opposition the latter is always at an advantage, because having not had to shoulder the responsibility of office it can make tall promises to the people and at the same time discredit the ruling party for many acts of omission and commission. It is no wonder therefore that the opposition parties headed by the Communist Party could make some headway during the last elections in spite of the fact that its opponents carried on a strong propaganda against the party on the ground of its extra-state loyalty, its keeping aloof from the 'Quit India' movement of 1942 and assisting the war efforts of the British, its anti-religious and anti-God learnings so thoroughly opposed to the tradition of the land, its subversive role and so on. Moreover the Party made no secret of its repudiation of parliamentary system as bourgeois rule and contempt for the existing constitution of the country. As such it cannot be regarded as a political party fitting into

the framework of parliamentary democracy where all the political parties must accept the fundamentals of the Constitution.

On strategic grounds, however, the Party has for the time being compromised this aspect of its ideology and declared in favour of implementing its programme within the framework of the constitution in order to consolidate its position in the country first and then perhaps to overthrow the Constitution when it would be in a position to seize power in the country as a whole.

The other parties that have sprung up like mushrooms after independence revolved more round personalities rather than difference of principles and programmes. There were splits and mergers and at the time of the second General Elections there were the following parties in the field in West Bengal, apart from the Congress and the Communist Party of India, *viz.*, the P.S.P., Forward Block, Jana Sangha, Hindu Mahabha, R.S.P., S.U.C., and the Lok Sevak Sangha. Of these, the Lok Sevak Sangha was only a local party formed to fight for the inclusion of Purulia in West Bengal. Having scored a political victory on this issue it became popular and contested the elections on the issue of inclusion of other Bengali-speaking areas in Bengal and won seven out of eleven seats to the State Assembly from this district.

As none of the other parties had any chance against the Congress there was a protracted effort at forming an alliance of all these parties, and eventually almost on the eve of the election five opposition parties, the C.P.I., P.S.P., R.S.P., and two sections of the Forward Block formed a United Left Election Committee which set up candidates for 224 constituencies and in many of the constituencies there was a straight fight between the Congress and the Leftist alliance. Besides the U.L.E.C. two other alliances also were formed, although not very strong and effective, *viz.*, (1) U.D.P.F. (United Democratic Peoples' Front) consisting of R.C.P.I. (Tagore group), Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha and some dissident Congressmen and (2) United Left Front consisting of the Socialist Unity Centre, Bolshevik Party, Democratic Vanguard and five other leftist groups. Although there were 944 candidates in the field for 252 seats in the

Assembly there was straight fight in 24 constituencies of which 6 were in Midnapore, triangular contests in 42 and multicornered contests in the remaining constituencies. The Congress set up candidates for every constituency except Kalimpong, the U.L.E.C. for 224 constituencies, the U.D.P.F. for over 100, U.L.F. for about 45, Lohia group Socialists for 4.

The following is the list of candidates partywise and districtwise:

cts	Seats	Cong.	C.P.I. (U. Left Election Com.)	P.S.P.	F.B.(M)	F.B.S.(M)	R.S.P.	Ind.
Darjeeling	5	1	2					2
Jalpaiguri	9	7	1	1				
Cooch Be	7	7		..				
West Dina pu:	10	8	1				1	
Mak'a	9	6						3
Birbhum	10	5	3	1				1
Bankura	13	13						
Nadia	11	10		1				
Burdwan	21	10	3	4	1			3
Midnapore	32	22	5	5				
Murshidabad	16	15						1
Hooghly	15	11	3					1
Howrah	15	5	4	1	5			
Purulia	11	4						7*
Calcutta	26	8	10	4	1		1	
24 Parganas	42	20	14	4	1	2	1	2**

* Lok Sevak Sangha. ** Socialist Unity Centre.

FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS

In the interest of democracy fair, free and clean elections are an imperative necessity. It

is only under fair and free elections that the true voice of the people can find expression in the elections, and we may pride ourselves on the fact that both the elections in Free India (1952, 1957) have been on the whole quite fair, free and clean. Electoral laws provided a 'equate deterrent against adoption of unfair and corrupt practices in elections. The conduct of elections through a machinery headed by an Election Commissioner whom the provisions of the Constitution have assured a position as independent of political influences as that of a High Court or Supreme Court Judge or the Auditor, and Controller-General, placed the whole transaction beyond any suspicions of undue political influence interfering with free and fair elections and it has been admitted by all parties and even outside observers that the Election Commissioner and the army of officials working under him in conducting the elections did an excellent job of it which has drawn universal admiration.

There was no noticeable complaint about actual official interference. Opposition parties, however, made persistent complaint about the possibility of tampering the ballot-boxes without breaking the seals on the top and also about the long interval between the dates of polling and counting of votes as originally fixed and announced. Election officials denied the truth of the first complaint by actual demonstration and the Government issued a Press Note explaining the reasons of the long interval being mainly due to shortage of personnel and assuring that counting dates would be shifted as far near the polling day as practicable. In many cases the dates of counting were actually brought earlier. By and large the elections were free and apart from reports of exercise of personal influence here and there no large-scale exercise of official pressure was heard of. The police force of both of the Calcutta city and mofussil were mobilised for the purpose and moved from place to place according to polling dates. This necessitated the prolonging of the period of polling in the State as a whole and put a strain on the state police force which however it bore well on the whole. There had been stray incidents not only on the polling date but also in election meetings and even on the date of declaration of results, but considering the size of the country and the electorate and the

unenlightened nature of the electorate these may be regarded as being negligible and the election officials and the state police deserve full credit for conducting the elections in an admirably peaceful atmosphere free from any kind of pressure whatsoever.

PARTY PROGRAMME

Except for the Congress party which had a detailed programme set forth in the party manifesto adopted by the A.I.C.C. on which the candidates stood, candidates of other parties stood mainly on the strength of their own personality and exposure of defects of Congress administration. Their approach to the electors was more negative than positive. Their campaign mainly consisted of vilification, sometimes personal of the congress candidates and denunciation of congress administration and policies. Some of the opposition parties made Bihar-Bengal merger an issue and conducted campaign against Congress candidates for having supported the issue and laid stress on the need for bringing Bengali-speaking areas into Bengal. Lok Sevak Sangha, a local party in Purulia, fought on their record of struggle in behalf of the anti-merger movement. Apart from this the parties mainly fought on national issues—such as type of socialism, nationalisation without compensation, Kashmir issue, purification of administration, criticism of the ruling party and so on. The Congress party however mainly concentrated on its achievements in the field of economic reconstruction, such as, the River Valley Projects, Community Development Projects and National Extension Blocks, targets set in various spheres in the Five-Year Plans—such as building up of such industries as Locomotives, Fertilisers, Telephone requisites, Railway coaches, etc., primary education, irrigation, health centres, refugee rehabilitation, road construction, etc. The Congress party further made the claim to the support of the electorate on the ground of winning independence for them as a result of which they claimed, the electors today got the vote. Another point made by the party was that none of the other parties could form a stable ministry without which fruits of freedom could not be consolidated. Making use of the Kashmir issue on the plea that the return of any other party

to power would damage the cause was very much resented by the opposition parties on the ground that Kashmir was a national issue on which all parties were in agreement and that it was unfair on the part of the Congress to make it an election issue.

POSTER CAMPAIGN

A particular feature of the last election campaign particularly in Calcutta was the poster war which involved such a tremendous use of paper as to cause a temporary shortage of the article in the market. Posters were both printed and handwritten, devoted mainly to mutual recrimination and vilification of parties and sometimes of persons also. One usual form employed was the parody of songs and poems of popular poets like Rabindranath, Sadhak Ramprasad and others. In the absence of more improved media for reaching large number of voters like Radio and Television which are in use in Western Countries, political parties fell back on the only simple and easy medium available to them, namely, the Poster and Cartoon. As the Radio is owned and operated by the Central Government there was a controversy as to the propriety of using it for electioneering purposes by the rival candidates. At first it was decided to make it available to all irrespective of party affiliation, but subsequently the decision was changed as it was likely to upset the normal programme and create misunderstandings. It was therefore decided to keep the Radio free from electioneering altogether. The candidates of both the parties therefore concentrated on posters and cartoons as the only means of publicising their candidature and running down their rivals. This was particularly so in Calcutta and its industrial belt. The city was literally deluged with posters of rival parties expounding the respective platforms of the parties and replying to the rival party's accusations and allegations against the party candidates. In Calcutta this battle of posters was mainly confined to the two rival parties in the field, namely, the Congress and the Five-Party Left Alliance. Though some of the cartoons made personal attacks against some of the candidates, others displayed on the whole a sense of humour. Posters were used also to publicise the election gains of the respective parties. Different party papers were

also pasted at different points in street corners, lanes and by-lanes. Many popular Ramprasadi or film songs were used to satirise the rival parties' claims and were prominently displayed on posters or street pavements. Apart from these another medium that was utilised for the same purposes was the open-air theatres depicting the conditions in the country, ridiculing the rival party and urging the voters to support their own party. Magic lantern shows were also used at some places for carrying on the campaign. Here are some samples of poster-literature issued by the left Alliance of Anti-Congress nature:

- (1) Remember before giving your votes that in undivided Bengal the amount of tax was Rs. 8.5 crores and in 1956-57 people will have to pay Rs. 28.65 crores to the State Government and Rs. 175 crores to the Central Government.
- (2) Under Socialist Congress Government Padmabibhushan is conferred on Birlas for evading taxes while Adhir Dey is sacked for detecting theft.
- (3) Kashmir is a national problem, but the Congress is using it for election purposes.
- (4) In Congress administration it is topping time for the big capitalists in West Bengal. 21 big Indian and foreign capitalists in West Bengal had earned during the five years (1951-55) Rs. 43.44 crores, but the total amount of their capital was only Rs. 32.27 crores.
- (5) It is not possible to hide the truth by filth. During the last 9 years of Congress regime the poor has become poorer and the rich richer. In the next five years the Congress wants the people to pay double the amount of taxation. To stop it vote the Left Alliance to power.

As against these may be cited some specimens of Pro-Congress poster-literature as follows :

- (1) The Congress has removed the English, brought an end of the princely states, abolished zemindary system, taken a lead for world peace, made the First Five-Year Plan successful.

(2) 'Hindi Rushi Bhai Bhai,' so there is no need of the Communist Party.

(3) Vote Congress for the establishment of prosperous Bengal—beneath this the following facts were stated about the achievements of Congress :

Primary Schools—21,291,

Village hospitals—288

Irrigation of lands—over 75 lakh bighas

N.w roads—7,442 miles.

(4) Do not forget Hungary—all for the crime of demanding freedom! Communists had killed 25,000 Hungarians. Imagine how cruel they can be, once the communists are in power.

An analysis for the election results of election in West Bengal reveals certain significant facts. One such fact is that the two communal parties—Hindu Mahasabha and Jana-Sangha—did not receive any seats. That means a clear repudiation of communalism by the state of West Bengal. Secondly the Congress emerged as the victorious party with an absolute majority of seats, winning 152 out of 252 seats in the Assembly, with the Communist Party as the second strongest party as after the 1952 election, winning 46 seats. In the previous election the Congress won 149 out of 238 seats. That means it has been able to win only 3 out of the 14 additional seats. Another striking point is that the Congress has not been able to gain seats corresponding to the proportionate increase in votes secured by it compared with the last election figures. Whereas in the 1952 election the Congress captured 63.4 per cent of the seats, scoring only 39 per cent of the votes, in the 1957 elections it has secured 60 per cent of the seats scoring 46.2 of the votes. The strength of the opposition in the new Assembly has increased considerably. The strength of the Communist Party has increased by 18. The Congress will have therefore to face a more powerful and determined opposition than last time. Another significant fact is that generally speaking the opposition has scored comparatively greater success in the urban areas than in rural. This is pointedly brought into relief by the results in Calcutta constituencies. Out of the 26 seats in Calcutta, the Congress has gained only 8 seats, conceding 18 to the opposition of which again as many as 10 have gone to the Communist Party. In 1952 elections Congress captured as many as 16 seats and the opposition secured

only 11. The table has therefore turned against the Congress. Similarly in the industrial areas outside Calcutta such as tea areas of Dooars and Assam, industrial areas of Asansol and Raniganj, Railway area of Kharagpur and the industrial belt of Calcutta out of 65 seats the Congress has had to concede as many as 41 to the opposition. This means a clear repudiation of the Congress policy by the urban working class and intellectual class in West Bengal. Dr. Roy the Chief Minister has sought to explain this reverse of the Congress in these areas by saying that in the First Five-Year Plan emphasis was placed on development of rural areas and urban areas were comparatively neglected. But it is difficult to accept this as a satisfactory explanation of the fact. In particular Calcutta is the very nerve-centre of the whole State, nay of India and the City electorate is the most intellectually and politically advanced. So due importance ought to be attached to this verdict of the Calcutta electorate. It is doubtful if the Congress reverse in the city of Calcutta as well as the industrial areas is quite made good by the overall victory of the Congress in the state as a whole which should not lull the leaders of

the Congress party into a sense of complacency. The Chief Minister of West Bengal has stated that in the coming years under the Second Five-Year Plan more attention will be paid to the development of urban areas and he seems to think that the position of the Congress would be redeemed thereby. It is, however, doubtful if this would prove to be an effective remedy of the malady which seems to lie deeper. Even the Prime Minister has often pointed out that the Congress workers have lost touch with the masses and advised them to go to the masses and try to understand their difficulties and remove them. That seems to be the correct approach for retrieving the lost position of the Congress among the urban electorate who are much more politically conscious and sensitive than the rural electorate. It should in any case give the Congress leaders in West Bengal food for thought and heart searching, otherwise there is every chance of the tale of Kerala being repeated in West Bengal at the next election.*

* A paper read at the twentieth session of the Indian political Science Conference held at Poona in December, 1957.

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RABINDRANATH ON SRI AUROBINDO

By SUDHANSU MOHON BANERJEE, M.A.

"O ! AUROBINDO

Accept this homage of Rabin'dra."

Thus sang Rabindranath Tagore in an inspired moment about fifty years ago. A mighty saga of faith, beauty and strength was born on that day. The poet's sensitive search had discerned—

The articulate embodiment of the
Nation's soul

Its voice incarnate and its goal.

Reading it almost half a century later we find what a prophetic vision it was, what an intense, human document pulsating with life, what a true assessment of absorbing interest.

Yet Rabindranath and Sri Aurobindo were not alike though they belonged to the same epoch. They were not only the products of an era of cultural impact, revaluation of values, of a new toxic wine being poured into old bottles but

something more. They were almost the lingering last of the mighty Titans of a resurgent nationalism and a humanist movement whom it was the privilege of Bengal to give to India and India to the world. Yet in their own way they survived as true representatives of India. Both belonged in their different ways to that band of creative idealists who had unflashed spiritual and moral forces. Both had the vision to see and realise that in a world full of misery, chaos and confusion, hate and spite neither a maimed life of monastic seclusion nor a mad orgy of insensate activity were enough to salvage the lost human heritage or to express the growing sense of the Divine. Sri Aurobindo laid stress on the need for an integral process, for a progressive self enlargement, for a synthetic realisation that all life is 'yoga.' Rabindranath never claimed to be a 'Sadhak' in that sense. His passionate

claim was that he had seen and sung, lived and loved. His earth-consciousness and his receptivity to various moods of nature brought him his poetic realisation of the different aspects of the Infinite and its interplay with the Finite. He repeatedly said 'I am a poet, I live too near the earth. I am not a Shadhak.' He considered himself to be the messenger of the one who was varied and his mission was to express that diversity without forgetting the inner unity. In one of his later poems on his birthday relayed from Kalimpong, he said :

"The few candles that are still lit
neath memory's writ
In the quiet of my life's even
with the vanishing sun
I offer them to Thee,
Let my lyre lie low,
silent, inspired
at your feet. When I go
I leave behind me
The flowers that have not bloomed
Love that awaits,
Baffled in its reach
Love that remains. That dies not.

If Rabindranath's canvas was wider and more colourful, Sri Aurobindo's exploration was deeper and more fundamental. If one was in search of the eternal bridegroom his "Dolce Amoree" with all the passion of a pagan, the fire of a Prometheus and surrender of a Radha, the other's was the quiet poise of a Yogi who strove for a conscious and radical change of nature and the best means for its transformation all round. It was not merely urge but its upsurge, its ascent. Creative evolution was according to him a movement to assimilate or better express the higher and the finer movements of life and this higher is laid in it and is not the one coming into it by the pressure of onward movement. That is why he dipped into the silence beyond the surface mind because when out of it, it brought all that a being could want

joy unimaginable, ecstasy illimitable
knowledge omnipotent, might omniscient
light without darkness truth that is
dateless.

Coming to the poem with which we began what did Sri Aurobindo represent according to the poet ?

That full and free life
For which the God in Man sits enthroned
in meditation and in strife
Night and Morn,
For which poets sing in deathless voice
of thunder
And rends the sky asunder,
For which heroes march
Through death and travail search,
For which ease hangs down its head in
shame
Death forge's its pang and its name
That God-gifted priceless treasure
That inner determination in full measure.

It was not merely political freedom. It was that and something more. And the poet knew

The victory is assured. Yours is the say
You have the word and we obey
Who cares to shed tear
Who shall flee in fear
Who shall repress the truth
Who is the coward who shelters under
untruth

It is the weak who weeps
It is the lowly that is lost.

Again, the poet's prophetic faith knows no bounds. He speaks in clearer accents—

Has any monarch however high his
throne
Has ever been able to punish the
messenger of the Morn
Whom He the terrible sends with
Olympic torch

To illumine the world's darkest porch.
To that man who carries it like a cross
even
Iron bars bow to him and chain him
not, Prisons welcome.

It was more the vision of a perfection which the poet symbolized in Sri Aurobindo.

In this hour of trial and tribulation,
Of grief, sorrow and annihilation
Amid bondage and despair
I look at thee and hear
The unfettered soul's rapture clear
The eternal pilgrim's muse, Oh seer
The song of a ceaseless quest.

The poet moves on. He visualises neither poverty nor fear, neither sorrow, nor shame, nor wrong. He characterised Aurobindo's message as a message sublime, of deathless death in rhyme and he was the poet who sat in people's heart.

Oh! who thou prophet wast.

The poet hears "the mighty roar of rumbling waves of the sea, that is ever free that craves in thunder, lightning and in rain, and in this medley of song he brought his humble one:

"Aurobindo. Rabindra's homage you
have won."

At the same time the poet instinctively realizes that Sri Aurobindo is but the willing instrument through which the Divine is working and to Whom he has surrendered. The poet too bows to Him who in his playful mood not only creates and destroys but leads again from darkness to light, from death to life. It is He

Who talks in diverse languages
In different climes to diverse races
He whose voice we hear in all great
endeavour
In all great achievements and splendour.

This sense of the Divine encompassing everything had also dawned on the poet and it was a reminder that he saw this Divine however imperfectly in a kindred soul. That was the greatest tribute he could pay to Sri Aurobindo to a man, to whom

Sorrow does not matter
Bruises do not hurt
Losses count not
Fear has no grip

and who does neither believe in a false king nor in his punishment and who can defy death and to such a man comes the eternal answer of duality

I exist; you exist
And in between us Truth doth stay.

This picture of Sri Aurobindo was to quote Sri Aurobindo himself:

"A preface only of the epic climb
Of human soul to an eternal state."

Twenty years later, the poet paid a greater tribute to the Saint of Pondicherry when he said —"I have seen you in your first Tapasya and had bowed to you in deep reverence. Today I have the good fortune of seeing you again in your serene calmness, in your second Tapasya and I bow again and say, 'O Aurobindo, take my homage; you have realized in your own life the saying of our Rishis that we are one with the Universe'."

Years ago Sri Aurobindo in his book on the Ideal of the Karmayogin had outlined the real meaning and purpose of India's awakening —the deep and underlying forces that were shaping her destiny and the best way of serving her. His Uttara speech delivered just after his acquittal was remarkable for the revelation of the new faith and light that had dawned on him in jail. A new urge of withdrawing himself from day to day politics came up on him and he retired to Pondicherry and lived there in silent communion for 40 years. People have called him an escapist who should have been in the thick of the fight. But his dynamism was not asleep. It burst forth in new vigour, in a new rhythm—embracing all aspects of existence striving for a richer, fuller and nobler life. With his usual profundity of thought, sublimity of conception and loftiness of language he had long ago discussed the problem of Human Unity in a series of 35 articles in the pages of *Arya* during the first World War. He was a Yogi but he never failed to emphasise the national value of mundane things such as art, its aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual aspects. He took up his pen in defence of Indian culture. As a poet his vision soared high above the cosmic oneness in supramental region and his collective poems and dramas and his latest *Sabitri* closed a chapter of poetic excellence and beauty coupled with deep penetrating thought that is hardly surpassed. *Sabitri* was conceived as "a priestess of immaculate ecstasies" with a body like a parable of dawn "a niche for veiled divinity." He had

visualised in her the perfection to which Human spirit could aspire. We find this gradually revealed in the Books of Birth and Quest, Book of Life, Book of Love and Book of Fate. It is not without significance that the country got independence on the 15th of August, the day of Sri Aurobindo's birth. His prophetic words still ring true:

"It was the supreme misfortune of India that before she was able to complete the round of her experience and gather up the fruit of her long millenium of search and travail that her national life broke into fragments. There is still an unexhausted vitality in her. She yet nourishes the seeds of rebirth and renewal. Will

she yet arise, combine her past and continue the great dream where she left it off, shaking off on the one hand the soils and filth that have grown and recast on the other her own In doing so lies her one chance of salvation."

"Night is darkest before dawn and the coming of dawn is inevitable. But the new world whose coming we envisage is not to be made of the same texture as the old and different only in pattern. It must come by other means from within and not from without."

[English renderings of the poet's original used in the article are the writer's own.]
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THE SPIRIT OF REFORMATION

BY PROF. CHUNILAL CHAKRABORTY, M.A.

It is an accomplished fact that the Church of Rome, up to the earlier part of the middle age, discharged its social functions well by acting as a unifying force in Europe which had still been living in the backwater of civilization. The whole of Europe constituted a single Christendom; the individual and the social institution owed their allegiance to the Church. The Church acted as the guardian of moral principles and demanded unquestionable faith and obedience to the Holy Scriptures. Any inquiry of causalities, any independent thinking was tabooed as blasphemy. Thus all windows of the mind were shut and man had to live in a shell.

So long as the Church of Rome stuck to the spirit of the Holy Writ and itself emulated all the principles it preached, doubtlessly it could demand obedience from the people of the Christendom. But very soon it outlived its function. Gradually the Catholic Church fell into the low depth of vices. While it preached the virtues of poverty and showed the wisdom of pursuing a pious life for the salvation of the life hereafter, it itself pursued a course which certainly had no relation with its lofty preachings. The Popes accumulated vast properties. The intriguing Italian politics did not leave them untouched; the religious heads of the Christendom became depraved and active participants in the nefarious factious politics.

They built a Papal State, indulged in secular activities and enriched their coffers by copiously drawing the revenues from the entire religious institutions of Europe, which were subordinate to the Church of Rome. In short, in a feudal Europe the whole Christendom constituted one big feudal estate of the Roman Church, while the churches of various countries, themselves assuming feudal character, acted as the agents of papal extortion.

Thus Rome thrived happily on the faith and ignorance of the people. This state of affairs continued long, but could not have been everlasting. The socio-economic and intellectual forces that had been working, invisibly, but inexorably, started creating a breach, which gradually went on widening and finally engulfing the whole of Europe in a mortal combat. Initially the religious questions were more pronounced, but afterwards the economic questions assumed a proportion, which in effect, galvanised a new Europe. It is not very profitable to argue which of these was primary and which secondary in shaping the historical process. But it may be said that both the questions contributed their relative importance and interacted upon each other. In course of our enquiry it will be observed that so far as the Reformation movement of Europe was concerned, although apparently it represented religious questions directed

at freeing the Catholic Churches of all their vices, nevertheless the socio-economic forces which had been gathering momentum, starting from even before the advent of Renaissance, ultimately transformed the whole character of the religious movement.

"Heralded by an economic revolution no less profound than that of three centuries later, a new world of the sixteenth century took its character from the outburst of economic energy in which it had been born. Like the nineteenth century, it saw a swift increase in wealth and impressive expansion of trade, a concentration of financial power on a scale unknown before, the rise, amid fierce social convulsions, of new classes and depression of the old, the triumph of a new culture and system of ideas amid struggles not less bitter."¹

It is understandable, therefore, why the very modest claims of Martin Luther, who was no revolutionary by any standard of judgement or facts, set in motion such unprecedented forces of social convulsions as to confuse and tear asunder the whole social values which were hitherto being accepted as immutable laws of a higher being. The whole of Europe hurled itself in the throes of a revolution which had swept the land even up to the 19th century.

"Protestant revolution was but one wave of the advancing tide of modern civilization. It was a great revolutionary wave, the onward swell of which, beginning with the refusal of reforms at the Diet of Worms produced the peasants' war and the sack of Rome, swept on through the revolt of the Netherlands, the Thirty Years war, the Puritan Revolution in England under Oliver Cromwell, the formation of the great American republic, until it came to a head and broke in all the terrors of the French Revolution."²

It is necessary, therefore, to examine the condition of Europe prior to the Reformation. It was a time of rapid economic and consequent social changes. The trouble first started in England as a consequence of Hundred years' war with France causing incalculable harm to peasants. In the wake of it the land was visited by the Black Death sweeping away one-third

of the population. The English lords suffered because they had to pay more wages to the labour whose numbers had shrunk up. The Government immediately came to their rescue with the statute of labour putting down the rate of wages. In such an England the preachings of John Wycliffe and his followers against the worldliness, pursuit of wealth and papal exactions, acted as fuse which set England into a big conflagration of Peasant's Revolt in 1381. It was a protest against the existing state of things and a precursor to final break with Rome that was achieved during the Tudor rule. As for the shift of economic interests the Peasant's Revolt set the process in motion, which after the War of Roses, led England to start its journey towards new economic and social goal. The age of feudalism was becoming a thing of the past and the age of mercantilism began. And the combined effect of all these precipitated a break with the existing religious dogmas.

Meantime somewhat similar forces of change pushed Europe further and further away to tear itself off the mediaeval social fabric. In the middle ages the Italian cities, especially Venice and Florence, reaped the chief benefit of commerce with the East. Germany too was enjoying commercial prosperity. Consequently other nations of Europe grew envious of the opulence of these states; every nation felt a craze for new economic ventures with the East.

"First attempted as a counterpoise to the Italian monopolists, then pressed home with ever greater eagerness to turn the flank of the Turk, as his strangle-hold on the eastern commerce tightened, the discoveries were neither happy accidents nor the disinterested curiosity of science. They were the climax of almost a century of patient economic effort."³

In such a Europe the Renaissance provided the spiritual food and added further to intensify the onward march of the nations who had already been pulsating with a gust of unprecedented energy and spirit of adventure. Men came out of the narrow shell of mediaeval superstition. They learned to worship reason and cast away blind faith indoctrinated by the Church. Everything now, before the acceptance of intrinsic validity, must be examined by the touchstone of reason; and reason more often

1. R. H. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 79.

2. Seebohm: *The Era of Protestant Revolution*, p. 231.

3. R. H. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 70.

than not, coalesced with the newly emergent interest, principally that of the mercantile class.

Under such a background then we should now, for scientific understanding, attempt to appreciate the tortuous movements of the Reformation wherein it may be possible to understand why, contrary to the teachings and intentions of Luther and radical Calvin, history destined it to traverse a different course. The religious movement very often had to compromise and reorient itself with the economic aspirations of the mercantile class from whom the main bulk of the supporters, at a relatively later date, came to swell the rank.

In Luther we do not find anything revolutionary. He was not for any major or radical changes; ideologically he was still essentially mediæval. He had full reverence for the Catholic religion. What he wanted was simply reforms of the church that was enmeshed in temporal pursuit. The ninety-five theses which he had hung on the Castle Church of Wittenburg were all directed against the sale of indulgence and other corrupt practices of the Roman church. As to social grievances of the peasantry and the middle class he had no great sympathy; he disliked the activities of the mercantile class and asked the suffering peasantry to accept their fate with Christian fortitude. He crossed sword with Eck who held brief for the legality of charging interest in business transaction. To Luther usury was impious and violative to the Gospel. Consequently Lutheranism had to depend with servile reliance on the secular authorities.

"Luther was always in favour of authority and the tumult in Germany increased that feeling. . . . The secular Government must take in hand the organisation of religion. The conception that one supreme authority on earth was that of the secular Government; the suspicion of the common man and the resolve to prevent the people from exercising any control over the arrangement of the Church."⁴

Nevertheless, such was the paradox that his protest against religious malpractices released great social forces which he had least foreseen, or had any sympathy with. The prediction of Erasmus that all Europe will be turned upside

down in universal revolution was coming to be true. The suffering peasantry were agitated by Luther's teachings in defence of liberty and equality of all men before God. The attack upon the clergy had further intensified the ill-feeling of the peasantry who had also had their grievances against these feudal priests. Added to this was the discontent of the middle class of the town who had their own grievances against local territorial magnates. Even some of them fraternised with the peasants. Perhaps, their guiding motto was to fish in the troubled water thereby strengthening their own position. Munzar, one time compatriot of Luther, supported the causes of the peasants. He preached a sort of anarchical individualism and established a communistic regime at Mulhausen.

Throughout a large part of the Eastern Germany the peasants rose in revolt in 1524. The Communistic elements of the movement estranged the middle class, and the disunited princes of Germany now closed up their ranks and suppressed the rising with uncommon savagery. "Where the peasants had slain their hundreds in the heat of the struggle, the princes slew their tens of thousands in the spirit of revenge."⁵ Perhaps their savagery was more due to fear than revenge. The ascendancy of the lower class, they thought, would jeopardise the very existence of their own hegemony. In this they had obtained support from the rising bourgeoisie too. Therefore since then, "the Reforms had to wage war on two fronts. . . . Anabaptism and the peasants' revolts were feared and hated by the rising bourgeoisie of the 10th Century more fiercely and more nervously than similar proletarian disturbances of later day. They were suppressed with savage cruelty, which received the blessings of both Luther and Calvin."⁶

Many blamed Luther for the disturbance although he himself had condemned the actions of the peasants in no uncertain terms. "Luther had lost to some extent the support of the lower class, and was forced to lean still more upon the princes."⁷

Luther writes:

"The princes of this world are gods, the common people are satan, through whom God

4. T. M. Lindsay: *History of the Reformation in Germany*, p. 412.

5. A. T. Grant: *History of Europe*.

6. Sabine: *A History of Political Theories*.

7. Johnson: *Europe in the 16th Century*, p. 179.

sometimes does what at other times he does directly through Satan, that is, makes rebellion as a punishment for the people's sins.

"I would rather suffer a prince doing wrong than a people doing right."⁸

Further:

"It is in no wise proper for anyone who would be Christian to set himself up against his Government, whether it acts justly or unjustly.

"There are no better works than to obey and serve all those who are set over us as superiors. For this reason, also, disobedience is a great sin than murder, unchastity, theft and dishonesty, all that these may include."⁹

Therefore, Lutheranism, in effect, neither sided with the rising mercantile class nor the lower class, but depended on the support of the princes and consequently came in conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, the defender of faith. "Charles himself became more convinced that heresy and rebellion were synonymous." Moreover, he must preserve the unity of the Christendom and as such had to wage war against the princes of Germany who sided with Lutheranism. As a result Germany had been pushed into the maelstrom of a civil war. As to the princes there was nothing noble in their motives but to maintain their petty tyranny and get enriched by the riches of the Catholic Church. The German bourgeoisie were also on the decline as a social force; for the centre of commerce had by this time shifted from Levant to Antwerp as a result of Turkish advance. Consequently the process of disintegration set in motion which during the Thirty Years War reached the final stage. Therefore, in the land of its birth, because of its peculiar historical and social conditions traced above, Protestantism failed to infuse any new spirit and vitalize the nation. The country relapsed into mediaeval obsolescence and the unfinished economic revolution of the land had to wait "till the creation of railway system in the 19th century made Germany again the entrepot between Western Europe and Russia, Austria, Italy and the Near East."¹⁰

But the cause was not totally lost. In other countries of Europe, such as, in Holland and England, where bourgeoisie capitalism developed considerably, the religious movement assumed a decisive turn. The middle class grew restless and lost all respects for either Luther or Zwingli and their doctrines. Whether it may conform to the prevailing religious dogmas or not the onward march of the nascent capitalism must proceed inexorably to its destined goal and religion must adjust itself to the need of the time. Any existing social practices that may act as brake must be removed.

"The development of bourgeoisie capitalism was handicapped by the ecclesiastical prohibition of interest and many practices and institutions of the Catholic Church. It is, therefore, comprehensible why the battle for the replacement of the feudal economy by modern capitalistic one and incidentally for the liberation of scientific research, should have been fought and won first on the religious field in the reformation."¹¹

"The religious changes incidental to the Reformation were not the object sought but means of attaining that object. The existing ecclesiastical system was the practical evolution of the dogma, and the overthrow of the dogma was the only way to obtain permanent relief from the intolerable abuses of that system."¹²

The new apostle of the bourgeoisie was Calvin who had no vacillation or trepidation of Luther. In unequivocal terms he supported the cause of the bourgeoisie who were predestined to act as the spearhead of revolution. Where Lutheranism failed, Calvinism provided the theoretical weapon in the hands of the middle class. "Calvin with all his rigour, accepted the main institutions of a commercial civilization, and supplied a creed to the classes which were to dominate the future."¹³

Meanwhile, the Catholic powers had organised themselves under the banner of the Counter-Reformation. Their guiding motto was to preserve the hegemony of the Catholic church and the feudal order of the society. Strong Catholic powers, such as, Spain, Austria and France, supported the organisation and mar-

8. Quoted by Preserved Smith: *The Age of Reformation*, p. 594.

9. *On Good Works*, Vol. VI, p. 250.

10. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 95.

11. V. Gordon Childe: *History*, p. 76.

12. H. C. Lea: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, p. 653.

13. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 103.

shalled all their forces behind the movement to wipe out heresy once and for all. Compared to their resources and strength the Protestants seemed materially insignificant. Notwithstanding the fact, the spirit of the Calvinists, who were imbibed with a new mission, could not be crushed, neither the historical destiny of the civilization could be postponed. Europe flung itself into a mortal struggle. It was a combat between the dihard old forces and the emergent new forces. Apparently although it had assumed the guise of religious struggle, yet the burning

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question was whether feudalism or capitalism should survive. Ultimately capitalism won the day. "The first triumph of the bourgeoisie—the merchants, bankers, and the master craftsmen of the town in their subconscious struggle to replace the ruling classes of feudalism—the landed nobility—was won in the religious sphere in the Reformaton, and assumed the theological guise of Protestantism."¹⁴

(To be continued)

14. V. Gordon Childe: *History*, p. 30.

BASIC EDUCATION FOR WORLD PEACE

BY PROF. DR. M. KHUSHDIL, M.A., B.T., PH.D.

THE necessity to establish lasting peace among the nations of the world was never before felt more urgently than it is today. The last two world wars have brought home to the common man the stark reality of death and destruction, grief and anguish, suffering and sorrows that can be inflicted on human life. One can well imagine the catastrophe that can befall on man through the use of atomic, hydrogen and various kinds of bombs and deadly weapons, chemical warfare and other innumerable means of human annihilation still unknown to the layman. If the intelligent people of the world do not devise means to stop war-mania among peoples and inculcate in its place an attitude of peaceful living, the consequence will be far deadlier than those ever known in the history of mankind.

Ordinarily, war-mania has been attributed to the instinct of pugnacity by psychologists. Some say that it is an outcome of the tendency of self-preservation. Others are of the opinion that it is more due to ambition, greed, propaganda and a totalitarian type of education than any other single factor. The presence of war-activities and the spirit of violence indicate that man has not learnt the democratic principles of fraternity, equality and mutual respect. It goes to show that the brute in man is still there and the signs of the barbarous stage in the deveopment of human race are still present.

THE LAND OF GLORIOUS TRADITIONS

India has been, from time immemorial, a country of peace-traditions. There are many

instances in her history where kings have abandoned their thrones to spread among the people the ideals of self-sacrifice, peace and good-will. Raja Harish Chandra, for example, gave away his whole kingdom to a *Rishi* and accepted poverty and misery to uphold the principles of truth and duty. Similarly, Ram Chandrajai forsook his throne of Ajodhya in favour of his step-brother Bharat and lived fourteen years in exile in the forest in accordance with the wishes of his parents. Gautam Buddha left his kingdom and became a Sannyasi and Bhikshu to preach the message of love and peace to the people of the world. The great Asoka, after the battle of Kalinga, took a vow not to wage war against any people. He devoted his whole life to the propagation of peace and piety, toleration and truth, among the people of Asia.

THE BASIC SCHEME OF EDUCATION

Mahatma Gandhi in our own times gave the message of love, truth and non-violence to the world. He gave new values to humanity and heightened the moral stature of man. He was not only a great saint and politician but was also a great educationist of his time. He gave to the country a scheme of education which he based on his ideals of truth and non-violence. In his presidential speech at the Wardha Education Conference, held on 22nd and 23rd October, 1937, he declared:

"If we want to eliminate communal strife and international strife, we must start with foundations pure and strong, rearing our younger generation on the education, I have

adumbrated. That plan springs out of non-violence."

Education in many countries has been utilised to inculcate a spirit to rule others, to conquer other countries and to become a strong war-like nation. Mahatma Gandhi realised that education can and should be used as an instrument for building a non-violent world society. He believed that if war-mania can be propagated through education, it can also be banned and banished through education. He emphasised on the education of the child and the community both. He started with adult education and proposed to carry on the programme of 'New Education' stage by stage from the pre-basic to college and University level. He preached that the young and the old alike should instead of national vanity and aggrandisement be taught a lesson of love, sympathy and co-operation to insure peace and well-being among nations.

THE AIMS OF BASIC EDUCATION

The aims of basic education are 'the all-round development of man' and 'the creation of a balanced and harmonious society'—"a juster social order in which there will be no unnatural division between the 'haves' and 'have nots' and everybody would be assured of a living wage and the right of freedom."

History tells us that many wars have been fought among the countries and nations of the world for superiority, domination and conquest. Although, for ensuring individual and collective welfare and settling disputes, war might have been necessary in the past, it has miserably failed to preserve peace among groups and nations today. Peace, it has been amply demonstrated, cannot be preserved by physical force. The obnoxious slogan of war to end war, has, many a time, been used by the military leaders of the world to excite the ignorant people for bloodshed and destruction. But war cannot end war. Mahatma Gandhi realised that war can only be ended by creating a new social order through basic education.

The establishment of a new co-operative regime in place of 'the present competitive and inhuman regime based on exploitation and violent force,' is possible if competition is eliminated from the world society. Competition is the chief cause of conflict. It creates a pro-

found feeling of frustration among individuals and nations and leads to a subtle programme of propaganda against each other. It gives birth to morbid leadership with perverse ideals. It encourages war and engenders emotional unhappiness. The aim of basic education is to root out competition and exploitation and implant co-operation and goodwill in their place by educating the people and thus building a new peaceful world society where every individual will find equal opportunity for his development and where 'the rights of many will not be trampled down for the pleasures of a few.'

According to Mahatma Gandhi, the following are the broad features of his new social order:

(i) In the new society there is to be no class or caste superiority and education would bring equality of status between the sons of a weaver, an agriculturist, a school master, collector, a minister or a merchant prince.

(ii) In the new society there are to be no drags and parasites whether rich or poor. "Everyone should be a worker who will look upon all kinds of useful work, including manual labour, even scavenging, as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on his own legs."

(iii) In the new society, every individual is to realise that as a member of society, he has not only rights but also duties and obligations. He must be both willing and able to repay in the form of some useful service what he owes to it as a member of an organised civilised society. The motive of social service must dominate all the activities of every citizen of the new State.

In such a social order of Mahatma Gandhi's dream, everybody will live in peace and harmony. The leaders of this society would be sane and intelligent enough to drive away war from the world.

THE CURRICULUM AND METHODS

The basic curriculum has been so devised as to afford many occasions and opportunities to awaken in children the importance of world peace. The syllabus of basic craft, social studies, general science, language, etc., and many extra curricular activities and programmes of the school, helps to achieve this purpose.

The basic craft, for example, provides many opportunities to emphasise the importance of world peace. While teaching spinning

and weaving the teacher can refer to the problems of unemployment and exploitation of poor labourers by big factory owners. He can refer to the national movement in India and achievement of freedom with peaceful and non-violent means. He can point out that the spinning wheel stands for peace. It stands for individual rights. It is a symbol of love for the poor and exploited. It points out that peace in the world can only be maintained by eradicating the use of big machines and substituting in their place small cottage industries.

Courses in social studies afford many chances to stress the need of co-operation among nations. All the countries of the world are economically interdependent. One depends on another's help. This fact of interdependence should be carefully impressed by the teacher on the minds of young children. They should be helped to make an intelligent study of the world they live in. They should be taught to appreciate the efforts of the leaders of mankind for peace and good-will.

The science syllabus should teach that the scientific inventions are for the comfort and convenience of man and not for his destruction. With their help the scientists should try to make the world a peaceful, secure and congenial place to live in. New inventions should be utilised for the service of humanity. Energy should be harnessed to light the cities and not to reduce them to ashes.

Similarly, other subjects, language, art, music, etc., of the curriculum and the several programmes and activities such as celebrations of festivals, leaders' birthdays, parents' days, assemblies, *sabhas*, forums, debates, clubs, excursions—all should be utilised to create international understanding and goodwill.

The maintenance of world peace is a topic which cannot be confined to any particular school programme. The teacher should correlate the problems of international importance with the theme in hand. The local and national problems may be introduced to children from the international point of view. In a way, the whole school curricula programmes and activities can be utilised to weave the international theme.

For world peace, it is essential that children should be taught at least one foreign language to promote harmonious relations and better

understanding with the people living in far-off countries. It is a serious drawback in the basic scheme that no place has been provided in it for any foreign language. There are many important languages of the world which can be taught to children in India and abroad. English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, etc., are some of the important languages of the world. In the writer's opinion, at least, teaching of English should be made compulsory in the basic schools to facilitate international understanding. In the present conditions in India, the teaching of English in schools is not only essential for communicating with foreigners and developing intimate cultural relations with other countries, but also for establishing a bond of unity among the various Indian states which speak a language of their own.

THE TASK OF THE TEACHER

In order to educate the children for their role as preservers of world peace, the teacher in the basic schools, should try to inculcate in them certain important qualities and attitudes. He should develop in them a broad and balanced understanding of the world situation and ability to consider problems objectively, as honestly as possible from the international point of view. He should create a desire in them to participate in world reconstruction programmes. He should encourage them to take part in activities designed to outlaw war and to promote and maintain peace. He should impart the knowledge of all such organisations which are working for peace. He should explain to them clearly the meaning and nature of Gandhiji's principle of non-violence and its efficacy to maintain world peace. He should teach them the ethics of human conduct and establish in them the attitudes of tolerance, goodwill and understanding. He should impress upon them the advantages of democratic living. He should tell them that religion is a force which gives meaning and value to human life, and not that which creates hatred and intolerance among the people.

In the realisation of the ideal of world peace, the responsibility of the teacher is very great. He occupies the key position. He is the prime mover of the whole educational machinery. He controls the conditions of education. Hence he alone can bear the burden

of preparing younger generation for world citizenship, and infuse in them the spirit to maintain peace in world society. He can inculcate among them the importance of harmony, common understanding and co-operative planning. He can inspire them for ideals of peace and goodwill.

Gandhiji's method of basic education is an example for the world to emulate. His efforts to establish world peace through it should be

appreciated by the nations of the world. Education is a powerful force and it can prepare and inspire the younger people to live up to the ideals of peace, harmony and mutual understanding. But this can only be possible if all the countries co-operatively plan a system of education, similar to that of basic education, based on truth and non-violence. Any other system would fail to educate the world for lasting peace.

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A PEEP AT HONGKONG

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

IN my tour-programme I did not chalk out a stay at Hongkong but the B.O.A.C. plane by which I travelled from Bangkok to Tokyo takes a night's rest at Kowloon, so I was able to have a peep at Hongkong.

Hongkong is in a sense an International town and is claimed to be an enchanting city of romance which can boast of the gayest of cosmopolitan night-life. Unfortunately night-life has no attraction for me so I cannot vouch for all the wild tales that are told all over the world about the glamour of Hongkong.

rian in the English sense but this fact that I did not take meat was not made known to the staff in the plane, but still they tried to give me a very good lunch. I can say in this connection that of the many air-lines in all of which I travelled in the tourist class B.O.A.C. seems to me to be the best for its punctual flight, comfortable arrangements and pleasing service. The difference between Bangkok time and Hongkong time is two hours and we got down at Kaitak Airport at about dusk.

The first impression of the island was very



The Hongkong skyline



Hongkong by night

I boarded the air-ship of the B.O.A.C. at Bangkok at 10.25 a.m. on Wednesday, the 25th August, 1954. The hostess was a charming young lady and she tried her very best to give us entire satisfaction. I am a vegeta-

pleasing with its blue harbour, the imposing sky-line of Hongkong with the world famous Peak, the sky-scrapers and the grass-plane near the Aerodrome.

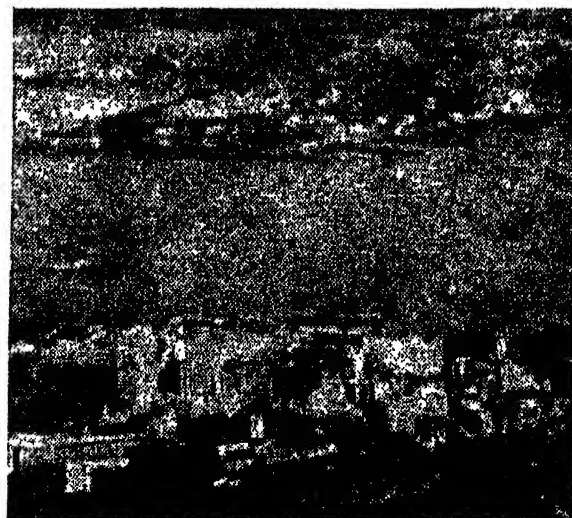
We were soon taken by a luxurious bus

to the best hotel of the place. The Peninsula is the largest and the best of the many comfortable hotels. The rooms are nicely furnished, each has a private bath and telephone

dinner. An excellent dinner was served. I relished the food. I then strolled alone into the streets and managed to go to the star-ferry on paying 20 cents. I went over to the main



Hongkong by night

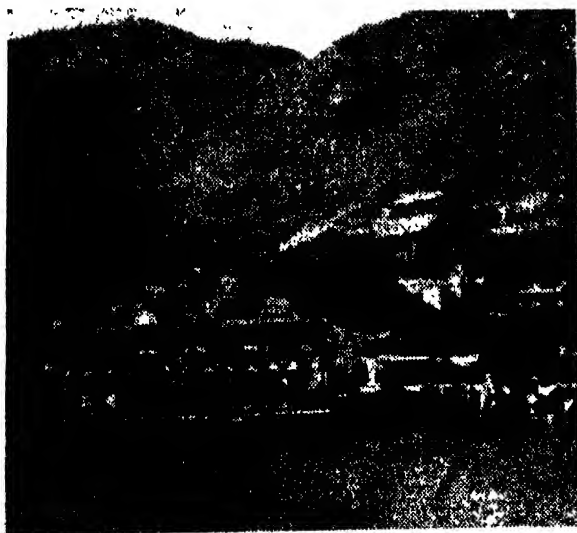


The harbour, Hongkong

and is also linked with the local wired broadcasting system called Rediffusion which provides a 7 A.M. to midnight programme of entertainment and news. The charge for a single room in this hotel is 40 Hongkong dollars as against ten or twelve in the other first class hotels.

island and after walking about a mile I found the interesting peak tram and went up on the peak.

I got a splendid view from the peak. The sparkling water dazzling by many lights was a grand sight to see. The sea here was crescent-



Hongkong



The "Star" Ferries

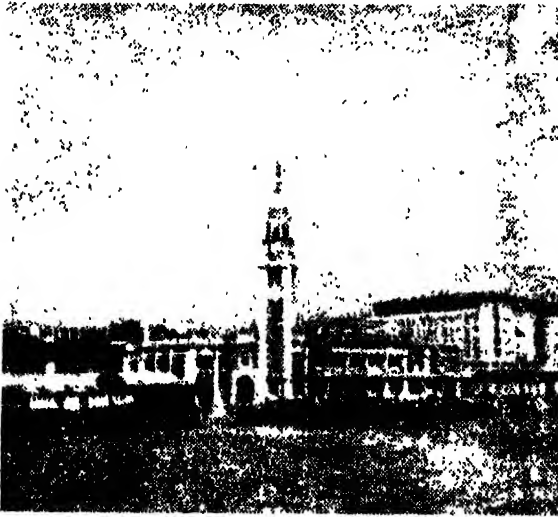
On arrival I got a dollar changed into the local currency. Then after putting my things into my room, I went into the Library where there were several newspapers. After reading for a while, I went to the dining room for

shaped and thus presented a very beautiful land-scape.

Behind me I heard people talking in Hindi and turned round to see. There was a party of Indians who were out on night-seeing; they,

however, did not notice me and I did not think it right to question strangers in that place.

I was previously told that Hongkong contains a small settlement of Indian traders who carry on business here. I got down by the train again and walked here and there. Then I took a tram to come to the Star-ferry. I crossed and came back to Kowloon.



The K.C.R. clock-tower

Once I thought of going to a cinema but on second thought I gave up the idea. I went to my room and wrote a couple of letters and then began to sleep.

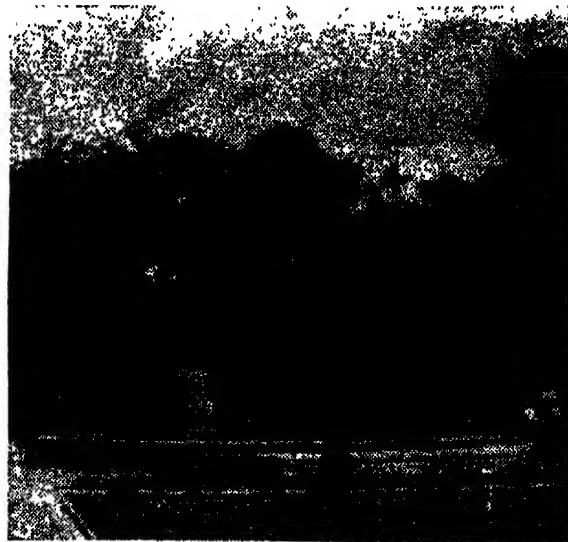


The view from the peak

I woke up very early next morning and went out. In order to see as much of Hongkong as was possible I took Bus No. 1 at Kowloon Ferry. It took me through Nathan Road, which is full of the magnificent shops

into a suburban area where houses with charming little gardens abound. The change from the hustle and bustle is very refreshing.

The buses were all of the London model with two deckers. From there I went to Lai-chikok which has a nice beach. The water here is placid and ideal for a sport of rowing. I was told that some years back there was an attempt to establish a pleasure centre here but it failed but derelict joyrides are still there. From here by bus No. 6 I returned to the Ferry. I then walked back to the hotel and had a nice breakfast. The bus of the B.O.A.C. came and took us to the Airport at about 8. A.M.



The Botanical Gardens

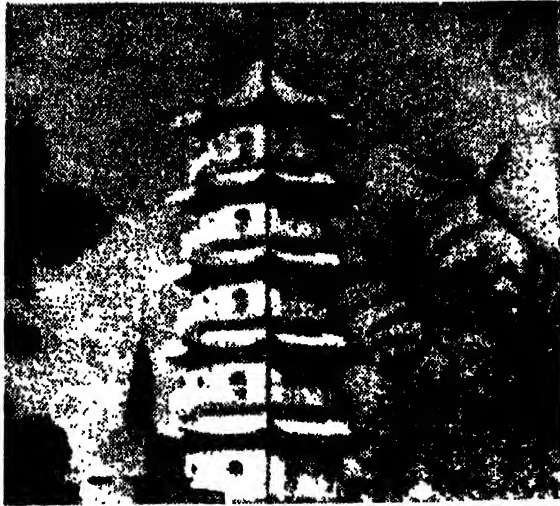
It is said that one can buy virtually anything under the Sun and at the lowest prices in the world. But as I was going away from home, I could not verify this claim, but some of the other passengers took advantage of this unsurpassed shopping bargains.

With its many hotels, accommodation is no problem and tourists from all over the world flock together here in large numbers. There are Chinese, European, Russian, Scandinavian, French and American cuisine to satisfy the gourmet and there are women and wine to satisfy others.

My stay in Hongkong was too short but I saw a little. That was an interesting sight. One can view the whole panorama of Hongkong from a rattan seat in the first class of the tram.

As our plane glided over the airport,

could have a view of the New territories. Hongkong is not confined to the Island and Kowloon. A stretch of the China mainland extending from the border at Shumchun to Boundary Street has been leased from China for 100 years from 1898, though Hongkong became a British possession in 1941.



The "Tiger Balm" Pagoda

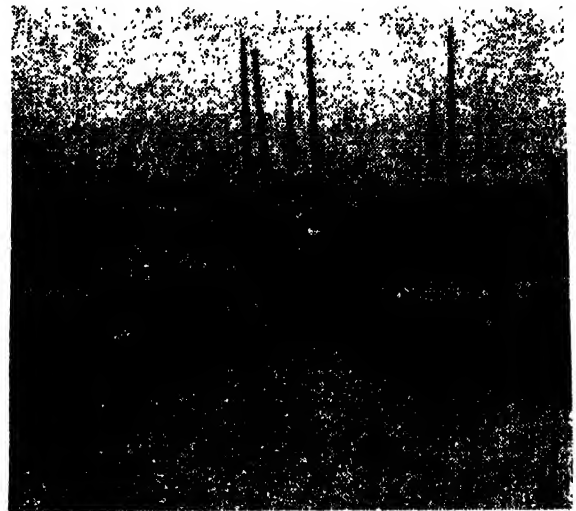
The new territories are inhabited mostly by farmers who cultivate lands in the most primitive way it has always been undertaken



The Chinese temple in China. The British technical influences have not made much headway. In this place also

live the lanka people who prefer to live on their fishing junks and seldom bother to be on dry-land except for bringing their supplies.

When I visited Hongkong, it was the time of the festival of the Chinese seventh moon which started on July 30th and would end on August 27th. It was a festive celebration in honour of the Chinese Philosopher Lao-tze, father of the Taoists. There are no temples in Hongkong in honour of him but in some temples one can find his image along with others. He is pictured as an old man riding on a water-buffalo.

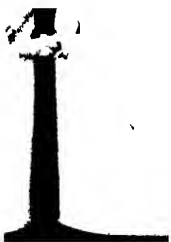


The junks

I, however, had no opportunity of witnessing this gala festival. While musing on and looking at the bright island from the window of the speed-bird, I thought of the future of Hongkong.

The days of colonialism are fading fast and it is time that the Chinese people will demand this island and the British shall have to leave this sunny spot in the Chinese sea with their bag and baggage.

Up and down, the plane made a particularly bad jolt. I woke up from my reverie. Soon the speed-bird made herself steady and flew into the open space of the blue sun-lit sky.

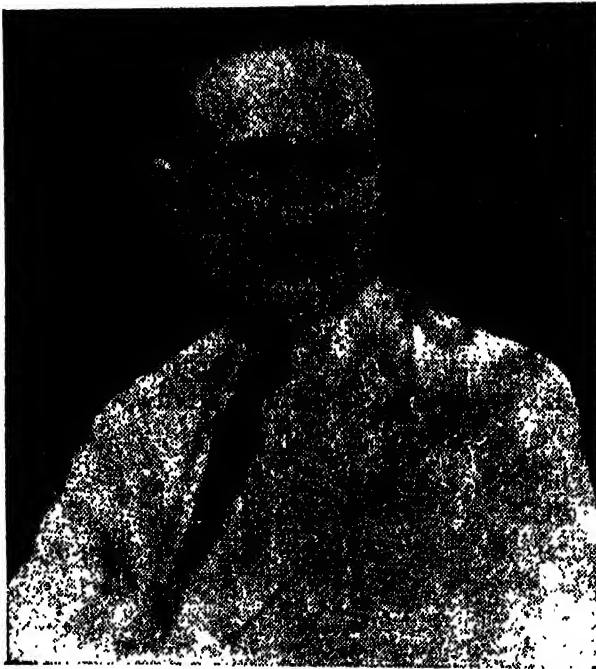


UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR MAURITIUS

By E. BABAJEE,
Editor, "Zamana", Mauritius

CONSTITUTIONAL changes were long overdue. It was, therefore, with a sigh of relief that, in February last, the people of Mauritius learned that the Right Hon. Allan Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has consented to divide Mauritius into as many as 40 single-member constituencies.

It is generally known that during the days of World War II some fearless Indo-Mauritian leaders worked with might and main to get a new constitution for Mauritius. Their efforts were crowned with success and General Elections were held in 1948. The Indo-Mauritian element then came into its own.



Hon'ble S. Bissoondoyal

So far the Legislative Council had only 19 elected members. The number has thus been raised from 19 to 40.

From 1948 onwards British authors who enjoyed our hospitality have chosen to vilify Indo-Mauritians. More than four books have appeared in London in which Indo-Mauritians have been taken to task for no fault of theirs.

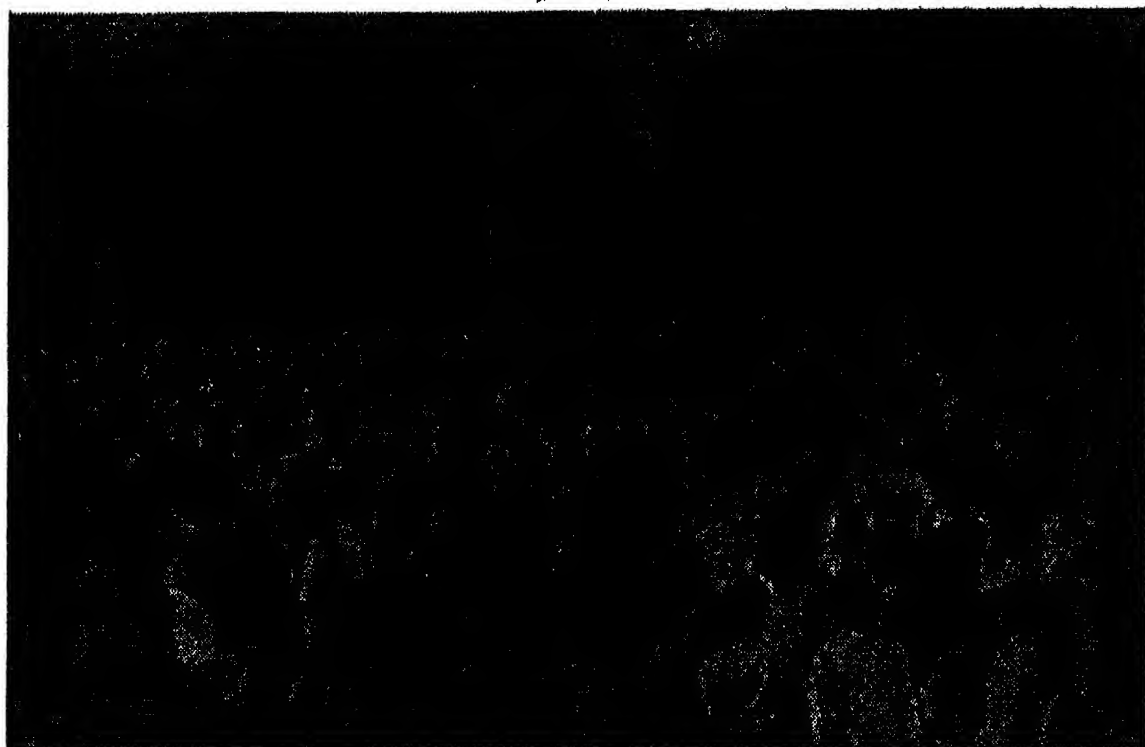
A handful of whites hailed the fault-finding authors as the saviours of the White Race! Both Britishers who are 300 strong, and the French who have a population of 10,000, have antagonized the patriots.

But it all came to little. A last effort was made by Sir Robert Scott, the Governor of the island, to deprive the people of Mauritius of their legitimate rights when he succeeded in getting almost all the elected and nominated members of the Legislative Council to share his view about the inadvisability of obtaining Universal Suffrage for the time being. He and his admirers were of the definite opinion that there was no harm in the country obtaining it in 1963! That was indeed a gross fraud on the Mauritian masses.

That was precisely where the shoe pinched. Ever since 1946, Mr. S. Bissoondoyal has been clamouring for Universal Suffrage. He toured the country, held huge meetings and made it known that the country was ripe for the introduction of Universal Suffrage. It is precisely when he had held such a meeting that he was waylaid and assaulted.

Dr. Cure, the founder of the Labour Party, had stressed the point that Universal Suffrage was desirable. No heed was, however, paid to his suggestion as the authorities had succeeded in having his voice hushed.

It is the campaign led by the victim of the assault that has had the desired effect. Dr. Cure's mantle had, so to say, fallen upon him. He has been twice elected member of the Legislative Council topping the list of the elected candidates on both the occasions. His popularity is envied by all the admirers of governors. Referring to this man of action and inspiring orator, *The Sunday Times* wrote once that he has been "for many years a thorn in the side of successive Governors." It is no wonder if he has had to serve several terms of imprisonment.



A meeting addressed by the Hon'ble S. Bissoondoyal

Brushing aside the Governor's suggestion that could only damp the Mauritian patriot's spirit, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote to His Excellency :

"Since Mauritius enjoys as high a level of cultural and material attainment as other territories in which universal adult suffrage has been achieved, I would be unwilling further to delay the introduction of universal adult suffrage."

Thus Hon. S. Bissoondoyal carried the day.

This active member once moved that it was time the country received the visit of a Royal Commission of Enquiry. He had the support of half of the House. Fenner Brockway, the great friend of India, was here in those days. He approved of Hon. Bissoondoyal's gesture outright. It is, thanks to him, that public opinion is being educated and the people at large are interested in the work of the Legislative Council.

With the advent of Universal Suffrage the number of electors which does not go, now,

beyond 90,000, will increase threefold. Some 3,00,000 Mauritians are expected to go to the polls in a year or two. The new Council will be composed of 40 elected members, 12 nominees and 3 ex-officio members.

It is hoped that then the Ministerial System that has been inaugurated in July 1957, will be able to give the people some satisfaction.

Curiously enough, the new constitution will be no improvement on the one that had been granted more than a century and a half ago when the island was a French possession. We read in H. C. M. Austen's *Sea Fights and Corsairs of the Indian Ocean* : "The first Legislative Colonial Assembly of sixty-one members, freely elected by the people, was installed on 27th April, 1790." That even occurred exactly two decades before the capture of Mauritius by the British who had the collaboration of 8,740 Sepoys. It is only by turning the telescope of history backwards that one can know what Mauritius has gained and what that South Indian Ocean island has lost during the last two centuries.

THE WORLD'S CITIES

Madras

By PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY,
Principal, University Law College, Jaipur

QUAINT bindings of exported log from Ceylon, nestling of fishermen's huts, dark men and women with brown eyes,—such was the sight of Chennapatnam, named after the Nayak of Chandragiri, when the merchants of the East India Company got a factory for trade in Madras. Less important than Madura with its history going to Pandyan kings and story of trade with Rome, certainly less salubrious than Bangalore, Madras at the sea-level is a city least affected by Muslim onslaught.



Sun-rise at Madras

If ever there be a town in the East where the English language is understood by the rickshaw-puller and the *juthkawala*, it is Madras with a Marina, the second longest beach in the world.

II

Sprawling eight miles along the east coast of India, Madras has neither the emotionalism of Calcutta nor the cosmopolitanism of Bombay, the two other Presidency towns. Time was prior to 1955 when the Madras State contained the mercurial Andhras and the adventurous Malayalee; it has now shrunk into the capital of the residuary Madras State having permitted the good Kanarese also to walk out to Mysore.

The City extends to over 50 square miles and has a population of about a million and a half. The parts of the city have distinct linguistic

ethnic characteristics. If one starts from the north, the portion in George Town (the old Black Town) is the hub of commerce. Two streets are named after *Chetties* who earned a lot as *dubashes* (agents) to the Company's *nabobs*. This is an area where the merchant-princes are maintaining temples, *dharamsalas* (rest-houses) and educational institutions. One of such old institutions is the Pachaiyappa College. This is also the nest of jewellery shops.

As one travels west one can locate Pursawalkam, with a fine Shiva temple with Pallava and Chola architecture in the heavenward towers. This is a place with a flair for Shaivite culture.

Trudging further south there is the middlemen's hub, Triplicane, with a famous Vaishnava shrine, Parthasarathy temple. The results of Macaulay's Minute are clearly to be found in the Presidency College and Senate House in the Marina, the charter of the University going to 1857, a memorable year whose significance is being either overdrawn or suppressed.

Further south is Mylapore, once the brain-centre of legal lore and forensic skill. The Mylapore temple with the red- and white-striped walls and the intricately carved *gopuram* (entrance to the temple) and the tank surfaced with white lilies is a memorable cultural symbol.

III

South India has an uninterrupted history of religious toleration. The cathedral of Sam Thome with the tomb of St. Thomas, St. Mary's Church within Fort St. George, the first Protestant Church built in the East, the Christian College in the heart of the city now shifted to a suburb, Thambram, with such distinguished names as those of Dr. Miller and Dr. Skinner, the Loyola College at Nungambakam, a newly-developed part, a daughter of the famous St.

Joseph's College (Trichinopoly) whose teachers as Father Sewell and Father Bertram were deservedly popular, these stand testimony to the impact of Christianity on South Indians.

The Arcot Nawabs who for a time ruled over Madras were patrons of Sanskrit learning too.

rendered by C. Rajagopalacharia, an elder shrewd Indian statesman) and lyrics galore.

The festivals in the South as elsewhere synchronise with the agricultural seasons. One such is *Pongal* (coming in mid-January) where old and young as also multicoloured bulls enjoy the mirth and rhythm of the season. It is not so erotic as the Northern *holi*.

Madras State has a famous temple at Chidambaram dedicated to the Lord of Cosmic Dance (Nataraja). Madras is well-known for its bronze Natarajas.

Carnatic music of Madras is based on an intricate system of melody and rhythm. Still more enchanting are the evenings spent in watching dance-recitals of Bharata Natyam, the purest of the classical styles.

There is a singular joy among the whole rural folk when they go miles walking to a shrine dedicated to Muruga, the second

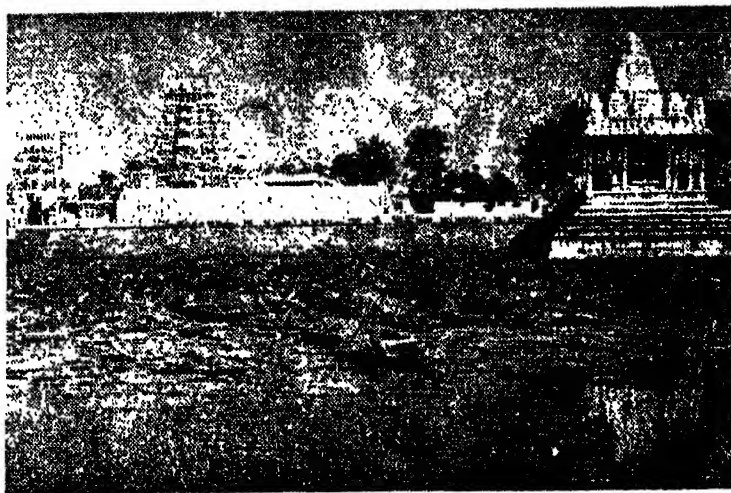


First line beach, Madras

Paradoxical as it may seem, though activist Indian Christian leaders have hailed from South India, Madras has withstood the pressures of Muslim culture and modern civilization.

It still retains an old-world charm shining through the great monastic institutions of Shankaracharya, Ramanuja and the latter Saivite Mutts in the heart of its only perennial big river, the Cauvery.

Though Bengali and Malayalam have a greater admixture of Sanskrit, it is a tribute to the remarkable memory of Pandits that not merely the Vedas but the old method of the and the pupil living together and ing still thrives amidst the groves and shades of trees near life-giving rivers.



Mylapore Temple, Madras

miles from a nest of fishermen's huts, with their *catamarans* and fishing nets spread out in the sandy expanse.

The State has now got a Central Lignite Factory at Neiveli; more than Madura, the second town in the State, Coimbatore near Ootacamund has become the Manchester of South India with her mills and small-tools factories.

Napoleon in his diary praises the handkerchiefs of Madras. The quality of spun-yearn of Harvey's of Madura and the products of Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, have more than an Indian reputation.

VI

Called the Scotch of India, the Tamilian is reported to speak English with an Oxford accent. It is no wonder that in the minute of dissent to the Official Language Commission, Dr. P. Subbaryam from Madras and Dr. Chatterji from Calcutta, hold that "the retention of English will not be against the interest of a free Indian people."

The language which enabled Indian Congress leaders and Vijayaraghavachary (these South Indian names contain the names of the place, of the father, and of the subject), Sankaran Nair, Subramaniya Aiyar and others to quote Burke, Mill and Milton, was English. The language through which South and North met, was English.

It is no wonder that the stoutest resistance to Hindi comes from the far South.

H. M. George V asked the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastry, P.C.C.H., "When he learnt his English at Oxford?" His reply was humble to relate his learning English under an Indian teacher.

VII

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his hospitable home at 19, Albert Road, Allahabad (the home-town of our Prime Minister Nehru) posed this question to this writer. It was a few years prior to the martyrdom of our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

Sapru: "Who will kill Gandhi?"

This author: "Bapuji (we called him thus), Tamilians are matter-of-fact, so no danger from them, Andhras, the Frenchmen of India, though mercurial, love him. The Bengalis capable of it are not inimical to him. People of Uttar Pradesh

and Bihar venerate Gandhi. The Gujeratis are fond of only piling up their bank balances. The Parsis are gentlemen.

Sapru: Sastry, you have left out the Maharashtra.

Sastry: Bapuji, I have a shrewd suspicion of the wiry Maharashtra Brahmin.

Thank my stars, I am publishing this resume of the talk for the first time in 1957, the Centenary of our first great rebellion.

VIII

Shrunk in size and economic resources, and unemployment and under-employment facing Madras, if our Second Five-Year Plan breaks at the bottleneck of foreign exchange, the next State to turn red will be Madras; the South-West monsoon flows to Madras through the gaps in the Kerala Ghats.

Madras has an acquired reputation for legal skill and medical alertness. The role of the lawyer as a leader of people is unhappily on the wane. Poonamalee High Road can be called the Harley Street of Madras.

There is agnosticism too and communal bitterness is on the increase. On the constructive side this has led to the rise of a galaxy of Tamil writers who command a lucid and convincing style.

Mere regionalism is the rock on which our boat of freedom will founder. The Centre is watchful and vigilant.

Riches have now gone to the cinema stars and the press magnates. Madras has the reputation of running an English daily, *the Hindu*, which can be called the "*London Times of India*." A number of Tamil dailies and weeklies reach the latest news and views from Madras to Kanya Kumari where our virgin goddess is doing penance, guarding India from the far South with a shining jewel on her aquiline nose.

IX

Paul Brunton bent on the quest of Overself and Somerset Maugham on a urge to meet a genuine master in the realm of Spirit met Maharishi Ramana, a boy, turned saint at Thiruvannamalai in South India. This master whose presence has brought peace to many pilgrims of the world had "a flashing eye, intense and fixed without hardness, an Olympian softness of gesture and was slender and delicate in an immobile body."—(Mon-Lacombe). Inspir-

PSYCHOLOGY IN PRISONS FOR THE TREATMENT

ing episode in the lives of great Hindu incarnations took place in Northern India, institutionalization of philosophy took place in South India through Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhav-acharya.

Nature seems to have made India such that Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and now Delhi have

each a distinct role, the emotionalism of Calcutta is to be tested by the wisdom of Madras, the cosmopolitanism of Bombay is to support Delhi, the fateful capital of India. India's path is the good old track of peace through justice and understanding.

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PSYCHOLOGY IN PRISONS FOR THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

By H. P. CHAKRABORTY, M.A.

"CRIMINALS should be treated as patients in hospitals, and jails should be hospitals admitting such patients for treatment and cure," said Mahatma Gandhi. What Gandhiji said is the quintessence of the modern principles of correctional and reformatory treatment for the criminals. But how can this be done, if we do not know the psychic life of a criminal. In a hospital the patient is treated by a doctor after the study and diagnosis of his symptoms of the disease. This is purely pathological. But as regards the criminal, the cause and cure of his crime involves the study and diagnosis of his behaviour disorders, so that a treatment programme can be chalked out for the readjustment of his personality. Crime or delinquency is the overt expression of something deep-rooted in the mind. It is a behaviour disorder or personality problem due to maladjustment of the person with the situation, which might be physical, social, environmental or mental. So, in order to have a treatment programme for a criminal, it is necessary to study the person as a whole, not the particular case of infraction of law, for which he has come to the prison and diagnose the problem with him for the said purpose. This is therapy or procedure of treatment, which helps the maladjusted person to get re-adjusted in the normal society. The jail-reforms have been mainly based on this idea and the ultimate aim of this is the rehabilitation of the criminals as useful citizens after their release from the prisons.

The prisons in our country, until recently, were mere custodial institutions for the convicts

as well as for the under-trials and the prison authorities had very little concern with the mind of the prisoners. Human value was totally absent in the prison and society, too, bothered very little about the criminals, after they were punished for their offences in the court of law and detained in the prisons. But what is the object of punishment? Is it to exclude the offender from society for the protection of the same? Criminologists all over the world now agree that the object of punishment is the protection of society no doubt, but that can be achieved not by sending the convict to the prisons only; they should be given scope to re-adjust or reform themselves so that they might be rehabilitated in society as useful citizens. Prisons cannot detain a criminal for indefinite period. Today or tomorrow he will come out of the prison and if his habit-disorders and hostility due to his imprisonment by the law-enforcing authority is not channelised through some well-planned activities or vocational training according to his ability and aptitude, under the care of a sympathetic and well-trained officer inside the prison, who can understand the essential defects in his inner psychic life as well as the sociological factors involved, he may come out of the prison with a bitter grudge to the society. In that case he will be a problem and source of potential danger to the society. Moreover, due to contamination with various types of offenders inside the prison, there is every possibility that he may become a habitual criminal or a member of a gang. Therefore, society cannot dissociate itself from

the criminals, once they are punished and imprisoned, but should think of measures, which can control and prevent the relapse of the criminal tendencies of them. That is why national planning is required for social defence and for this reason our government have re-oriented their policy since the attainment of Independence, towards the treatment of offenders.

It has been said that crime is considered as the result of interaction of various factors and mainly socio-psychological factor. The understanding of a criminal thus involves the study and diagnosis of these factors by a trained man, who cannot be other than a psychologist or a social psychiatrist, who is thoroughly equipped with the knowledge of sociology too. Now the study and diagnosis of a criminal cannot be discussed here in details and I like to emphasize on the treatment process of the offenders, after they are classified in suitable groups according to their respective needs. This classification of offenders coming into a prison and diversified prisons according to their classification is indispensable in the psychological treatment process. The modern criminologists think that the criminal is a problem person and that his problem is individual and as such no standard form of treatment is possible for the cure and re-adjustment of this problem. In view of this changing concept, the penologists have begun to think of individual understanding and treatment of offenders in a more rational way.

Now the individual understanding and correctional treatment may be (i) institutional or intramural and (ii) non-institutional or extramural. In the latter case, it is an alternative to the prison sentence, such as, release on probation, conditional release or parole, etc. Institutional treatment may be done inside the prisons, detention homes, certified homes, and so on. In both these forms of treatment psychology has a very great part to play as it includes case-work services, guidance and counselling, which can be done with difficulty, if the officer is not a trained psychologist. Of course, in this form of institutional treatment something more is required, as there are some limitations of social case-work or social group work in the prisons or other authoritarian set-up. The in-

mates there do not come forward for any help out of their own accord, as in hospital, which is the most important factor in a treatment programme. Moreover, the methods of individual understanding and treatment cannot be applied here in its entirety, as it is almost impossible in a big institution; where a large number of persons are detained. So the area of work must be taken into account, then the process of treatment comes.

In the prison or any other authoritarian institution, the psychologist gradually studies and gets himself acquainted with the inner psychic life of the criminal, in addition to the sociological or environmental factors involved in his maladjustment. Of course, there is no demarcating line between the study period and treatment period, as the two things are correlated. So while the study of the symptoms of his maladjustment will be going on, the treatment programme may be chalked out and implemented, if necessary. The first step in the psychological study for treatment of the offenders is to be carried on in a Reception centre, which is also a centre for classification of the prisoners according to types of personality problem. The preliminary study and classification of the offenders in terms of their individual needs and ability is the basis of all future programme for the treatment of offenders. The next step in the process of treatment is the diversified prison system, i.e., the offenders should be segregated in separate prisons according to this classification in the Reception centre. This sort of segregation is essential for psychological study and understanding, as the object of the same is the re-adjustment of the habit disorders or personality problem of the offenders, who cannot be equally responsive to the same form of treatment. Here through case-work services, vocational training or occupational therapy is to be provided for them, so that they can gradually re-orient their habits. Guidance through informed group discussions or counselling, in case, they feel the necessity of the same, to solve their individual problem should also be a regular programme in these institutions. The officer should create an atmosphere so that the consciousness of the offenders is aroused to help themselves. This is the urge for reformation form within the

PSYCHOLOGY IN PRISON

offender, without which nothing can be done. The idea of correction of one's ownself cannot be super-imposed. If necessary, re-classification may be made after a certain period of observation of their reactions and behaviours in these institutions. * Next comes the pre-release programme, which should be designed to prepare the offender to face the stark realities outside the prison, the difficulties of his social rehabilitation, the attitude of society and his possible reactions, etc. The institutional treatment will be of no use for the prisoner, if he cannot hope of any assistance outside, for which the prison officer may help him through After-care Associations and the activities of which may be explained to him. The other stage of the treatment process inside the institutions is the gradual release programme of a prisoner on parole, i.e., conditional release, which may be deemed as a method of evaluating the influence of the treatment process itself and the relative merits of alternatives. Eligibility of granting parole may be determined on the basis of a socio-psychological study of the prisoners concerned, including the individual's life history, activities in prisons, personality and possibilities upon release. The granting of parole may offer an opportunity for the practical application of rehabilitation programmes before the expiration of sentence.

Lastly, in the process of treatment inside the institution, the prisoners should be given required assistance whenever necessary, in order to avoid the breakdown and destitution of his family and children, and for which the services of a trained Welfare Officer is required, who will work in close co-ordination with the Probation and After-Care Officers. The Welfare Officer should have the ability to tap the community resources in order to fit in with the requirements of the prisoner in or outside the prisons. This will help to maintain the relation between the criminal and the outside world and thus will enable him psychologically to prepare himself for re-adjustment of his habit disorders in co-operation with the sympathetic prison officer.

But here we should not forget that the psychological study and treatment requires proper atmosphere to be of any help to the persons, whose backgrounds are diverse in the extreme. The Prison population is a heterogeneous one

consisting of casual and habitual offenders, charged for offences against property or persons as such. Cheats, burglars, snatchers, thieves, dacoits, murderers and persons charged with heinous crimes like rape, etc., are all inmates of the same prison. So, it can never be expected that all of them will be equally responsive to the same form of treatment. Psychology, however, successful may be as a science, has got its limitations and psychologically the last word has not yet been said or will never be said on the cause or cure of crime, as it involves the human mind, which is very much complex and ever-changing.

The prison-psychologist needs to have broad and varied experience with thorough professional knowledge, knowledge of the penal systems, capacity to integrate himself into all phases of the institution's programme, flexibility and competence as a community leader. Above all, he should have the patience and temperament required to deal with the complex traits of character of all types of criminals many of whom are not less intelligent than him or in other words are well equipped with all the qualities to outwit an ordinary person. Cheats, embezzlers or leaders of a gang generally fall into this category. It has been noticed that prolonged efforts are usually necessary to arrive at a full understanding of the essential defects in their psychic life. Most of these people are usually by nature restrained, taciturn, aloof and shy with strangers. Their egocentric personality being thwarted in society, has exploded in the form of a defiance or violence to society. There is another class of convicts, who had committed crime due to escapism from difficult circumstances. They are usually of weaker personalities and have one thing in common, i.e., a sense of guilt for having succumbed to their weaker nature. They tend to repentance and want to explain their problem and thus try to defend themselves. The psychologist needs to satisfy them that he wants to listen to their reflections about the crime and their past life in general for some benefit to them; otherwise they won't open their mind. Besides these two broad types, there is another class of convicts, who forms the majority of the prison population and who are mainly the products of poverty. Their term of imprisonment is short and they are mentally as

good as any other average person in the society. Poverty creates psychological dispositions and moral justification for their crime and after coming into a prison, they become more immoral and corrupt. They could not get sufficient training in any vocational trade due to their short-stay in prison while they find ample time to learn the vices of the prison. For them the alternative to prison sentences like release on probation or admonition in case of first offenders is useful. While for others it is a problem. Next to these three general and more important types of criminals there comes the abnormal types, who require psychopathic treatment through psycho-analysis. Long observation, careful and sympathetic handling and conversation with them may reveal their background factors according to which the psychiatrist may treat them.

Thus it appears that the role of a psychologist in the authoritarian set-up like prisons or detention homes, etc., is not insignificant, if properly administered. But he is a relative newcomer to the staff of these institutions and as such his methods and behaviours are not accepted without hostility by older functionaries, who believe more in the mere deterrent principle of imprisonment. Moreover, the general pub-

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DR. G. A. GRIERSON

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

Dr. G. A. Grierson is known as an authority on the languages and dialects in India. His volumes of linguistic survey of India are instances of his monumental labour and keen spirit of research. They were a life's work and, when one recollects that Grierson was an administrator holding important charges of subdivisions, districts and other assignments one is left to bewilder how he could have combined all this work. A giant among the intellectuals, Grierson had, what many do not know, a heart of kindness mellowed all the more by administrative exigencies.

He spent a number of years in Bihar. He was the Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani in Darbhanga district. Later he was transferred to Gaya where he was the District Magistrate for a few years from 1888. In the compound of

lic are led to believe that the psychologist in prisons is an ornament often expedient to have on display. Of course, this is a relatively minor obstacle in comparison with other fundamental difficulties, which psychologists have to face towards the implementation of their desired objectives. The classification of prisoners in terms of their respective needs and abilities and the diversified prison system are essential factors in the process of psychological treatment of offenders, which are lacking in our country. Yet, despite all these difficulties, psychology has proved its usefulness in prisons and now has wide support. It is expected that gradually the percentage of recidivists would fall, particularly in our country, through careful and sympathetic handling of criminals by the social-psychiatrists, who would go deep into the problem in order to have a best return in the bad bargain.

In West Bengal, the State Government have made a beginning in this respect, and experiments in the directions given by the United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, are under way, under the able and careful guidance of Dr. P. K. Biswas, Inspector-General of Prisons, West Bengal.

the Criminal Court of Gaya there is still a big well which is known as the Grierson well.

Dr. Grierson was a tower of strength to the peasants of Bihar. He was not a mere student of sociology gathering materials for his excellent treatise *Bihar Peasant Life*. In this book which is still the only book of its kind he has showed that he knew much more of the peasant life than many of us in Bihar.

He had early completed an economic survey of the district of Gaya and published a brochure on the condition of the raiyats. He selected four typical villages in the four subdivisions of Gaya district and went into detailed statistics regarding the people's earnings, expenditures, loans and commitments, etc., Grierson mentioned in the preface he would vouch for the accuracy of each and every figure in his book as he had personally tested them.

This book *Report of the Condition of the Poorer Classes of Gaya District* was published in 1888. He remarks:

"Dividing the poorer classes into four orders,—cultivators, agricultural labourers, artisans and those who subsist on charity, I find, from an actual census of over 10,000 persons living in seventeen villages that one-half of the population of the district consists of the first class, one-fourth consists of each of the second and third, and a very small fraction consists of the fourth. The exact figures are 51.6 per cent, 23.7 per cent, 24.5 per cent., and 0.2 per cent. respectively,"

Grierson's analysis showed that 75.3 per cent of the total population of the district directly or indirectly was dependent on agriculture whereas artisans and charity-receivers were 24.5 per cent and 0.2 per cent, respectively. When one thinks that the methods of statistics and computations were in their infancy at that time one wonders at the sharp acumen shown in this brochure and admires the administrator's intuition in Grierson.

Grierson admired the extensive irrigation system of Gaya district. This district had a remarkable and ingenious system of artificial irrigation, which was admirably supplemented by the manner in which the water was distributed from field and retained in them by a network of low banks. In the cold weather, again, when the *ahars* (water reservoirs) had dried up and the *pains* (channels) no longer contained water, the people could fall back on their wells; and thus the crops were protected from failure throughout the year. Dr. Grierson thought that if this irrigation system was kept up there could be no famine or scarcity in this district.

A remarkable document of Grierson's solicitude for the tenantry is shown in his letter No. 61 G.E., dated the 5th April, 1889. In this letter the original of which is preserved in Gaya Record Room, Grierson mentioned:

"The facts that I am Collector here, that I am responsible not only for the rent of my Estates, but also for the welfare of my *raiyats*, that it is the work of Government that I should pose as a model landlord before the other Zamindars of the district compel me to lay all that I have to say in the

matter before you for favour of Board's orders."

The occasion of the letter was a discussion regarding the *Bhaoli* system which was sought to be abolished. According to the *Bhaoli* system rent is paid in kind and a particular share of the crop raised is taken by the landlord. The normal rent-system in Gaya district in Grierson's time was *Bhaoli*. Grierson revolted against the Revenue Board's remark that the *Bhaoli* system was "a barbarous and exploded system, which is equally fatal to habits of thrift and to methods of improvements." Grierson wrote:

"Because a thing is a survival of barbarism, it is not necessarily bad. Half the things we meet in the world of civilisation are survivals of barbarism and are not abandoned on that account. The real test is whether it is good or bad."

The contention of the Board that the system was exploded was rebutted by Grierson on the ground that it was in full swing in Gaya and Patna district which had a population of 4 to 5 millions, at that time.

Grierson could speak with authority regarding the peasants of Gaya. He mentioned:

"I do not know a more hard-working peasantry than that of Gaya. I have travelled miles and miles on my own feet over the fields of my Government Estate, and find the *raiyats* to be industrious and thrifty, in a way which I could never have expected considering the heavy rents they, as a body, are expected to pay. I have sat for hours amongst groups of villagers not as a *hakim*, but as a friend, chatting with them about their household affairs, their little quarrels, their marriages, their food, and the thousand and one things which make up Bihar rural life, and I believe I may, without immodesty, claim to possess some knowledge of their inner feelings and of their habits. It is this knowledge which emboldens me to write this letter."

Dr. Grierson thought that the Board was mistaken in holding the *Bhaoli* system to be at par with the *Metayer* system in France which had elements of evil. He outlined the features of *Bhaoli* system and showed that it would be incorrect to make any comparison between the very strongly.

Metayer system and the *Bhaoli* system. Dr. Grierson held strongly that the wonderful irrigation system of the district of Gaya if properly maintained would be a guarantee against any scarcity and as such he thought the landlords would be the only agency that could maintain it if they would be assured of a certain percentage of the produce in lieu of rent. This line took Dr. Grierson to express very strongly on the failure of the administration in not maintaining the *gilandazi* or earth-work so far as the *Khasmahal* lands were concerned. He almost suggested that it was immoral on the part of the Government to be realising full quota of the rent when *gilandazi* charges were not being met. According to him every landlord in Gaya, except Government, looked after *gilandazi*. He mentioned:

"There is no such paying outlet for capital. *Gilandazi* is the life of the cultivators and the most profitable speculation possible for the landlords."

At another place he mentioned that in the preceding 11 months he had sent up not less than 11 representations in which he had stated in so many words that "we were starving the *gilandazi* of our *nakadi* villages." In the letter he mentioned the reply of the Board has always been "The Board is helpless. It has no money. It cannot afford to give more to Gaya out of the amount allowed by the Government of India." Dr. Grierson bitterly moved against this reply. He argued that each year the rent realised by the Government was Rs. 70,000, out of which the Board spent only Rs. 5,000 annually instead of Rs. 9,000, which was the due share as being one anna in every eight annas according to custom towards the maintenance of *gilandazi*, and "pocketed a sum of Rs. 4,000 every year. This had arisen because of cash rent system. We are alienating our *raiyats*, charging too high rents, and not carrying out those works of maintenance which common prudence suggests to every other landlords in Gaya."

Dr. Grierson's argument was that if in the Government Estates the *gilandazi* had been allowed to go into disrepair, and Government had no objection to *Nakadi* rent system it was not proper to raise any objection against the *Bhaoli* system.

Dr. Grierson was also far-sighted and pointed out that there was a vast tract of land lying

waste in the district which could yield good profit if those areas were provided with irrigation facilities. He argued that an investment of Rs. 7,000 for improvement would have resulted in two other years a profit of Rs. 25,000 after deducting a sum of Rs. 5,000 from it for maintenance there would have been a net increase of 33 per cent per annum. He wanted a loan under the Land Improvement Act.

In summing up these points Dr. Grierson mentioned that the *Bhaoli* system in Gaya district did not possess the evils attributed to it by the Board and remarked:

"The *Nakadi* system possesses no advantages in Gaya except a deceptive saving of trouble to the landlord and a deceptive air of certainty to his collectors. That on the contrary the *Nakadi* system, as at present in force under Government orders, has very great evils intimately connected with it, which are so patent to every private landlord and every *raiyat*, that neither will have thought of it. That when introduced it offers temptations to which even Government, posing as a model landlord puts the Collector as representing Government, in an unfair position."

According to him the system of *Nakadi* rent had been tried for several years and every one, the Collector, the *raiyat* and the Commissioner condemned it. He concluded this despatch by stressing the point that he had come to the district favourably disposed towards *Nakadi* system but had to change his ideas after practical experience which was summed up as follows:

"The conclusion forced upon me has been, that it is the Government *Nakadi* system in this district with its perpetual arrears, that is, to use the language of the Board equally fatal to habits of thrift, and to methods of improvements."

One may not agree with the general argument and the conclusion of Dr. Grierson. As a matter of fact, the *Bhaoli* system has recently been abolished by Law and much of the arguments mentioned by the Board in 1888-89 were repeated before the *Bhaoli* system was abolished. But, nevertheless, the letter shows that this great linguist and savant had studied his district deeply, felt for *raiyats* and could express himself

A CASE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM FOR INDIA

By SYSTILA B. RAO,

Lecturer in Business Administration and Economics, Consultant to the Department of Employment Security, State of Minnesota, U.S.A.

UNEMPLOYMENT, as a national and social problem, is a by-product of industrial revolution and it is most distressingly prevalent in private and semi-private economics. The industrialisation of economy brings more and more people into industries and consequently any slight maladjustment in the economy causes more unemployment.

Unemployment may be classified into three categories: (1) technological unemployment caused due to changes in the public's taste for a product or a change in the processing of a product. Any of these changes shifts the demand for labor force. For example, the change from the hand-pulled rickshaws to auto-rickshaws is throwing out the carpenters from hand-pulled rickshaw manufacturing industry. The carpenters would be unemployed for some time depending on their mobility, turnover of labor in the industry and general economic conditions, (2) seasonal unemployment. Some of the industries in the economy would be working only for a certain period of the year and in the rest of the year the labor force in those industries will be laid off involuntarily. Agricultural labor and the labor working in the factories like sugar come under this type, (3) mass or general unemployment, attributable to the economy in general and not to any particular firm or industry. This may be said to exist when 5 per cent or more of the workers willing to work are without work.

Unemployment, whatever may be the cause, has become much of a social evil. It is generally said that "Idleness thrives on unemployment." For individual workers and families the unemployment is catastrophic. For the great mass of wage-earners the savings are very low or nil to protect themselves for any length of time against the contingency of unemployment. During the layoffs morale and health of the labor force and their families is down, and consequent harm (through suicides and crimes) to the community is unaccountable. It is also an established fact that one loses his skill if he does not use it for a long time. The loss of purchasing power of the workers would reflect on the demand for foods which again leads to more

unemployment. This is a vicious circle. It would also be a waste of productive human resources for the community if its labor force is laid off or asked to do a job for which he is not trained. Hence over a period of time it is not only the unemployed worker himself and his family who suffer by reason of unemployment; the harmful effects may also extend to the community or society of which they are members. So, many of the countries irrespective of their political beliefs undertook some program to circumvent the evils of unemployment. Most of the existing insurance schemes are intended to counteract unemployment of first two categories. The schemes are based on the assumption that these two categories of unemployment is an insurable risk and developed their programs accordingly.

The risk of unemployment of the categories one and two is insurable risk in the sense it is predictable with a certain degree of accuracy as to amount and timing of unemployment. However, the mass unemployment, so far could not be predicted with any degree of accuracy. It is also difficult to distinguish clearly these various types of unemployment. It is outside the scope of this paper to analyse the various reasons for unemployment. Whatever may be the reason for unemployment, it has so greatly influenced our contemporary life that economists and politicians have been forced to reconsider their social philosophies in their entirety. And the need for taking effective steps cannot be overemphasised.

As contrast to non-insurance schemes, in an insurance scheme the covered employees have to register in advance; the scope of coverage as to eligibility to draw benefits and the amount of benefits to be paid when unemployed are to be determined in advance; the covered employees or someone for them should make contributions before insurance coverage becomes effective.

We would now discuss the various problems that should be answered when a country is deciding to introduce an unemployment insurance program. The first question is who should be covered under this program. The

program may not cover all workers; certain categories of workers like agricultural labor and government employees may be excluded from the program. The chief criteria in deciding what persons should be protected against unemployment is the needs of various groups of workers for such a protection; considerations regarding cost of financing the program and its administration becoming secondary. The another question is who should be paid unemployment benefits. Many of the programs stipulate certain period of employment or earnings during a certain period or both before one is eligible for benefits.

Another question is should the benefits be paid on the basis of need. Some people may have more than one source of income and the loss of wages may not hit them hard. Some people may have fixed commitments like insurance premiums and mortgage payments. Some labor force may have more dependents. Most of the existing programs do not consider "need" as a requirement for receiving benefits. The argument for this is if we do not pay wages according to "need" why pay unemployment benefits according to need? The principles of insurance do not concern to need. If you insure your life, your dependents would get the benefits whether they need the money or not. In insurance it would be matter of right than need or sympathy.

Also most of the existing programs pay benefits only if the former employees is still in labor force and is willing to work in a similar position. If he gets sick or is out of labor force for some other reasons he would not be paid benefits under this program. (They may get benefits from some other program.) Most of these programs do not cover self-employed, nor benefits be paid to those who voluntarily quit their job.

One other major problem connected with this is how to finance this program. In many of the countries both employers and employees contribute to the fund—the only exception is the United States, where only employers would contribute. In addition the general taxpayer also contribute to the program in the sense the unemployed will get

benefits from the general treasury if the fund is exhausted.

The arguments advanced in favor of collecting taxes (we may also call contributions or premiums) from employers only, are: (1) it would be easier to collect taxes from a few than from a large group—the employers group being the small in size; (2) the employers are, in a way, responsible for unemployment and taxing them (especially basing on their unemployment experience) helps stabilizing employment and also economy; (3) any way employers shift the tax either to consumers (in the form of higher prices) or to employees (in the form of lower wages) and in this case he has to shift a greater amount than otherwise.

One of the general assumptions of this program is that during prosperity the fund accumulates so much that we could pay the benefits during the rainy days. This works like this: employer would be asked to pay the tax basing on the amount of wages he pays to his workers. More the wages he pays more the tax he should pay. In depression he would have less payroll so the unemployment tax burden will be lighter. Really, this amounts to penalizing the employer for providing employment. Commonsense tells us that we should reward the employer for providing employment, than penalize. The alternative would be to tax less when the employer has more than normal total payroll or tax more when his payroll is less than normal. The trouble with such a system is to determine what is the normal payroll. This again amounts to taxing the employer more during depression, when actually he should be relieved of the tax burden. In effect such a system deepens the economic fluctuations instead of stabilizing the economy. The other alternative would be to tax less those employers who maintain stable employment than others. This means less total tax collections during prosperity because most of the employers could anyway maintain high and stable employment—the only exception would be seasonal industries. Contrastingly during prosperity these seasonal industries would have to pay higher taxes than others because they would have high unemployment during off-season because of high employment during on-season. If we adopt some form of unemployment experience of the employers as a

basis for taxation (as the United States is doing now) we should be basing our system on the 'past' than on the 'future' which is contrary to any insurance principles. How far we shall be able to adjust the past experience for future, as in case of other insurance programs, is doubtful. Our recorded experience of the unemployment is short and incomplete to make any accurate predictions. New developments in the theories of measurements, and employment may improve our ability to predict with accuracy.

The other related question is what should be the basis for employee contribution, if he has to contribute. Naturally, he should contribute according to the wages he is earning—the tax being higher when his wages are higher. But certain categories of workers would not ordinarily be laid off. Should the program require such employees also to contribute at the same rate as other employees? If answer is 'yes,' then is it equitable? If the answer is 'no,' would it not be contrary to insurance principles? In life insurance, for example, we collect the same premium whether he would live 5 days or 50 years after taking policy. There are some people who would be unemployed off and on and these are the people who drain the fund. We can argue that we should have some kind of unemployment experience of employees to base our taxes on employees. In this case what happens is we tax more those who will be laid off more often. This again violates the very basic welfare principles involved in an unemployment insurance program. The people who are laid off frequently would be the people in deep financial distress and to tax them at higher rates would be inequitable. A program should provide for special treatment (like counselling) of these people instead of burdening them with higher taxes.

One other important question is who should organize and control this program. These programs were originally started by trade unions to cover their members on a voluntary basis with no public or employer participation. It was not until 1905 (first time in France) that a governmental body participated in any form of unemployment insurance program. Today one-fourth of the countries have some kind of unemployment insurance program on a compulsory and nation-wide basis, with government

having direct or almost direct participation in the program. However, it can be said that a centrally administered program is far more superior especially in relation to employees who move from State to State.

One may ask after reading this, does a program like this alleviate the present unemployment in the country? The answer to this question is clearly 'no'. Because this is essentially an insurance program covering the presently employed from unemployment contingency or presently unemployed when they get employed. This kind of program does not in anyway create new employment and only gives some kind of security from future uncertainties. The next question would be, can a program like this automatically stabilize economic fluctuations and consequently employment? The answer for this is also controversial. However, it can be said that a program like this itself cannot stabilize any possible wide fluctuations in the economy and employment and it may be able to take care of small fluctuations. The reason for this is the purchasing power created through this kind of program would never be equal to the wages one was receiving when employed, to achieve stabilization. We may set the program so as to make the benefits from this program equal to the wages one was receiving when employed. But the tragedy with such arrangement is there will not be any inducement for taking up employment because he would not be better off except he has to work hard to earn that income.

Some people argue that lower taxes during depression and higher taxes during prosperity could act as an inducement and as a check to the business activity; coupled with the unemployment benefits we could stabilize the economy. But the experience of nineteen thirties and the post-World War II economic fluctuations proved that this does not work quite like that and direct government participation is inevitable. So far we could not invent anything like automatic (or switch board) stabilizers who work and control by themselves. Apart from all this, the unemployment insurance program is a social welfare program and in a welfare nation we cannot overlook this welfare program.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MATH AND MISSION: *By Swami Gambhirananda. Advaita Ashram, 1957. Pp. 452. Price Rs. 10.*

Written in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee celebration of the Ramakrishna Mission by a distinguished member of the Order with the help of a Board of four Editors, this is a very valuable and authentic account, based mainly on the evidence of contemporary records, of the history of the two sister institutions, the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, down to quite recent times (April, 1957). The dim beginnings of the movement may be traced to the informally cenobitic gathering of a number of devoted disciples of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, with Narendra (afterwards Swami Vivekananda) at their head, at an obscure house at Baranagar, a northern suburb of Calcutta, immediately after the demise of the Master in August, 1886. It was after the return of Swami Vivekananda from his historic visit to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago that a firm foundation was laid for both the institutions, the Ramakrishna Mission having been started as an Association in 1897 and the Belur Math with its Board of Trustees having been brought into being in the years 1898-1901. The subsequent history of the two institutions like the history of their origin is traced by the author in chronological sequence in successive chapters of his work. The story is one of strenuous spiritual endeavour and service in the cause of suffering humanity often in the face of such great trials as those of the stormy years of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1906 and the following years, and still more, of the two World-Wars of our times. The resulting record of steady progress is a tribute not only to the enduring value of the teachings of the Saint of

Dakshineswar and his illustrious disciple Swami Vivekananda, but also to the supreme devotion and organising capacity of those members of the Order, on whom has fallen the mantle of those great Masters. Well may the author conclude his work with the remark that 'the movement is well on its way to become a world-force'. If we may offer a criticism, it is that the chronological narrative of events, and still more, the digressions have the effect of making the reader not unoften miss the wood for the trees. It may also be suggested that the book would have gained in effect by the compression of the well-known details of the career of the Master and of the life of his great disciple down to the latter's visit to Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893.

The value of this book is enhanced by three valuable Appendices and a good Index as well as a number of illustrations. The reputed American author, Christopher Isherwood, contributes an appreciative Foreword. The paper, print and general get-up are satisfactory, and the price is not too high for the worth of this book.

U. N. GHOSHIAL

DISCOVERY OF ASIA: *By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt (Paris). Published by the Institute of Asian-African Relations, Calcutta, 1957. Double crown quarto. Pp. ii + 789. Price Rs. 30.*

It has been the sad fate of Asia, the mother of civilizations, to be temporarily eclipsed by Europe during the three centuries that preceded our time. Not only was Asia's culture and valuable contribution to the making of modern civilization come to be forgotten in this period, but her very name came, strangely enough, to be associated with reaction and backwardness.

But with the beginning of the twentieth century there occurred a revolution in this re-

gard. Different Asian nations began to be conscious of their great heritages and the roles that they were destined to play in the making of the modern world. Many leaders spoke and many publicists wrote on different aspects of Asia's past greatness; but no one seems to have attempted to *discover* Asia in the manner Dr. Kalidas Nag, the author of the volume under review, has done. But this reported scholar has done something more. He has not only brought together a mass of materials relating to archaeology, anthropology, art and religion—very methodically arranged and lucidly presented, to give the entire picture of Asia's greatness, but, also, has he given interesting and important information regarding the very valuable work which Western scholars have done in various parts of Asia and Europe in bringing to light the true work of Asia, through their devoted and painstaking researches. Thus this work has been a very valuable contribution not only for knowing Asia as a whole, but also for creating a bond of fellowship between the East and the West. Dr. Nag can be heartily congratulated on this important work. As will be evident to the readers of the volume, this has not been a mere compilation from different books, for, the author has very widely travelled and has a first-hand acquaintance with the countries on which he has written. All this imparts to his work a great value. It is hoped that this will not only prove to be a volume of useful and interesting reading to general readers but will also be considered indispensable to scholars, journalists and statesmen who are concerned with the different countries of the Asiatic continent, such as, China, Japan, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malay, Indonesia, the Philippines in the east, and Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and the Arab States in the west. This work includes thirty-five illustrations (one tri-colour) which supplement the articles written on Art and Archaeology and these have definitely added to the value of the work. Printing and get-up of the work is excellent and the price is also not very high.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE SOCIAL RENAISSANCE IN INDIA:

By K. C. Vyas. Vora and Co., Publishers Private Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Price Rs. 8.

The book under review is a welcome addition to literature relating to the national ethos of India. The author has brought to bear upon

his work a deep study and catholicity of outlook. He fixes Raja Rammohun Roy as the pivot and the all-round growth of a new India, in the living contact of the West, as but the development of what he initiated.

Every religious teacher has influenced society to an extent that he is in every sense a social reformer. It has an added significance with Hinduism, which is no religion in the sense Christianity or Islam is, but a way of life evolving with new, emergent tendencies since the days of the Aryan settlers. It is more elastic, but unhappily as the survival of a hoary age, which cared not a fig for individual freedom, it is more rigid in some essential usages than what Hellenism or Christianity moulded the West for. Mr. Vyas has given us thumbnail-sketches of some giants of men who have attacked the aforesaid rigidity to make Hinduism a composite culture reacting on our infant national consciousness. They are Pandit Isvar-chandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda, each of them giving us new light and vision. Amongst those who have energetically followed them up are mentioned Madhav Govinda Ranade and Dr. Karvey. Dr. Karvey, by the way, completes his centenary this April.

I fail to understand why the author has pitchforked Mrs. Annie Besant into the galaxy of the above-named, when he himself concludes that her theosophy, so far as India is concerned, is a 'thing with only a past and without a future.'

In discussing the difference in broad outline between the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj, the author has done well to stress the patriotic side of the Arya Samaj. In the fitness of things it needs being emphasized that Raja Rammohun Roy saved India a cultural conquest.

Social Renaissance in India is worth study for the profit and pleasure it yields. The present generation should be encouraged to read such publications to help grow sound views on our national evolution. Public memory is short; but to bypass the uphill work of our author's subjects of memoir is suicidal.

JOGES C. BOSE

SANSKRIT

1. PRATIRAJASUYAM: By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, M.A., B.L. Price Rs. 6.
2. SRINGARANARADIYAM: By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, M.A., B.L. Price Rs. 2.

Sahityachandrasala, Thiruvallangadu, B.O., (via) Narasingampet, S. Ry., (Tanjore Dist.).

3. **GANDHISUKTIMUKTAVALI:** By *Chintaman Dwarkanath Deshmukh*. Published by *Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi-1*. Price Re. 1.

We have here three Sanskrit works from the pens of two modern writers who are not Sanskritists by profession. The first two are dramas, the second being a farce, based on mythological themes. Their author has a facile pen having to his credit a large number of works in Sanskrit, some of which have been printed and a few noticed in these pages (August, 1956). The *Pratirajasuyam* won a prize awarded by the Madras Sanskrit Academy on the results of a competition for composing a good Sanskrit drama. Like their many old predecessors these dramas abound in long speeches and descriptions and have very little of action in them. They are mainly poetic works.

The third work in the group contains metrical translation in Sanskrit of selected sayings—one hundred in number—of Mahatma Gandhi culled from a compilation of Sri M. K. Krishnan of Coimbatore entitled, *Thus Spake the Mahatma* (III Series). This is a nice handy volume which may be easily carried in one's pocket. It is not known how far the Sanskrit-reading Pandit will appreciate these translations which are not in general easily intelligible without a reference to the English original. A number of printing mistakes are noticed. Coming as it does from the pen of a man of the position and standing of Sri C. D. Deshmukh, the book will be a great source of inspiration and encouragement to all Sanskritists, among whom the idea has gained ground that Sanskrit has little prestige with top-ranking people.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BENYO-SMIRITI TARPAN: Published by *Benoy Sarkar Memorial Committee, 45, Girish Chandra Bose Road, Calcutta-14*. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 2.

This publication contains contributions from the admiring friends and respectful students of the late Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887-1949) patriot, philosopher, economist and a great friend of students, who repudiated the theory that there is a fundamental difference between the East and the West. As a cultural ambassador of India he travelled in seats of learning

of Europe, America and China before his country attained her independence in 1947. In spite of growing years Prof. Sarkar was ever young in his enthusiasm and his contributions in Economics, Sociology, Statistics, Philosophy, etc., in several languages—Bengali, English, French, German, Italian are considerable. He founded Bangiya Dhanabigyan Parisad, Bangiya Samajbigyan Parisad, Bangiya German Sanskriti Parisad, Antarjatic Banga Parisad, Bangiya Asia Parisad, Bangiya Dante Parisad and Bangiya Markin Sanskriti Parisad for researches in different lines and also for co-operation among nations. Patriot-internationalist Benoy Sarkar considered himself a child of 1905 Bengal nationalism and counted his age from that year. He has left a permanent mark in literature and in the minds of his students and his memory will be ever fresh in his countrymen as a symbol of progress and free thinking. His philosophy of life will be an inspiration for generations.

Among the contributions, those from Dr. N. N. Zana, Prof. Haridas Mukherji, Sri Kalidas Mukherji, Prof. Trilochan Das, Dr. Moni Moulik, Prof. (Mrs.) Uma Mukherji, Dr. Miss Indira Sarkar and Mrs. Ida Sarkar, Prof. Banerwar Das require special mention. We have no doubt the publication shall have a wide distribution among the admiring friends, students and countrymen of Prof. Benoy Sarkar.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY: By *Chaturbhuj Mamoria, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur (Raj)*. Published by *Gaya Prasad and Sons, Agra*. First Edition, 1957. Pp. 1203. Price Rs. 15.

Never was a time more propitious than this for the publication of a book on Economic and Commercial Geography in Hindi. When the Second Five-Year Plan is in its infancy and Hindi is facing a transitional crisis, such a publication has an added significance. Sri Mamoria's book, although mainly intended for students appearing in the examinations, can also serve an useful purpose for those interested in this branch of knowledge. The author has spared no pains to make his references up-to-date and has freely drawn from treatises of competent authors in English. The subject has been extensively dealt with and has been divided into 40 chapters. The first chapter deals with the scope

of the subject. Roughly speaking, the next ten chapters are mainly concerned with man and his environment along with a description of natural vegetation and soils and manures. In dealing with man and his environment it would have been appreciated if the writer had stressed equally on the correlative aspect—man as a master of the circumstances. In chapters 12 to 20 the author is occupied with 'occupations.' Then a few chapters have been devoted to mineral resources. Next come the sources of power and then a description of major industries particularly with a particular emphasis on those which are Indian. Further, a few chapters are devoted to Means and Transport, and lastly comes the chapter on Population, its movements and the development of towns. At the end is a lengthy bibliography which is indicative of the pains the author has taken to incorporate the views of competent authorities and the desire to give a comprehensive

background of the recent economic developments in India. Along with the sources of power, a bird's eye view of the major power projects has also been given. The whole tenor of the book is descriptive and nowhere has the author meddled with controversial issues. Although Shri Mamoria is to be congratulated for such a nice contribution to Hindi, it is regrettable that the language of the book not only conveys an impression upon the reader that it lacks coherence and compactness of style but also that many of the sentences have been thought in English and written in Hindi. At places the syntax is defective and use of certain words faulty. But the great solace is that the style is simple and on the whole easily understandable. It is to be hoped that this aspect will receive greater consideration in the next edition.

LOKINDR PRASAD ASTHANA

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Indian Periodicals

The Trend of Contemporary Psychology

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Professor P. S. Naidu traces suggestively the line of development of Western psychology:

"Psychology first lost its soul, then its mind and then its consciousness; it has now behaviour of a kind." That is how a gifted critic of the modern trends in contemporary psychology sums up the position at the moment in this youngest of the Western sciences. Though his statement may seem an undeserved gibe, there is a great deal of truth in it.

Time was when the psychologist, even in Europe, was seriously concerned with the soul. The ancient Greek thinkers, the founders of great philosophic systems and acute dialecticians, were engaged in the serious study of the soul. Much later, after it developed an ultra-rationalistic and scientific temper, the Western mind came to associate such a study with theology, and it went out of fashion among intellectuals. So the first climb down was made from soul to mind and the study of its faculties.

But, even here, the scientific-minded investigator found far too many phenomena that could not be handled with the objective tools of science. Hence, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was felt that "consciousness" alone could be the fit subject of study by the earnest seeker after truth in the field of human nature. But even "consciousness" cannot be explored, investigated, tested and weighed in the laboratory. The method employed for unravelling the mysteries of consciousness was introspection. But what can introspection reveal except what goes on in the mind of the introspector himself? I cannot look into your mind, and you cannot look into mine. Objectivity, precision and clarity—the prime requisites of scientific investigation—are lacking in introspection. Hence scientific psychologists decided to rule out even consciousness from their field of investigation.

When these successive eliminations had been made, what was left as the subject of investigation by the psychologist was "behaviour." Here at last was something which could be handled by the experimental methods of the

scientist. Behaviour can be controlled and studied in the laboratory in much the same way as the physical scientist or the biologist studies his chosen field of nature. And, based on this experimental approach, a systematic theory of human nature, called Behaviourism, was built up. Like his counterparts in the physical and biological fields, the Behaviourist decided to ignore all intangibles. "*The imperceptible is non-existent*" is the motto of this group of objective scientists. All that is imperceptible in human nature was to be ignored. Soul, mind and consciousness; thinking, reasoning and imagination; and such other terms as psychologists are fond of using to connote so-called mental experiences, were henceforth to be completely ruled out. In other words psychology should concern itself with the study of behaviour and in particular with bodily behaviour. From this methodological requirement there soon emerged a theory of human nature which identified man with his body, and spoke of him as a highly complicated machine with the nervous system as its mainspring. At present we know little about this mainspring. When our knowledge of the brain and other parts of the nervous system is complete, we can explain every act of human beings, from the lowest act of scratching an itch to the highest act of self-sacrifice, in terms of the working of the nervous system. Thus there arose the ultra-rationalistic system of psychology known as Behaviourism.

Despite its attractive neatness and concreteness, Behaviourism was soon found to be inadequate as a science of human nature. The humblest of living creatures, namely, an insect, displays powers which the most perfect machine lacks. Living creatures are purposive, goal-seeking and forward-looking in their behaviour, while a machine is deterministic, backward-looking and completely controlled by the chain of causal sequence. Western psychologists soon realized the utter inadequacy of Behaviourism, which is superficial even in its treatment of the bodily aspect of behaviour.

There came into existence a whole group of depth psychologies which tried to probe into the deeper aspects of human nature. McDougall,

Freud, Adler and Jung were the pioneers in the field. McDougall drew attention to the *motives* behind bodily behaviour and established beyond doubt the powerful influence of instincts and emotions on the activities of human beings. He it was who made us see that underneath the thin crust of reason there lay the powerful dynamic springs of human action, the *instincts and emotions*, which really controlled our personality. But he confined himself to the study of *conscious* springs of action. Freud and his colleagues, who were investigating the complicated factors in abnormal human behaviour, plunged into the deep hidden recesses of the mind, and uncovered the *Unconscious*, and demonstrated its irresistible power in shaping human destinies.

Such then was the line of development in Western psychology—from the body to the mind, and from the Conscious to the Sub-conscious and Unconscious. And in this we can see the struggle of the West to understand man and the mysteries of his mind and to grasp the significance of his total personality. To supplement the endeavours of those psychologists, there soon arose a vigorous school in Germany, the Gestalt School, which scorned the method of analysis, blamed all the other schools for their atomistic, pulverizing attitude towards human nature, and insisted on treating man as a whole, as a total personality, comprising even the environment in which this personality developed. This, indeed, was a welcome revolution in psychology. Apart from these major schools of psychology there are others all of which seem to be engaged in the laudable task of understanding human nature in all its intricacies. Taking a bird's-eye view of the evolution of Western psychology, we find that the schools, some of which claim to be the sole possessors of truth and hence are intolerant of the attitudes of other schools, are really complementary. Behaviourism deals with the body of man; Purposivism with the mind but only with the conscious part of it; Psychoanalysis and Analytical Psychology with the Sub-conscious and the Unconscious; and finally Gestalt psychology with man and his environment as integrated *gestalts*. It might seem as though these schools, taken severally and collectively, could deliver the goods, and that there was nothing in man that could be hidden from their searching scrutiny. The day of deliverance might seem to have dawned at last. Here is a science—rather, a group of sciences—which by unravelling all the hidden secrets of man, will reveal to him what

he really is, and enable him to reach the goal of life! But what do we find in the contemporary scene? A gory scene of insensate greeds, lusts and panic fears, of ferocious passions and brutalities of the uncultured masses ready to be fanned into a mighty conflagration by a chance spark. Man seems to be deaf to the agonized voice of history crying to him across the pages of its gory record! The advance of science has but tended to hasten the pace of the intellect's progress. It has swelled man's head; it has made his hands more cunning; but it has not touched his heart. The cry of everyone (the scientist included) today is that the moral nature of man has lagged behind his intellect. The sciences have confessed their helplessness in the matter of bridging the gap between the values of Truth and of Goodness. And psychology, as it is studied and cultivated today, is equally helpless. Is there then no hope?

Hope springs eternal in the human breast, and this time hope comes from the regions lying on the fringes of contemporary psychology, a region which the ultra-scientific psychologist will not touch with a barge-pole. It is the region of para-psychology. Since 1882 the Society for Psychic Research has been studying, with purely objective methods of experimentation, such unusual mental phenomena as hypnotism, thought transference, telepathy, teleesthesia, etc. Leading men of science and of the humanities of the calibre of Sir Oliver Lodge, and Professors Lehman, Henry Sidgwick, William James and McDougall have taken a leading part in the experiments, and they have come to the conclusion that there are dimensions of the human mind other than those which the acade-

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mic psychologists dare believe in. In other words, these unorthodox experiments in psychology are steadily leading us to the conclusion that just as there are sub-conscious and unconscious levels of the mind, there exist also *super-conscious levels* of which modern psychology is ignorant. And be it noted that the startling phenomena which have shocked the conservative psychologist into a recognition of the *para-psychic* levels of the mind constitute the lowest levels of *yogic* experience. They are but child's play to the *yogi*.

This then is the line of development in Western psychology, a line which is very significant in that it points to the ancient Indian concept of Man as its crown and culmination. Psychology started with the study of the whole man, but soon, in the interests of scientific specialization and analysis, it pulverized man, and began casting out of its field those ingredients which were not amenable to study by strictly objective methods. Soul, mind and consciousness were thus cast out, till nothing was left but the empty skeleton. Finding such a strictly scientific psychology strictly useless and utterly incompetent to impart a knowledge of the essence of human nature, psychology started on the quest for a deeper understanding

of man. In this quest, not only were mind and consciousness brought back, but a study of the hidden secrets of the Unconscious was also taken up. Alongside this there grew up another trend outside academic psychology towards the exploration of *para-psychic* psychology. Taken together, these lines of development indicate a deep urge on the part of psychologists to understand the total personality of man, the "whole" of human nature, in fact, the true nature of the Self. There is a dim awareness that there is a super-conscious dimension of the Self, and that it holds the real secret of man's nature. But this dim awareness should develop into a clear and fully focused consciousness of the fact that psychology must restore the soul to the rightful sovereign position from which it was dethroned. Only then will psychology be competent to deal with man and his problems. And when that is done modern scientific psychology will be almost identical with psychology as we find it in the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Samkhya* and *Yoga* systems. It will not be an altogether incorrect reading of the signs of the times to say that Western psychologists are slowly finding their way towards the aims, purposes, methods and attitudes of psychological study as understood by our ancients.



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Indian Atomic Energy Programme

Dr. H. J. Bhabha writes in *Careers and Courses*:

The five countries, which are at present advanced in atomic energy, namely, Canada, France, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S.A., are all industrially advanced countries with a developed technical background. All of them, except the U.S.S.R., co-operated closely with each other in developing atomic energy during the war.

While India is behind all these in atomic development, and, indeed, has long way to go to catch up the most advanced among them, its programme is nevertheless more developed than that of most countries in the world including some of the highly industrialized countries of Europe. India is, therefore, in unique position of being the only industrially under-developed country with an important atomic energy programme.

This development has been made possible by the fact that India is a very large country with a population of nearly 400 million, so that although its per capita production may be small, its total production is quite considerable. India is one of the largest producers of textiles in the world, and in addition produces many industrial commodities like steel, locomotives, machine tools, heavy chemicals and fertilizers, which are produced in very few under-developed countries. This gives it a technical ability to develop on its own, which is quite different from that of other under-developed countries. Nevertheless, whatever India may have achieved in atomic energy has been achieved by a concentration of effort and resources, by a selection of some of the best young scientists and engineers from all parts of the country and their concentration in one big research and development centre at Trombay, where they can assist and stimulate each other, and finally by a provision of the best available equipment. The Government of India has given atomic energy development a high priority and its full support. Our atomic development has depended above all on the strong and continuous backing of the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, to whose faith in the importance of science and its practical application, indeed, all scientific development in the country owes so much.

COMPETITIVE COST

Since the peaceful and the military applications of atomic energy are so closely linked, assistance in many of the crucial steps leading

to the use of atomic energy for generating electricity and to the production of some of the important materials required for an atomic power programme will only be given by other countries or by an international agency under conditions which would bring the Indian programme under international inspection and control. Although the Indian atomic energy programme has no military component, and it has been stated categorically by the Prime Minister on several occasions that we do not propose to go in for any such military programme, an independent foreign policy and non-alignment with any Power bloc makes the acceptance of inspection and control unacceptable to us, as long as they are not applied universally to all countries alike in the interest of peace and international security. It is, therefore, necessary for India to plan its entire atomic energy programme, so that it can move forward, if necessary, without any external aid. This does not mean that aid from friendly countries will not be accepted, when it is given without any strings being attached, and, indeed, we have received considerable help from several friendly countries some of which are mentioned later.

A study of the economics of atomic power in India has shown that electricity from atomic energy would be competitive with electricity from thermal power stations in regions of the country remote from the coalfields, which indeed, include the major part of the country and many of its industrial centres. The competitiveness of atomic energy in most parts of India is due to the operation of three factors, namely, the location of its coalfields, the limitations of the transport system, and the general shortage of power in the industrial areas. Eighty per cent of the coal used in India today is produced in the eastern corner, in the States of Bengal and Bihar, and coal has to be transported some 1,500 miles to important areas in the north, west and south, such as Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. The true price of coal at these areas is therefore such as to make electricity from thermal stations more expensive than electricity from atomic power stations even today. Secondly, the railway system is already heavily loaded and has little spare capacity. A considerable increase in railway transport capacity will, in any case, be necessitated by the industrial development of the country, thus involving an expenditure of large sums of money. One-third of all the goods traffic carried by the railway at present is coal, which is incidentally carried at a subsidized rate, and,

therefore, represents a burden on the economy. The future development of electric power in a manner which does not involve a formidable increase in coal transport will, therefore, save the country large sums of money, and a further capital expenditure on the railways. Finally, power in industrial areas is so short that the grid systems as a whole have a very high load factor, a situation which is necessary and favourable for the economic operation of atomic power stations. The Government of India, therefore, have under consideration the setting up of one or more atomic power stations in the period immediately ahead. If a decision to set up one were taken in the current year, the power station would not be in operation till 1962, and atomic power would therefore only make a contribution during the Third Five-Year Plan. It is, however, necessary that we should embark on such a programme now in order to be able to take advantage of the developments in atomic power generation, which are bound to take place in the next few years and thereafter.

To instal a million kilowatts of net electrical capacity from atomic power stations during the Third Five-Year Plan, that is by 1965, is today entirely feasible technically, and desir-

able economically. Whether and to what extent such a programme will be embarked upon will depend principally on financial rather than economic consideration.

FIFTEEN YEARS GOAL

For all these reasons, it has been decided to go ahead with a research, development and production programme which will make possible the construction and operation of atomic power stations in India within the next ten to fifteen years.

On the industrial side it is intended to produce within the country all the materials required for a full atomic power programme. For this reason, a start was made by setting up a plant at Alwaye in South India to treat the well-known monazite sands on the west coast. In addition to producing rare earths and trisodium phosphate, a cleaning material sold in the market, this plant produces a cake containing thorium and uranium. This cake is brought to the plant at Trombay near Bombay, which produces a very pure thorium salt and also a uranium salt. This plant was built by our own scientists and engineers and has been in operation since 1954. Its capacity increased sixfold last year.

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There has been designed a small uranium plant which will turn this uranium salt into reactor grade uranium metal, and it is expected to have this plant in operation by the middle of 1958. This plant will give us enough uranium metal for experimental purposes and for use in the reactors that are under construction at present. It will also give our scientific and technical staff the necessary experience for the design and construction of the large uranium plants, which will be required by a full atomic power programme.

A small plant for the fabrication of fuel elements has also been designed, and its construction is being undertaken forthwith. Besides producing the fuel elements for our currently scheduled natural uranium reactors it will also enable research and development work to be carried out on new types of fuel elements and their canning.

India is one of the largest producers in the world of the rare mineral beryl from which the metal beryllium can be obtained, the present annual production being several thousand tons of high grade beryl. Beryllium oxide may have interesting possibilities as a moderator, and the metal or one of its alloys holds out great promise as a canning material. A large pilot plant



for producing atomically pure beryllium oxide of nuclear purity and sintering it into bricks is also being designed. Its capacity will be about 15 tons of beryllium oxide per annum, but it will be capable of expansion to several times this size. Preliminary studies indicate that the cost of beryllium oxide produced in this plant will be lower than the cost at which it is being produced in Europe at present.

It is also intended to produce heavy water in quantity and the decision was taken two years ago to produce heavy water and fertilizer together in a large plant which is being built at Nangal in the north. This plant will produce over 340,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer annually, and between 10 and 20 tons of heavy water. Hydrogen for the ammonia plant will be made electrolytically. The heavy hydrogen will be concentrated in the last stage in the electrolysis cells, which will be arranged in cascade. The heavy hydrogen from these cells, which will comprise between 20 and 40 per cent of the total stream, will be liquefied and the deuterium extracted by the hydrogen distillation process. The plant has been placed at Nangal, so that it can draw cheap power from the dam at Bhakra. It will consume 160,000 kilowatts of electric power and cheapness of power is essen-

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tial for the economics of the process. It is estimated that by charging to heavy water only the direct costs involved in its production, the cost of heavy water will be about \$20 per pound, which is substantially lower than the present world price. Production will commence in 1960. Several other large fertilizer plants are expected to be constructed during the Second Five-Year Plan, and it is the intention of the Government to produce heavy water in all of them.

Studies are also being made for the erection of a plant to make atomically pure graphite from the coke produced in a refinery in Assam. Experiments which are under way at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay have already shown that graphite of a high density can be produced by a method which is being tried.

Zirconium is another metal which has promise as a canning material. In order that it should be so used hafnium has at first to be separated from it and quite a good deal of research work has been done on the separation of hafnium from zirconium. A process is now being tried out which is even more promising than the one reported by us at the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. This method promises to yield metallic zirconium free from hafnium in one step. Zircon, the mineral from which zirconium can be obtained, is found as a constituent of the famous beach sands on the South-West coast of India and is available in plentiful supply.

Any country, which does not wish to depend wholly upon outside aid, must have its own research and development organization, not only for investigating the many possibilities which remain unexplored, but also because, even in fields where general knowledge is available, practical experience and detailed know-how are to be obtained. The Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay near Bombay, which was formally inaugurated by the Prime Minister in January last year, is India's centre for research and development in the field of atomic energy.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

A layout of the entire Establishment has been prepared, and some buildings completed, while the construction of others will start very soon. Some of the new laboratories will be ready early this year, although all the buildings planned at present will not be ready till 1959. The Establishment is located at Trombay some 15 miles from the centre of Bombay. The site of the Establishment which covers an area over 2,000 acres is completely separated from the rest of the industrial area of Trombay by Trom-

bay Hill on its west. Its eastern side lies on the upper reaches of Bombay Harbour.

The research activities of the Establishment were, however, started without waiting for the new buildings to come up. The Physics and Engineering Divisions were located in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at the Old Yacht Club building, and in war-time hutments on its new site at Colaba. A warehouse in another part of Bombay was converted for housing the Chemistry Division, while the Biological and Medical Divisions were set up at the Indian Cancer Research Centre. The total scientific and technical staff of the Establishment is now about 400, and it will increase to over 800 by 1959. By this time the total number of workers on the site, including administrative, maintenance and workshop staff, will be over two thousand.

To ensure a steady supply of trained scientific and technical personnel, there has been started a training programme under which 250 young graduates and engineers will be recruited annually from the universities and given supplementary training for a year to fit them for work in our atomic energy programme. The first course commenced in August last year with 170 trainees. It is hoped to increase the intake of this school to 350 a year in due course.

APSARA

Apsara, India's first atomic reactor, of the swimming pool type, reached criticality for the first time on August 4, 1956. It is the first reactor to go into operation in Asia, outside the U.S.S.R. It was designed, engineered and built entirely by our own people and by Indian industry, except for the fuel elements. The fuel elements, which contain enriched uranium, have been provided by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.

The decision to build this reactor was taken in April, 1955. A firm decision on the basic design was made in August, 1955, and it took about one year to complete its construction.

As soon as the decision to build the Swimming Pool Reactor was taken in early 1955, our attention was given to the next step of building a powerful high flux reactor for engineering research. Several different types were being considered, when there was received a generous offer from the Canadian Government to set up a reactor of the NRX type in India. The decision to proceed with the joint project was taken in August, 1955, and the ground for it was broken in February, 1956. This reactor is expected to be completed early in 1959. This

reactor requires some 20 tons of heavy water, which was sold to us by the United States' Atomic Energy Commission.

A short while ago, it was decided to build a third zero energy reactor, which will enable us to study the effect of different lattices, shapes and sizes of fuel elements, mixed lattices containing uranium or plutonium and thorium, and so on. This reactor is expected to be in operation in 1958 also, and indeed, it may be the second reactor actually to go into operation in India.

The immediate need in many parts of India is for small-power stations of about 20 megawatts, and it is our intention to study for this

purpose reactors moderated with beryllium oxide, gas-cooled, and working on natural or slightly enriched uranium. Since the critical size of beryllium moderated reactors is smaller than graphite moderated ones, preliminary calculations show that they may well be more economical in the power range below about 20 megawatts. For this purpose, there has been for some years a joint project with the Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique of France for studying the properties of beryllium oxide as a moderator. A small group at our Trombay Establishment is now actively engaged in feasibility studies on beryllium oxide moderated reactors of a power output below 30 megawatts.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and Armenia

Melik-Simonyan, Armenian journalist, writes in the *Armenian Bulletin*:

1. THE TRAGEDY OF A SMALL NATION

Forty years ago the revolution changed Armenia's destiny. But prior to that Armenia had existed twenty-five centuries. And each century, each decade of years had been one of sufferings, Armenia's geographic position had cast a spell on her fate, it became a curse. She was situated between the East and the West, who could not live in peace. For Armenia the passing of ages was marked by the trampling of the innumerable armies of Alexander of Macedonia, Lucullus, Pompeius, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane. The land was devastated by Byzantines, Arabs, Persians and Turks. The ruins of Armenian towns and temples are more eloquent than any chronicle.

It must be said for the Armenian people, that they opposed armed resistance to all invaders and that they revolted against their oppressors. But that was an exhausting and unequal combat that was bound to end in the total annihilation of the people. It ended in the mass flight of Armenians from their native land.

2. THE FLIGHT

The exodus of Armenians began on a big scale in the middle of the 11th century. We may recall, for example, the migration of Armenians to Poland and Moldavia in 1069. Shortly thereafter the first refugees found a haven in distant India. But five centuries were yet to pass before the migration of Armenians to that land assumed mass proportions.

In those remote days there was in the South of Armenia a city named Djulfa, situated on the caravan route which linked Persia with Armenia and further on with Asia Minor and the Black Sea ports. That town gave birth to enterprising merchants who were quick in widening their field of activities. Soon Djulfa became an important centre linking the markets of India and Persia with those of Venice and Genoa. The flow of trade was a source of wealth for Djulfa's merchants, and the city became prosperous. But this very prosperity carried the seed of future calamities. They visited the city suddenly and ruthlessly.

The Persian Shah Abbas I had the idea, quite patriotic, and at first glance, one may say, quite harmless, to develop his country's trade and thereby restore Persia's treasury which had been bled white by wars. But the idea was carried into effect by means barbarous in the extreme: thousands of people inhabiting the Ararat Valley and Djulfa, who were to restore Persia's economy, were forcibly moved to Abbas' kingdom. In the process thousands of Armenians perished and the city of Djulfa was razed to the ground.

The population of that city were settled not far from the Persian capital—Ispahan. A New Djulfa was built there, and its population were conferred rights and privileges which not only enabled them to restore their fortunes, but even to acquire still more wealth. Nevertheless in the Middle Ages the rulers of Persia in their dealings with the Armenian merchants restored essentially to extortion, plunder and murder.

Therefore the Persian Armenians were compelled to take the thorny path of migration. That path led them to India.

3. HOSPITABLE INDIA

The Armenian merchants acclimatized themselves in India within a relatively short period of time. The share of the Armenian communities in India's trade during the Middle Ages was steadily growing. This was due in part to the fact that the Armenian merchants had restored and strengthened their former commercial ties. Whole districts and streets peopled by Armenians came into being in many Indian towns. The churches, chapels, shops and dwelling houses that have been preserved can today supply a fairly accurate idea of the geographical distribution of those communities. The important position Armenian merchants occupied in international trade at the time, explains why from the very beginning of its operations in India the East India Company sought to attract Armenian capital.

The world is too wide for happiness to be found in it the easy way. The world is too small when one seeks to hide from misfortune. The Armenians' flight from smoking ruins, destruction and death brought them to a place that was to become one more scene of bloodshed in world history. This time it was England that assumed the role of hangman.

(To be continued)



Vice-President Richard Nixon of the United States and Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan of India shake hands in the U.S. Capitol at Washington.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru receives Dr. Arno Halusa, Minister-designate of Austria to India, in New Delhi.



ON THE WAY TO THE MARKET

By P. C. Barua

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Sir Jadunath Sarkar

It is with a deep sense of loss that we record the passing of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. He was closely associated with the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and his contributions adorned its pages from the very inception.

Jadunath was the son of the late Rajkumar Sarkar and was born at Karachmaria in the Rajshahi district of what is now East Pakistan, on December 10, 1870. His student days showed the beginnings of the future distinction, as he secured first grade scholarships in the Entrance and First Arts examinations and passed his B.A. with double honours in 1891. He passed his M.A. examination in English in 1892, standing first in the first class and securing 90 per cent marks in the aggregate.

His educational career started as a professor in English in Government service. The foundations of the lasting and monumental research work in Indian History were laid when he chose History, with economics and politics, as the associated subject with English for the Prema Chand Raychand studies and scholarship. The winning of the P.R.S scholarship gave him the starting impetus for a life-long devoted work in historical research, which won him international fame and standing as an authority on the mediaeval history of India. His *Life and Times of Aurangzeb* in five volumes alone would have sufficed as a lasting memorial to his sound and meticulous scholarship and brilliance. In chain with that his contributions to the history of the Marhattas, starting with the life-history of Sivaji, have

added a very great deal to our knowledge of those times, and the volumes of history written by him on that period, are really classic pieces of historical erudition.

Patient and tireless sifting of masses of material, sometimes of mixed value, deep probe into original sources and meticulous care for details were the characteristics of his search for facts, together with a stern disregard for all but the unalloyed truth, gathered from the evidence given by contemporary material.

He was a fearless critic, nevertheless of the governmental lapses in administration and of all matters regarding education and public welfare. He was inflexible where truth, his conscience and his ideals were concerned. All who remember the stormy days of his Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Calcutta (1926-28) when the opposition made a bear-garden of the Senate and the Syndicate, would bear testimony to his unflinching courage.

In his private life, which was patterned after the traditional modes of plain living and high thinking, he was one of the finest products of the cultural traditions of Bengal. The great fortitude with which he bore a terrible chain of family mishaps, which included five deaths amongst his nearest and dearest—four under tragic circumstances—late in life, showed the metal that went into the making of this truly great son of Bengal.

With Jadunath ends an era of Bengal, during which Bengal, through the devoted life and work of her sons, shone as the leader of thought in India and the East. May his soul attain all that his devotion earned.

The Kerala Bye-election

The bye-election at Devicolum in Kerala attracted country-wide attraction. The bye-election arose out of a successful election petition by the Congress candidate who had been defeated at the hands of Mrs. Rosamma Punnoose, the Communist candidate, during the General Elections in March 1957. The outcome of the fresh contest has been as before with this difference that the Communist candidate, Mrs. Punnoose, has won by a bigger margin, and with a greater percentage of votes.

The Communist victory at Devicolum has been a significant one—there can be no doubt about it. The fact that all the major non-Communist forces—the Congress, the PSP, the Muslim League and the Catholic Churches—put up a united fight against the Communists and still lost would tend only to enhance the significance of that victory. The Special Correspondent of the *Indian Express* (Madras Edition, May 20) neatly summarises the Communist gains. He writes: "The labourers and peasants of Devicolum have reaffirmed their faith in the Communist Government of Kerala. The electoral victory of Mrs. Punnoose has greatly added to the moral stature of the Communist Party, besides strengthening its hands in the Legislature. It has shown to the world, that the workers and peasantry of Kerala, are behind the Government no matter what others may say. It has also dealt a blow to the already shattered prestige of the Congress

Goa and the Congress

Shri Shikrishna Vanjari writes in the fortnightly *Free Goa* (May 10): "It is being increasingly recognised in all well-informed quarters that liberation from the Portuguese of Goa and other Portuguese pockets has been delayed and deferred not on account of the disunity among Goan nationalists but mainly because of the influential group among the Congress Party and government in power in this country not only disavouring liberation but also doing everything in their power to torpedo all effective measures calculated to achieve that end."

After this open charge against the Congress Party, the writer names two prominent Congress leaders of Bombay both of whom are Cabinet Ministers in the present Central Government as

being responsible for governmental inaction on Goa. Any reasonable man should think that the Congress Party and the Central Government each owed a public explanation about its responsibilities in the matter. On the question of the apportionment of responsibility for the delay in the liberation of Goa it must go primarily to the government of the day and only secondarily to the Goan national organizations. For, Goan nationalists never had any freedom of action in the matter. Is it too much to hope that the public would soon reply to Shri Vanjari's open charges?

Divakar Kakodkar

Divakar Kakodkar, the irrepressible fighter for the freedom of Goa, came back to his motherland—India, on April 20 after nine years of prison and exile. Shri Kakodkar had been arrested in Goa in 1949 and detained in the Margao police lock-up in Goa where he had been brutally beaten up by the Portuguese police. Subsequently he was taken to the infamous Aguada fortress in Goa. Though even the Portuguese Military Tribunal at Panjim refused to convict him for want of sufficient proof of any crime he was not released but was again put back into the Aguada fortress and was detained there until 1951 when, without any warning, he was put aboard *S.S. India*, a Portuguese ship, and was taken to far-away Lisbon. The Portuguese police took him to the Aljube jail but the jailors refused to take in Kakodkar as there was no proof that he had been sentenced by any court. That was a unique occasion: Kakodkar had already served two years and had been deported without even having been tried or sentenced by any court of law, but by a mere order of the then Minister for Colonies (since renamed Minister for Overseas Provinces), Sr. Sarmiento Rodrigues—an order, the validity of which was not recognised even by a Portuguese jailor at Lisbon. True to the Salazar concept of democracy, Kakodkar was still not released or allowed to return to his motherland but was taken off to Cape Vert where he was thus illegally detained for seven years. The Portuguese authorities released him only as it became clear to them that Kakodkar's case was going to be focussed through an international forum where the disclosures of the facts of the case

were sure to lead to a great discomfiture of the present rulers of Portugal.

We extend our cordial welcome to this valiant fighter for freedom on his return to India.

The Problem of Foreign Exchange

Notwithstanding increased foreign aids, the problem of foreign exchange for India is becoming acute day by day. In the first week of June there were three successive meetings of the Union Cabinet over the foreign exchange situation. This indicates the gravity of the problem. Final decisions are likely to be taken by the end of June. The foreign exchange position continues to be serious in spite of external assistance which India has received in a generous measure from friendly countries. The fact, however, remains that the only long-term solution of our economic difficulties lies mainly in our ability to produce and export more.

At the recently held meeting of the Export Advisory Council, Sri Morarji Desai, the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, made some pertinent observations: "The time has come when there must be a reorientation of our thinking. Many industries complain of the shortages of raw materials which the cut in our import programme has caused. They must realise that foreign exchange is not something which Government can produce for them. It is they who earn it. Government can only ensure an equitable distribution of the foreign exchange which is earned. Therefore, it is my considered opinion that every industry in the country must try to export at least such quantities of its production as would pay for the raw materials which it needs to import. This may mean selling without any profits abroad. This will mean adherence to stricter standards of quality than the domestic market demands. This will mean, in other words some sacrifice. I hope that Indian industry will put the same effort behind our export drive that has been shown by industries in other countries in times of foreign exchange crisis."

A tentative suggestion seems to be in the offing that, as a last resort, the country should do without any fresh allocation of foreign exchange for imports during the period of Octo-

ber-December and somehow stretch the allocation made for the six months ending on September 30 to cover the additional needs for these three months. But this would be causing more hardship to the Indian manufacturers as well as deprivation of essentials to the people at large. The import policy for April-October has been restrictive enough and unless further allocations are made for foreign exchange to meet the payments of commitment for the import of capital goods, production will be retarded. The shortage of essential raw materials, particularly steel, has already started to have an adverse effect on production.

The Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on April 15 laid a statement on the Table of the House indicating the foreign exchange requirements for core projects during the Second Plan period. The statement reveals that the total foreign exchange payments required to be made between April 1, 1958 and March 31, 1961, amount to Rs. 341.87 crores. The total foreign exchange cost during the Plan period has been placed at Rs. 971.99 crores, of which a sum of Rs. 96.35 cores is allocated to the projects in the private sector and the remaining amount of Rs. 875.64 crores is meant for projects in the public sector. Up to March 31, 1958, the total foreign exchange payments estimated to have been made amount to Rs. 382.41 crores. The total foreign exchange payments liabilities which are outstanding amount to Rs. 589.58 crores. Of this amount Rs. 552.81 crores belong to the public sector projects and Rs. 36.77 crores belong to the private sector projects. Of this outstanding amount Rs. 247.71 crores are covered by foreign loans, credits, aid, etc. The balance amount is to be met from other sources. So for the core of the Plan, the total foreign exchanges required amount to Rs. 341.87 crores and this amount is not much. This might be covered by borrowings from the IBRD and also from loans from the USA.

What is, however, needed for India is not mere aid, but trade, that is, increased export trade. India must produce enough to meet her payments obligations. Hitherto India's foreign exchange earnings have been mainly from export of our plantation crops, agricultural pro-

ducts, ores and minerals, jute goods and cotton piece-goods. The possibility of expanding trade in these traditional items, except perhaps ores and minerals, is limited. India would have to look in future to the export of manufactured goods to overseas markets. In 1956 earnings from exports amounted to Rs. 619 crores. Though complete figures for 1957 are not available, the provisional estimate indicates that the total value of exports will not be much higher. The main commodities which show an increase in 1957 are cotton piece-goods, manganese ores, tobacco and hides and skins. On the other hand, exports have lagged behind the 1956 figures in the case of cashew kernels, pepper, tea, linseed oil and cotton waste.

The Government of India is no less responsible for the low export earnings. To mention a specific case, while tea continues to be a major foreign exchange earner, India's tea exports during 1957 are considerably below our earnings during 1956. In 1957, India exported 447 million lb of tea valued at Rs. 107 crores, as against 523 million lb of the value of Rs. 143.3 crores in 1956 and 367 million lb valued at Rs 113.53 crores in 1955. Though the quantity of tea exported in 1957 was higher than that of 1955, the foreign exchange earnings were lower by Rs. 6.5 crores. The main cause of the falling tea exports is the high price and poorer quality. In recent years East Africa has become a formidable rival to India in tea trade and her exports to the United Kingdom have increased by about ten times within a few years. On account of low labour costs, the East African tea enjoys a position of strength in world markets which are highly competitive.

The tea growers in India suggest two measures for the purpose of granting relief to the common teas of India in the export trade of the country. The common teas constitute more than 60 per cent of the country's total tea output. These suggestions are: (1) to levy export duty on an *ad valorem* basis, or (2) to fix the price for the purpose of levying export duty on the basis of the averages of Calcutta and Cochin sales, instead of on the basis of London auction price as at present. The Government of India has accepted none of these suggestions. In its view the imposition

of the export duty on the *ad valorem* basis would give rise to a crop of administrative difficulties and on that account it is not acceptable. The fixation of export duty on the basis of the London auction price is unrealistic. For the purpose of determining the export duty for a particular month, the price of tea is fixed by the Government of India on the world price as it is indicated by the London auctions in the preceding month. The main defect of this system is that under it an export duty at a flat rate is imposed irrespective of the prices fetched by different qualities of tea. The slab system does not practically render any relief to the inferior teas of India. It may be recalled that the Plantation Enquiry Commission recommended that the preceding six months' weighted average price of Indian tea sold in the London auction might be taken, instead of determining on the basis of weighted average of the preceding month's auctions in London. But the Government of India has not accepted this suggestion. The recent reduction in the cess export duty from Rs. 4 per 100 lb to Rs. 2 is negligible in that the relief comes to only 2 NP per pound. Tea is still the biggest foreign exchange earner for India and on account of the Government's lack of imagination, the overseas markets are gradually being lost to India. For the purpose of maintaining overseas markets and also for earning foreign exchange, the Government should altogether abolish the tea export duty from the inferior teas.

The Union Commerce Minister's advice to the Indian traders to export without profit is pedantic. While the Government is unable to make any sacrifice in giving relief to the export trade of the country by reducing export duty, how can it expect the private traders to forego the profit? Theoretically the advice is good, but it will have no practical application.

India should now turn towards her engineering industries for earning foreign exchanges. India also can produce motor vehicles for export trade. There are today three or four first class producing units and she can produce enough for export. The Government has banned the import of private cars and only one unit, namely the Hind Motors is being allowed to produce such cars. We understand

that the Tata-Mercedes-Benz has been refused permission to produce private cars in this country. It at present manufactures only trucks. If that is true then the Government of India itself is standing in the way of increasing the country's export capacity. While official preaching is not lacking in extolling the private sector to produce more, the Government puts a brake on the productive capacity of the country, particularly in the private sector. India will have a good market for motor vehicles of all types in the Middle Eastern countries and more units should be allowed to produce such vehicles.

Mere borrowings from foreign countries will not improve India's position. That will lead to mortgaging India's future. The foreign exchange position is becoming precarious day by day without any sign of improvement. The total drawing down of the Reserve Bank's foreign exchange assets since April 1956 to the end of March 1958 works out to Rs. 479 crores. The utilisation of the IMF credit of Rs. 95 crores has not much improved the position. The total external assistance authorised and committed so far since the commencement of Second Five-Year Plan has been estimated at Rs. 679 crores. According to the latest estimates, the foreign exchange deficit may amount to Rs. 1,700 crores at the end of the Plan period as against the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores.

It is time that effective steps are taken for dishoarding the large quantity of gold held by the public and utilising them to meet the country's foreign exchange obligations. The gold can be dishoarded by issuing gold bonds to the public. In recent years there has been an increasing tendency for gold hoarding. The Indian rupee has been depreciating in terms of goods for the last decade, while gold has continued to rise in value. That is why gold hoarding has increased because it provides a safe investment without depreciation in value. The foreign countries, particularly the hard currency areas should be allowed to sell gold to India against a special rupee account which would be utilised for the purpose of foreign payments. In other words, India will purchase gold against rupee as well as against compensation basis.

Should Gold Price be Raised?

Ever since the establishment of the International Monetary Fund controversy has been raging as to whether the gold price should be raised. The IMF has fixed the price of gold at \$35 an ounce and that is the price fixed by the Government of the USA in 1934. The gold-producing countries, particularly Australia and South Africa, have been demanding that gold price should be raised in view of the rising price level in the post-war years. South Africa is the biggest producer of gold in the world and her demand was resisted by the IMF. The main contention of the major gold-producing countries are that since 1934 the price level in general has considerably gone up. It is, therefore, unnatural to keep the gold price pegged at \$35 an ounce. The *London Economist* has suggested that in view of the inflation that has taken place in recent years, the gold price deserved to be raised by at least three times its present level. It is only in two countries, namely, the USA and Canada, the gold price rules at this official level. In Canada, it is rather lower sometimes. In 1957, the price of gold in Canadian dollars was about 4 per cent below that of the official price of \$35 an ounce. Gold production is an important industry in Canada. But owing to the lack of internal demand for gold, the price has not increased. But in other gold-producing countries the price of gold has increased on account of exports abroad.

The USA is the biggest holder of gold stock in the world. To raise the gold price in terms of the U.S. dollar would result in effect the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. This position is not acceptable to the USA, that is why she has been resisting the demand for increasing the price of gold. By an increase in gold price, the producing countries will be benefited. But it will mean the devaluation of the currencies of the member countries in terms of gold.

According to the *Economist*, the most imposing argument for an increase in the gold price is that the growth of world trade plus inflation create a need for more gold reserves which can be provided by marking up the price. The price of gold should be trebled because the price of commodities in terms of

dollar has trebled over the past twenty years. But this is not correct. The inflationary spiral of the past twenty years got its gold base out of the excessive rise in gold price and enormous stimulation to gold production.

The IMF's argument against the raising of the gold price is that gold is not like any other commodity. If the gold price is to be related to the commodity price and marked up every time the commodity price rises, it would cease to have use or meaning as an official currency standard. The use of any fixed gold price is to check excessive credit expansion and rising commodity prices.

Those who are against raising the price of gold argue that any comparison of the gold position today with 20 years ago would show a scarcity because the countries have indulged in so much inflation in the intervening period. But to raise the price of gold at this juncture would be to destroy faith in all the currencies which are linked to gold. In the 1930's, gold price increases had a legitimate object of encouraging recovery of an inequitably deflated world price structure. Inflation today is barely mastered. The increase in the price of gold will give a longer lease of life to the inflationary tendencies that rule the world today.

So far as India is concerned a rise in the gold price will not much benefit the country. A rise in gold price will mean further devaluation of the rupee and it will further push upwards the inflationary spiral. But it is also a fact that the world price level has moved far away from the 1934 price level. Index numbers have now been based on new higher price levels. It is therefore unrealistic to follow the 1934 gold price for the purpose of valuation of the currencies of the world. The cost structure has gone up all over the world. The gold price therefore calls for a revision. While it is admitted that gold price should not be changed with every change in the prices of commodities, the fact that needs consideration is that the Second World War has brought a basic change in the general price levels of the member countries and that is why the gold price should be raised.

It may, however, be asked whether the rise in gold price will sustain. It may be recalled that some years ago South Africa, on her

persistent demand, was allowed by the IMF to sell gold at prices as were prevalent in the free markets of the world. But it was soon found that the people were not agreeable to pay such a high price for gold. As a result, the free market price went lower than the controlled price and ultimately it had to be abandoned. In Canada, the present gold price rules around the 1934 price of gold. It is only in the countries of the East that the gold price is higher than the price fixed by the IMF.

The price of gold in India is already very high. It is much higher than the price fixed by the IMF at \$35 an ounce. A rise in the gold price, therefore, will not affect the internal price of gold in India. But the gold reserves of the Reserve Bank will go up in view of the rise in gold price. A rise in gold price will no doubt result in the devaluation of the rupee. But there is also the other side of the picture. The increase in gold price will not exceed the present internal price of gold in India. If the price is raised, the Reserve Bank can purchase gold from the public at that officially higher rate and that will facilitate India's payments of her external obligations incurred on account of the import of capital goods for the Second Five-Year Plan. If the official price is raised, the value of gold hoards will rise and there will be less speculative investment in the yellow metal.

The USA is against any rise in the price of gold. It maintains that the dollar is used more commonly than gold in financial settlements among the nations. Any alteration in the ratio of gold to dollar would have far-reaching implications. An increase in the dollar price of gold would penalise foreign Governments, banks and individuals who have trusted the dollar; it would hand out windfall profits to those who possess the gold. The direct benefit of such an increase to the USA would be minor, for gold mining is of rather negligible importance to the USA. An increase in price would be helpful to the major gold-producing countries of the world. They would gain buying power at the expense of the non-producing nations. The last time the dollar price of gold was significantly raised was during the depression of the 'thirties. The situation then was quite different. Then the Federal Reserve Sys-

tem was embarrassed by gold shortage in fighting the depression. Now the Federal Reserve System holds \$9.7 billion of excess gold reserves. In 1934, the policy in raising the gold price was designed to serve the national interest of the USA only. Now it is a question that will have different effects on different countries.

Soil Conservation

It is now increasingly being felt that the success of India's Second Five-Year Plan depends primarily on the expansion of agricultural output, besides the needed emphasis on industrial development of the country. India being primarily an agricultural country, economic prosperity will not be achieved unless she is made self-sufficient in agricultural output. Speaking at the all-India Soil Conservation Seminar, held in Ootacamund in the last week of May, the Union Minister for Co-operation observed "The choice is to get on with the Plan by increasing agricultural production or not to get on with the Plan at all. There is no other way out." The shortfall in agricultural output is fundamentally due to the vagaries of nature. But nature alone cannot be blamed for the shortcomings of man also. The gradual deterioration of soil on account of erosion is also greatly responsible for the low yield of agricultural crops. Afforestation and the development of irrigation are the two important remedies for counteracting the evil effect of soil erosion. In 1956, the net area under irrigation was 56 million acres; the target of irrigation work under the Second Five-Year Plan has been placed at another 21 million acres. That is, by the end of 1960-61, India will have a total irrigated area of 77 million acres.

The gravity of the soil erosion demands more persistent efforts on the part of the authorities. About 200 million acres, made up of 100 million acres of agricultural land, 50 million acres of other non-cultivable land and 50 million acres of desert areas need immediate protection by intensive soil conservation measures in Madras, Bombay, Punjab and West Bengal. Until the establishment of the Central Soil Conservation Board in 1953, the

Government of India was not very much serious about the problem of soil erosion. From the view-point of the devastating nature of this problem, the target laid down and the progress achieved in this direction are totally disappointing. The Union Minister pointed out that during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, only 70,000 acres of land were protected against soil erosion. The lower Bengal, particularly the Sundarban area, is the victim of continuous soil erosion.

The river valley projects are also considerably responsible for the soil erosion. The recent heat wave that is lashing Bihar and West Bengal for the last month is unprecedented in severity. Drought is not the main cause of this aridity. The aridity is mainly the result of deforestation caused on account of river valley projects in Bihar and West Bengal areas. Unless immediate steps are taken for afforestation, parts of Bihar and West Bengal will in no distant future be turned into a dust bowl area as has occurred in the Tennessee Valley area of the USA. For the preservation of soil conservation, certain portions of agricultural land are to be withdrawn from agriculture and trees should be grown on them.

The authorities are also aware of the deforestation caused by river valley projects. One of the main objects of the river valley projects is to increase the irrigated area of the country. But the building of dams has resulted in considerable deforestation and that means natural rainfall is obstructed in these areas. Wind erosion will also be a powerful factor in the river valley regions causing large-scale aridity. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the Government of India has launched an integral soil survey scheme in these areas. Priority to survey work will be given to the catchment areas of the Machkund, Chambal, Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Kosi and Damodar projects. The refugee rehabilitation has also caused considerable deforestation around Calcutta and in neighbourhood areas. Afforestation in these areas is also called for.

Communist Economic Integration

The Communist countries of the world are, if we are to take official announcements at face

value, speedily heading towards mutual economic integration. Prior to 1955 economic co-operation between the Communist states primarily expressed itself through bilateral trade. Since 1955 a new element was introduced through the effort to co-ordinate their long-term economic plans of these countries with a view to eliminating "unnecessary parallelism in production" such co-ordination is taking place within the frame-work of national independence of the socialist states. This has naturally given rise to certain problems which are not unfamiliar to the non-socialist countries. The first problem is that of a comprehensive analysis of the economy of all the socialist countries on the basis of which only a plan for co-ordination can be worked out. Then there is the problem of the determination of the economic efficacy of capital investments in the various socialist countries which is essential for selecting the country of investment and the optimum variant of capital investment. There is again the problem of "finding the best form for the participation of one socialist country in increasing in another socialist country the output of the products it needs." There remains further the difficulty in agreeing to a proper price relationship between those countries.

The organization frame-work through which the object of mutual economic co-ordination is promoted is provided by the Economic Mutual Assistance Council (EMAC) established in 1949 by the USSR and the European Communist states to the sessions of which now representatives of China, Korea; Mongolia and Yugoslavia attend as observers. The Council is now busy co-ordinating the major tasks of the long-term national economic plans of its member-countries. The Council has now a number of standing Commissions to study important aspects of international socialist co-operation.

There is a great degree of co-ordination between the economic plans of the Soviet Union and China. According to the Soviet writer O. Bogomolov, "In drawing up the Second Five-Year Economic Plan of China, the production programmes of both countries [China and the USSR] were co-ordinated. It is within the frame-work of this co-ordination that the Soviet Union is supplying equipment for, and

rendering technical assistance in, the building of 211 major industrial enterprises, one of the decisive factors in the successful industrialization of the People's Republic of China." It is now, however, officially admitted that such co-ordination of production has in many places gone too far or has not been as productive as had been expected and it is proposed to envisage co-ordination at a slower pace and over a longer period—say from 10 to 15 years. The trade is still predominantly bilateral and on a barter system: the problem of creating a clearing system for multi-lateral trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

In the European intra-Communist economic relations over the past dozen years the net pre-October (1956) annual balance amounted to about five billion rubles in favour of the Soviet Union. This unequal relationship whereby the Soviet Union gained more at the expense of its East European neighbours was naturally not looked upon with enthusiasm by these countries and the Soviet Union had to concede to their demands for more equal relationships, particularly after the October (1958) events in Poland and Hungary. According to one American expert, Mr. Victor Winston, the unfavourable balance of the non-Soviet European Communist countries showed a downward tendency since 1953 or 1954. "Although the precise moment when this balance became unfavourable to the USSR cannot be pin-pointed," Mr. Winston writes, "a comparison between the average pre- and post-October (1956) annual balances argues convincingly that Eastern Europe has become an economic liability to the Soviet Union."

The validity of Mr. Winston's thesis is not beyond question and it is open to argument whether it is correct to describe the European People's democracies as the "economic liability of the Soviet Union". Certainly this thesis is inapplicable to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany and to the Asian Communist countries which are partners in the renewed efforts at economic integration of the Communist states. However, information about the Communist countries is so scarce that it is always extremely difficult to make any assessment, not to speak of a correct one.

Communist Orthodoxy

After a brief spell of rational liberalism spread over a period of three years official communism is now again resuming its orthodoxy. The history of a decade ago is being repeated now, perhaps, as the Communists would like to say, on "a higher level." Ten years ago, in June, 1948, the Information Bureau of the nine European Communist parties had decided to exclude the Communist Party of Yugoslavia alleging that the latter had been following policies prompted by what the former termed "bourgeois nationalism." It had not taken long for that Communist campaign against Yugoslavia to degenerate into one of the grossest personal vilification of the dissident Yugoslav leaders by the hirelings of the Cominform so much so that a new term "Titoite" had been added to the Communist vocabulary to denote a criminal. The unity of the Yugoslav Communist leaders soon led the official Communist camp to see its own folly in antagonizing the Yugoslav leaders. So came the Khrushchev recantation followed by others. Khrushchev openly and squarely admitted that the Cominform and the Soviet Communist Party had acted wrongly in criticising the Yugoslav Communists and he offered to make amends for that insult by publicly apologising to Tito and by agreeing to disband the decrepit Cominform. The circle is closing now with a renewed denunciation of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the revalidation of the officially expunged Cominform resolution of June, 1948 by the Soviet Communist Party, this time through the agency of the Chinese Communist Party.

Everything that is being done now follows the familiar pattern of Communist conduct. As in June, 1948, in 1958 also an unilateral judgment has been passed on Yugoslavia, which might conceivably have been modelled word for word upon the 1948 document, that the Yugoslav policies were inducing "the working people and the working class of various countries to proceed along the road of capitulation before capitalism." The whole of the international Communist movement seems to have accepted this characterisation with a show of unanimity that must appear very striking to

even the most superficial observer of the international scene.

What is most important in these latest Communist manoeuvres against Yugoslavia is not the attack itself (though it is no less startling after the Khrushchev recantation, especially as it does nothing but re-iterate the very criticism, sometimes word for word, which had been admitted by Khrushchev as unjust), but the manner. Apparently the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party had had no discussion with the Yugoslav Communist Party prior to the publication of the Chinese disclaimer. Yet it has not struck as unusual to a good majority of the Communists that a fraternal party, professing "proletarian internationalism" should come forward with such unilateral denunciation of a fraternal Communist Party and its leaders. Nay, the Communists, at least in India, far from questioning the Chinese criticism, conveniently have made it their own and have not considered it necessary to read the Yugoslav programme on which the Chinese criticism was based. The Communist Party of India—which is well-known for its fits of emotional imbalance—sent an "amendment" to its message of greeting to the recent Congress of Yugoslav Communists as soon as it came to know of the views of the "big brothers" about Yugoslavia. It has, in West Bengal, published the text of the Chinese critique but did not publish the text of the Yugoslav programme. How, in this context, the Party members or the leadership could form their opinion as to the relative validity of either of the points of view is not known. It is clear that the Party leadership has, without any reference to the documents or its own membership, already made up its mind in favour of the Chinese stand on Yugoslavia. Being Indians one might ask what new features the CPI discovered in the Yugoslav programme that led it to denounce Tito in 1948, praise him in 1955, and again to denounce him in 1958? How is it to be explained that at every turn of this twisted course the CPI's evaluation always followed, but *never preceded*, decision by the Soviet Communist Party? Does "proletarian internationalism" consist in giving up one's judgment and the servile toeing of the meandering Soviet Party line in all matters of ideology and politics? Is it

"bourgeois nationalism" to be indignant against Soviet extortions and ill-founded Soviet (for that matter of any other) claim for omniscience? Why is it that the CPI, which has lost no time to criticise Yugoslavia once it was criticised by the overlords in Kremlin and Peking, never considered it necessary to condemn the Soviet Party for its mischievous and self-condemned policies against Yugoslavia during 1948-1954? Has this reluctance been dictated by the relative strength of the two countries? The CPI owes a reply.

"Balance Sheet of 'Decolonization'"

Professor Tibor Mende of Paris University in an article with the above title in the tenth anniversary number of the bi-monthly *United Asia* of Bombay makes some interesting remarks about the newly independent countries of South-east Asia. "The first and most spacious generalization about the former colonial countries," he writes, "is that their experience with independence is not encouraging. Expressed in terms of improved living standards for the majorities, or considering their success in approaching real economic independence, their experience must be termed a failure."

The causes of this state of affairs were deep and far-reaching. The responsibility partly lay with the former colonial powers who had hindered the process of economic growth in these countries and whose policies were still militating against the achievement of progress by the newly-free peoples.

Independence did not, however, engendered any immediate change in the institutional basis of economic relationship of the ex-dependent country—either within the nation between sections of its people or without, in its relationship with other countries. "In most cases, if there was any fundamental change, it merely resulted in the substitution of the old Imperial power by another, richer one, as the *vis-a-vis* in the bilateral relationship. Real progress toward *breaking up* of the bilateral relationship (which had come as a legacy of economic colonialism of the past) and, therefore, toward structural changes which could have implied tangible progress toward the implementation of political independence with economic one too, was a rare exception," writes Prof. Mende.

Part of the responsibility for the failure to achieve desirable progress must thus go to the leaders of these newly independent countries also. No serious effort was in evidence to rectify the unbalance in the inherited economies. There was no serious tendency to diversify exports, no real effort to modernise agriculture and no serious effort to create the social conditions and incentives for the channelling of local savings into productive investments.

Further, there was no genuine effort to foster regional co-operation which would have certainly been mutually beneficial. "In fact, one of the most surprising things is that," writes Prof. Mende, "there is next to no intercourse between the ex-colonial countries. The people of Latin America or of South-east Asia know less about each other's problems and achievements than about the events of Europe and the United States. Their newspapers—tributaries of the great international news agencies—accord little if any space to their regional problems. Communications between them have not been much developed and economic exchange, even when obviously beneficial for both sides, has been envisaged only in exceptional cases. The second phenomenon of equally disadvantageous consequences, is that even where attempts have been made to bring together ex-colonial countries—as for instance, at Bandung—this has always been on the emotional common-denominator of political frustration only. It never progressed further on toward the harmonization of economic aims; measures which alone could have promised real progress toward the remedying of the political grievances. All the eloquence of the Bandung Conference did not produce a single arrangement for synchronization of two neighbours' economic aims."

While the learned professor might be criticised for underrating some of the historical handicaps to immediate intra-regional co-operation, the basic soundness of his criticism could not be denied. Moreover, as his criticism was nowhere intended to be an apologia for the restoration of colonialism and as he did not in any way minimise the continuing responsibility of the ex-colonial powers for the present frustration of the independent Asian States, his criticism would seem to demand close attention

from policy-makers and people in all the countries concerned.

De Gaulle in Power

The following news report indicates that the ship of State of France has at last got a pilot of the Old Brigade. It is to be seen what repercussions follow in North Africa and in the Anglo-American Bloc:

"Paris, May 29.—'An Official Communiqué issued at the Elysee Palace,' said President Coty, 'had called on General De Gaulle to form a Government,' reports *Reuter*.

"The invitation came after a series of unprecedented developments in which the President gave an ultimatum to the National Assembly that he would resign if a Government led by de Gaulle was not formed.

"General de Gaulle has agreed to form a Government, a spokesman said. President Coty has called a meeting of the leaders of Parliamentary groups for tomorrow, it was stated.

"The Palace communiqué was issued verbally by a spokesman for President Coty. When asked whether General de Gaulle had agreed to form a Government, the spokesman replied: 'Yes.'

"The Free French leader made a 150 miles dramatic dash by car this evening from his country home to the capital to meet the President. The announcement came after that meeting.

"The President took the unusual step of designating General de Gaulle without consulting any National Assembly personality because last night's negotiations between the General and the two presiding officers of Parliament had failed over the period of suspension of Parliament."

The Western Alliance To-day

The *New York Times* of May 18 carried some significant editorials, extracts from which are given *in extenso* below. The most significant of course is the news commentary on the dramatic assumption of power by Gen. Charles de Gaulle:

"Last week was one of the most eventful since the end of World War II. The repercussions promised to be far-reaching. These, among others, were the major developments:

"(1) In France, pivot of the Western alliance in Europe, the parliamentary regime was fighting for its life in a grave crisis over Algeria. Gen. Charles de Gaulle bid for power as a "strong man," and the Army in Algeria itself led what appeared to be a virtual insurrection against the Paris Government. A large majority in parliament rallied to the regime's defense, but it was plain the struggle was not over.

"(2) In the Western Hemisphere, Latin-American grievances against the U.S. exploded the second time in a fortnight in violence against the touring Vice-President Nixon.

"(3) In Russia, the third and greatest of the sputniks went aloft and gave Premier Khrushchev's prestige a lift at a time of apparent stress within the Communist camp.

"(4) In the Middle East, the anti-Western Nasser of Egypt proclaimed friendship for Russia in terms of marked cordiality. At the same time his followers launched violent attacks upon the pro-Western government of Lebanon.

"Altogether it was a week of deep dismay for the West. For the United States in particular old problems were intensified and new problems emerged. Seldom had the challenges to American resourcefulness—in NATO, in inter-American affairs, in the Middle East, in technology—been so insistent.

"For the Russians the week was one of corresponding satisfaction. It seemed plain that once again the tide of events in the propaganda war was running in favour of the Russians.

"France, for centuries one of the world's great powers, is indispensable to the Allied position on the European Continent. French troops and NATO bases on French soil form an integral part of the West's defense system. France was one of the three Western occupying powers in Germany and is a key-member of the European Common Market, the European Atomic Energy Community and the Coal and Steel Community. A France in turmoil, or under anti-democratic rule by the Right or Left, would loosen the structure of the entire NATO alliance and probably force the retreat of American and British troops from Europe.

"France has been on the brink of turmoil repeatedly throughout the post-war era, largely

as the result of severe conflicts over colonial policy. France has watched its once great empire disintegrate as Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco and the former French protectorates in the Middle East won independence on the post-war tide of insurgent nationalism. For the French, able neither to muster support from their NATO allies for a vigorous defense of the empire nor to agree among themselves on a plan for its liquidation, the dilemma has been a cruel one.

"The dilemma has been sharpest in Algeria, where for forty-three months the French have been engaged in a bloody struggle against an Arab independence movement led by the National Liberation Front. Once the pivot of its North African holdings, Algeria juridically is a part of metropolitan France. It is ruled by a resident French Minister and represented by thirty seats in the French National Assembly. The majority of the 1,300,000 persons of French extraction among Algeria's predominantly Moslem population of 10,000,000 are violently opposed to the independence movement.

"The Algerian war has tied down a French army of over 400,000, badly stripping France's NATO forces; cost the lives of 5,000 French and 50,000 Algerians and drained the French treasury at the rate of \$5,000,000 daily. It has inflamed feelings within France, exacerbated France's relations with its allies and lent fuel to the Pan-Arab, anti-Western campaign of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

"France's efforts to settle the Algerian conflict have been plagued by the built-in instability of the French political system. The executive in France, represented by the Premier and his cabinet, is completely at the mercy of the 596-seat National Assembly. The Assembly deputies are elected for five years and, except under extraordinary circumstances, do not have to stand for election throughout their tenure regardless of how many governments they bring down.

"The result has been party rule. The seats in the Assembly are split among five major parties of nearly equal strength, plus a sprinkling of splinter groups. The major parties, reading from left to right in terms of their

political shading, are the Communists, Socialists, Catholic MRP (Popular Republicans), Radicals and Independents. To form and sustain a Government, a Premier must usually put together a coalition that has the support of at least three of these parties, plus several of the splinter groups.

"On the Algerian issue, the three center parties—the Socialists, MRP and Radicals—have sought to fashion a compromise policy of increased self-rule. Their efforts have been frustrated by the Communists, on the one hand, who have echoed the demands of the National Liberation Front for complete independence now; and by the Independents and splinter-group Rightists, on the other, who have fought bitterly against 'abandonment' of the colony. In consequence, Algeria has been a factor in the fall of several of France's nineteen Governments since the founding of the Fourth Republic in 1947, and three out of the last five have come down specifically on the Algerian issue.

"The French crisis centered around three forces personified by three men. These were the men:

"*Premier Pierre Pflimlin*, 51. Head of the Popular Republicans, M. Pflimlin is a representative of the Catholic and conservative forces in France and a veteran of the French political wars. He has held posts in fifteen post-war French Cabinets, usually as Finance Minister. He is known among his colleagues as a hard worker and a somewhat colorless but skilful politician who is tenacious and determined when aroused. In the past he has opposed major concessions to the Algerian rebels.

"*General Charles de Gaulle*, 67. Stubborn, imperious, uncompromising, General de Gaulle has been described as having a 'Joan of Arc complex' and Winston Churchill was reported to have remarked during the war that one of the heaviest crosses he had to bear was the Cross of Lorraine. But many Frenchmen did, in fact, regard General de Gaulle as France's savior and when he returned to Paris in 1944 at the head of the Free French forces, he became Premier-President of the Provisional French Government.

"For the next two years, he fought with the political parties to obtain adoption of a

NOTES

constitution that would make the head of the Government directly responsible to the electorate, as in the American system, rather than to the Assembly. In 1946, when his effort seemed doomed, he stepped down and the Fourth Republic was established, giving decisive power to the Assembly. In 1953, de Gaulle retired from active politics altogether.

Lieut. Gen. Raoul Salan, 58. Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Algeria. It was General Salan, formerly French Commander in Indo-China, who served as the symbol last week of army frustration over French colonial policy. France has a great military tradition and a proud, professional officer class. The officer elite has grown increasingly bitter at the 'Paris politicians' whom it blames for the costly and losing wars in Indo-China, Tunis, Morocco and now Algeria. The repeated Cabinet crises have led the army to act with increasing independence in Algeria—most notably in the bombing last February of the Tunisian border village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef."

Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code

For the second time Section 124(A) of the Indian Penal Code was declared unconstitutional and void when, on May 16, a Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court delivered its judgment upon the appeal preferred by the editor of the *Siyasat*, Kanpur. Earlier, in 1952, the Punjab High Court had declared this section as militating against the right of free speech provided for in Article 19 of the Constitution of India. The Press Commission in its *Report* also had stated that "in so far as the section penalises mere exciting or attempting to excite feelings of hatred, contempt or disaffection towards Government without exciting or attempting to excite disturbance of public order, it is *ultra vires* of the Constitution even under the amended Article 19(2) of the Constitution. In a modern democratic society changes of Government are brought about by expressing disaffection with its doings and mobilising public opinion hostile to the Government in power. This is the normal functioning of democracy. In so far as Section 124A seeks to penalise such expressions, the Section would appear to be not only *ultra vires* of the Constitution but opposed to the concept of freedom of the Press." If it would be recalled

that the Chairman of the Press Commission was himself a jurist of great eminence the significance of the comment became even clearer.

In view of these authoritative expressions about the Constitutional validity, the Union Law Ministry should immediately take steps to bring the statute in line with the spirit of the Constitution and pending that it should, in consultation with the Home Ministry, advise the State Governments at least to regard the penal section as a dead letter. This should at least enable the State Governments to desist from incurring the infructuous expenditure through prosecution under this section and would save the public much avoidable trouble.

Supreme Court on Kerala Bill

The Supreme Court gave its ruling on May 22 on the Constitutional validity of the Kerala Education Bill. The Bill had been referred to the Court by the President of India. The Supreme Court stated that clauses 3(5), 8(3) and 9-13 of the Bill offended against the Constitution in so far as Anglo-Indian schools entitled to grants under Article 337 were concerned. Clause 3(5) also violated Article 30(1) of the Constitution inasmuch as it made minority educational institutions desiring aid subject to Clauses 14 and 15 of the Bill, the court said.

The Legal correspondent of the *Statesman* adds:

"The four questions in the President's reference to the Court were:

1.—"Does sub-clause 5 of Clause 3 of the Kerala Education Bill, read with Clause 36 thereof or any provisions of the said sub-clause offend Article 14 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

2.—"Do Clause 3(5), Clause 8(3) and Clauses 9 to 13 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 30(1) of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

3.—"Does Clause 15 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 14 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

4.—"Does Clause 33 of the Bill or any provisions thereof offend Article 223 of the Constitution in any particulars or to any extent?

"The Court's reply was as follows:

"Question 1: No.

"Question 2: (I) yes, in so far as Anglo-Indian educational institutions entitled to grant under Article 337 are concerned; (II) as regards other minorities not entitled to grant as of right under any express provision of the Constitution, but are in receipt of aid or desire such aid, and also as regards Anglo-Indian educational institutions in so far as they are receiving aid in excess of what are due to them under Article 337, Clauses 8(3), and 9 to 13 do not offend Article 30(1), but Clause 3(5), in so far as it makes such educational institutions subject to Clauses 14 and 15, do offend Article 30(1); (III) Clause 7 (except sub-clauses 1 and 3 which apply only to aided schools) and Clause 10 in so far as they apply to recognized schools to be established after the said Bill comes into force do not offend Article 30(1), but Clause 3(5), in so far as it makes the new schools established after the commencement of the Bill subject to Clause 20, does offend Article 30(1).

"Question 3: No.

"Question 4: No. Clause 33 is subject to Article 226 of the Constitution.

"The reference was heard by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Bhagwati, Mr. Justice Aiyar, Mr. Justice Sinha, Mr. Justice Imam, Mr. Justice S. K. Das and Mr. Justice Kapur.

"Clause 3 (5) of the Bill provides that 'after the commencement of this Act, the establishment of a new school or the opening of a higher class in any private school shall be subject to the provisions of this Act, and the rules made thereunder, and any school or higher class established or opened otherwise than in accordance with such provisions shall not be recognized by the Government.'

"Clause 8 (3) provides that 'all fees and other dues, other than special fees, collected from the students in an aided school after the commencement of this Clause shall, notwithstanding anything contained in any agreement, scheme or arrangement, be made over to the Government, in such manner as may be prescribed.'

"Clauses 9 to 13 relate to salaries, qualifications and conditions of service of teachers,

selection of teachers by the Public Service Commission, and re-appointment of retrenched teachers in aided schools."

The Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das, who read the opinion of six of the seven judges who constituted a special bench to hear the arguments, said that

"Clause 20, which imposed a restriction against the collection of fees from any pupil in the primary classes as a condition for recognition, would 'in effect make it impossible for an educational institution established by a minority community being carried on.'

"Clause 20, which had been extended by Clause 3(5) to newly established recognized schools, was violative of Article 30(1), his lordship said, in so far as it affected schools established and administered by minority communities.

"The Chief Justice said that so far as Anglo-Indian schools entitled to grants under Article 337 of the Constitution were concerned, the amount received by them as grant must be construed as 'aid' within the meaning of the Bill and that these institutions must accordingly be regarded as 'aided schools' within the meaning of the definitions in the Bill.

"The imposition of stringent terms as fresh or additional conditions precedent to this grant to the Anglo-Indian educational institutions will, therefore, infringe on their rights not only under Article 14 but also under Article 30(1),' his lordship said.

"Dealing with questions, and 3 which sought the court's opinion on the validity of Clauses 3(5) and 15 in relation to Article 14, the Chief Justice said that there was no discrimination in the provisions of the Bill which applied to both majority and minority community educational institutions.

"The policy and purpose of the Bill could be deduced from the title and the preamble of the Bill which was intended to provide for the better organization and development of educational institutions in the State. Each and every one of the clauses in the Bill had to be interpreted and read in the light of this policy. When, therefore, any particular clause left any discretion to the Government to take any action it must be understood that such discretion was to be exercised for the purpose of advancing

and in aid of implementing and not impeding this policy. It was therefore, not correct to say that no policy or principle had at all been laid down by the Bill to guide the exercise of the discretion left to Government by the clauses in the Bill.

"The general policy deducible from the title and preamble of the Bill, his lordship said, was further reinforced by more definite statements of policy in different clauses thereof. The clear implication of the various provisions in the light of the policy deducible from the title and the preamble was that in the matter of granting permission or recognition the Government must be guided by the consideration whether the giving of such permission or recognition would ensure for the better organization and development of educational institutions in the State.

"If in actual fact, any discrimination was made by the Government, his lordship said, then such discrimination would be in violation of the policy and principle deducible from the Bill itself and the court would then strike down not the provisions of the Bill but the discriminatory act of the Government.

"The Chief Justice said that though Clause 14 conferred power on Government to take over the management of any aided school this power was to be exercised only if it appeared to Government that the manager of any aided school had neglected to perform the duties imposed on him and that the exercise of the power was necessary in public interest. Likewise the power under Clause 15 (1) for acquiring any category of school could be exercised only if Government was satisfied that it was necessary to exercise it for standardizing general education or for improving the literacy level in any area or for more effectively managing the aided educational institutions, etc. The exercise of this power was also controlled by the proviso that no notification under the sub-clause could be issued unless the proposal for the taking over was supported by a resolution of the Legislative Assembly—a proviso which clearly indicates that the power cannot be exercised by the Government at its whim or pleasure.

"The Chief Justice referred to the rule-making clause and the fact that rules have to

be placed before the Assembly and observed that a discretionary power was not necessarily a discriminatory power and that the abuse of power by the Government would not be lightly assumed.

"For these reasons, his lordship said: 'It appears to us that the charge of unconstitutionality of the several clauses which come within the two questions now under consideration founded on Article 14 cannot be sustained'

"Dealing with question two which raised doubt whether Clauses 3(5), 8(3) and Clauses 9 to 13 did not infringe minority rights under Article 30(1), the Chief Justice said that the term minority 'was not defined in the Constitution. It was easy to say that a minority community meant a community which was numerically less than 50 per cent but then the question was not fully answered, namely, 50 per cent of what? Was it 50 per cent of the entire population of India or 50 per cent of the population of a State forming part of the Union? The Chief Justice said that the Kerala Government's contention that persons must numerically be a minority in the particular region in which the educational institution was situated to claim the fundamental rights of minorities was not a satisfactory test. The Bill extended to the whole of the State and consequently the minority must be determined by reference to the entire population of Kerala. By this test Christians, Muslims, and Anglo-Indians would certainly be minorities in Kerala.'

"Referring to the scope of Article 30(1), the Chief Justice said that it left it to the choice of minorities to establish such educational institutions as would serve both the purposes of conserving their religion, language or culture and of giving a thorough, good general education to their children. There was no limitation placed on the subjects to be taught in such institutions. The ambit of the rights conferred by the Article had to be determined on a consideration of the matter from the points of view of the educational institutions themselves.

"The Chief Justice then referred to the argument of the Counsel who appeared for some Kerala educational institutions that Clause 26 of the Bill, which would make it obligatory on guardians to send children to Government or

private-recognized schools to complete the full course of primary education, would result in the closing of minority institutions which did not seek either aid or recognition from the State, for want of students. His lordship said that the question of infraction of minorities right under Article 30 (1) by Clause 26 of the Bill did not come within the scope of question No. 2 and we cannot on the present reference express any opinion on that point.

"On Anglo-Indian educational institutions getting grant under Article 337 of the Constitution, the Chief Justice said: 'If the Anglo-Indian educational institutions cannot get the grant to which they are entitled except upon terms laid down by the provision of the Bill then, if, they insist on the right of administration guaranteed to them by Article 30(1), they will have to exercise their option under the proviso to Clause 3(4) and remain content with mere recognition, subject to certain terms therein mentioned which may also be an irksome and intolerable encroachment on the right of administration. But the real point is that no educational institutions can in modern times, afford to subsist and efficiently function without some State aid and, therefore, to continue their institutions they will have to seek aid and will virtually have to surrender their constitutional right of administering educational institutions of their choice. In the premises, they may, in our opinion, legitimately complain that so far as the grants under Article 337 are concerned, the provisions of the clauses of the Bill mentioned in Question 2 do in substance and effect infringe their fundamental rights under Article 30(1) and are to that extent void.'

"The Chief Justice said that the problem before the court was one of reconciling between the two conflicting interests—the minority rights to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and the duty of Government to promote education and its obligation to introduce free and compulsory primary education in accordance with Article 45. The directive principles could not ignore or override but subserve the fundamental rights. At the same time the right of minorities to administer could not obviously include the right to maladminister.

"His lordship said that there were no doubt

powers under the Bill which were 'serious inroads on the right of administration and appear perilously near violating that right, but considering that those provisions are applicable to all educational institutions and that the impugned parts of Clauses 9, 11 and 12 are designed to give protection and security to the ill-paid teachers who are engaged in rendering service to the nation and protect the backward classes, we are prepared, as at present advised, to treat these Clauses 9, 11(2) and 11(4) as permissible regulations which the State may impose on the minorities as a condition for granting aid to their educational institutions. We, however, find it impossible to support Clauses 14 and 15 of the said Bill as mere regulations. The provisions of those clauses may be totally destructive of the rights under Article 30(1). It is true that the right to aid is not implicit in Article 30(1) but the provisions of those clauses if submitted to on account of their factual compulsion as condition of aid may easily be violative of Article 30(1) of the Constitution.'

"In our opinion,' his lordship added, 'sub-clause 3 of Clause 8 and Clauses 9 to 13 being merely regulatory do not offend Article 30(1) but the provisions of Clause 3(5) by making the aided educational institutions subject to Clauses 14 and 15 as conditions for the grant of aid do offend against Article 30(1) of the Constitution.'

"The Chief Justice said that the right of minorities to establish educational institutions of their choice must, therefore, mean the right to establish real institutions which would effectively serve the needs of their community and the scholars who resorted to their institutions. There was no doubt no such thing as fundamental right to recognition by the State, but to deny recognition to the institutions except upon terms tantamount to the surrender of their constitutional right of administration of institutions of their choice was in truth and in effect to deprive them of their rights under Article 30(1). The legislative power was subject to the fundamental rights and the legislature could not indirectly take away or abridge the fundamental rights which it could not do directly and yet that would be the result if the

said Bill containing any offending clause be-State, then no law of the State could compel came law."

"Concluding the Chief Justice said: 'There can be no manner of doubt that our Constitution has guaranteed certain cherished rights to the minorities concerning their language, culture and religion. These concessions must have been made to them for good and valid reasons. Article 45 no doubt requires the State to provide for free and compulsory education for all children but there is nothing to prevent the State from discharging that solemn obligation through Government and aided schools and Article 45 does not require that obligation to be discharged at the expense of the minority communities. So long as the Constitution stands as it is and is not altered, it is, we conceive, the duty of this court to uphold the fundamental rights and thereby honour our sacred obligation to the minority communities who are of our own.'

"In a separate note, Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said that while he shared the majority opinion in regard to questions 1, 3 and 4 of the President's reference, he could not agree with the view that Clause 20 of the Bill could be said to infringe Article 30(1). This clause by which Government could direct schools not to charge tuition fees for primary classes, his lordship said, applied only to Government and private (aided or recognized) schools and there was no prohibition on minorities, religious or linguistic, establishing their own educational institutions and charging fees, so long as they did not seek aid or recognition from the State. It was only when they made a demand on the State for aid or recognition that the provisions of the Bill would become applicable to them. Construing Article 30(1) on its language, Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said, it was difficult to assume that it implied any right in the minorities to have their educational institutions recognised by the State. If there was no right in the minorities to have their institutions recognized, then the question whether Clause 20 was an invasion of that right would not arise.

"Mr. Justice Venkatarama Aiyer said that if the right of minorities to establish and maintain educational institutions carried with it an implied right to be recognised by the

State, then no law of the State could compel them to admit students free and therefore Article 45 could never become operative since what it provided was free education for all children.

"The true intention of Article 30(1) is to equip minorities with a shield whereby they could defend themselves against attacks by majorities, religious or linguistic, and not to arm them with a sword whereby they could compel the majorities to grant concessions," his lordship said."

Government and the People

Referring to the broader question of the relationship between the people and the administration in India, the weekly *Vigil* of Calcutta in a keen editorial writes:

"The Prime Minister some times lectures Government officers: they should change their old mentality and re-orient their attitude towards the people, must not be all the time sitting on their official perches but should come down among the people; and so on. But whenever there is a question, not of the *burra sahibs* coming down to the people (which anyway the *burra sahibs* have so far given little proof of doing), but of drawing up the people near the 'centre of activity and responsibility' Shri Nehru shows a characteristic aversion for any deviation from the 'best' tradition of the British ruler at home and in the colonies, which is to permit the people as rarely and as little as possible a view of the inner working of the Government and policy-making, where secrecy is accepted as the supreme rule. The Prime Minister was angry with the way the people showed their interest in the proceedings of the Chagla Inquiry Commission. He thought it was "vulgar" and seemed to regret that the inquiry at all took place in the presence of the public. It was an occasion, all too rare, when the public had a glimpse—a very fleeting one—of a corner of the inner sanctuary of the ruling gods who, however, rule in the people's name and at their cost. Similarly, the Prime Minister was annoyed at the 'indecent' of the behaviour of Shri Siddhartha Ray who resigned from the West Bengal Cabinet. The Prime Minister did not condescend to go into

the charges made by Shri Ray in his statement. He confessed he did not even read it. He was concerned only that Shri Ray had done something which is "not done" by a Minister, that is, to tell the public any 'secret' of the inner working of the Government and policy-making."

This whole attitude is reactionary. Though the Government is supposed to be run for the people by the representatives of the people, neither the people nor their representatives have any scope to influence the making of policies which has, as before, been kept as a close preserve of the officialdom. Foreigners, including Americans and Britons, have often expressed wonder at the extreme paucity of information about the publicly-manned enterprises in India. No, this secretiveness has found encouragement from the Government's policy of according to the senior government officers an unduly privileged position. The Chagla Enquiry showed how cynical and unscrupulous some of the higher officers could be when it came to serving their own skin. But the Government, instead of taking the proper lesson, has come out against the enquiry itself, and the subsequent enquiry is being held in camera. It is, indeed, difficult to understand why a people's government cannot allow an open enquiry into the conduct of a few of its officers when judges are deciding many times more complicated and passion-raising cases in court before the public gaze. This unnecessary and unusual secretiveness is certainly a symbol of one of the moral dangerous potentialities of the present state of democracy in India.

India at the Asian Games

We have no heart or inclination to go into details of what happened in Tokyo where the Indian teams were concerned. We are only appending two news-reports for record.

But all the same we say with all the emphasis at our command, that either this chain of disgraceful exhibitions should be totally ended by stopping the sending of teams abroad, or else the control and management must be drastically purged of its foul and intriguing elements.

Tokyo, May 29.—"Twenty-four-year-old Mohinder Singh kept India's flag flying today at the Asian Games with a record-breaking effort of 15.62 metres (51 ft. 2½ in.) in the hop-step-and-jump to gain the fifth gold medal for his country.

"Apart from this it was a tale of bad luck and poor displays from an Indian point of view.

"First Gulzara Singh was disqualified after his courageous effort in the gruelling marathon in which he had finished fourth. Then the 4×400 metres relay team was disqualified after finishing second. Just when hopes were raised that India would repeat her performance in the 4×100 metres women's relay at Manila, where she won a gold medal, there was some fumbling with the baton and she had to be satisfied with a bronze medal—her second in the games.

"The 4×400 metres relay race was marked by a great effort on the part of Milkha Singh to catch up with the Japanese runner but he just failed. Running the last leg he made up much ground but could finish only second. The Indian team was disqualified because the first runner, Joseph, fouled and dropped the baton near the change-over line. Over the last 100 metres he had appeared to be making the distance with difficulty."

Tokyo, May 30.—"For the first time since the 1928 Olympics at Amsterdam, India were pushed to second place in an international hockey meet when Pakistan today won the gold medal in the third Asian Games on goal average, after holding India to a goalless draw.

"The young Pakistani team made a determined bid to humble the world champions but the experienced Indian deep defence, Claudius, in the half line and the goalkeeper Laxman, came to India's rescue. Poor finishing by Pakistan ruined their chances of an outright victory.

"Korea finished third in the tournament, Malaya fourth and Japan fifth.

"But while the hockey team failed to secure the gold medal India's football and volleyball teams secured thrilling victories."

The Clay-feet of Democracy

Democracy is very far from perfect in action, thanks to the totally self-centred, that is to say extremely selfish mode of thinking amongst certain of its strata. Below we append three news-items which go to show the weak points of democracy where the politics of organised labour are concerned. They are from the news-items in the *Statesman*:

London, May 30.—“Ninety-seven ships were today immobilized in London and 15,000 men were thrown out of work as a result of the unofficial strike of 14,000 London dockers, reports *U.P.I.-A.F.P.*”

“The strike was called to protest against the employment of ‘black-leg’ labour and in sympathy with meat transport drivers from Smithfield market who stopped work two weeks ago to press for higher pay.

“Several ships have sailed from London without unloading. Export goods are held up on the quayside while thousands of tons of perishable goods cannot be unloaded.

“The Government today mobilized 6,000 soldiers to stand by for duty as truck drivers to assure the supply of petrol for the London region.

“The measure was announced by the War Office and followed an appeal by the Ministry of Transport calling on motorists not to make a rush for petrol.

“The decision to mobilize the soldiers indicated that the meeting this morning between Mr. Macmillan and union leaders to prevent the London bus strike from spreading had failed.

“At the beginning of the week, Mr. Frank Cousins, leader of the Transport Workers Union, whose 53,000 busmen have been on strike for 26 days ordered petrol tank truck drivers to go on strike next Monday in support of the busmen.

“Mr. Cousins also called for a strike of London underground personnel but the underground workers who are affiliated with the Railway Workers Union have so far refused to leave their jobs.

“A delegation of the Trades Union Congress conferred for nearly two hours today

with Mr. Macmillan. A union spokesman said the interview had not produced any concrete or immediate results.

“The T. U. C. had asked for a meeting with the Prime Minister after the Minister of Labour, Mr. Iain MacLeod, had refused to intervene in the bus strike despite the threat to extend the strike to petrol deliveries in the London area.

“The General Council of the T. U. C., was meeting this afternoon to discuss the situation.”

Jamshedpur, May 25.—“T.I.S.C.O. announced today that it would start reopening plants in the factory from May 28. The announcement added that tentatively the factory will be back to normal production on June 15, when all the plants will be functioning.

“The notification was relayed in the afternoon over T.I.S.C.O.’s radio system and there were large gatherings at different points in the town listening to the broadcast. Leaflets in Hindi and English were widely distributed.

“Sir Jehangir Ghandy, Director-in-Charge of T.I.S.C.O., arrived here by a special Tata plane from Delhi where he had stopped for a night on his way back from London.

“Sir Jehangir is popular among the employees and his arrival has raised hopes among them that efforts may begin for a settlement.

“It was officially stated today that the casualties in the police firing on the night of May 20 and the following morning were two dead and 14 wounded. The Government had so far maintained that there had been one death and that four others had been wounded, but the second body was found by the police yesterday in a secluded place far from the place of firing.

“It was officially stated today that the police had fired thrice and not once on the morning of May 21.”

Jamshedpur, May 29.—“The controversy as to whether the steel factory strike should continue or not having ended, the only concern of workers now is to go back to work as quickly as possible.

"The management has phased the re-opening. According to this programme men will be taken back when necessary and it appears the last group will not be able to enter the factory before the second week of June provided everybody gets passes by then. The heaviest rush of workers so far was seen today at registration centres. Registration, which is done after a worker signs a declaration that he will not participate in strikes, and the issue of passes seem to be proceeding painfully slowly and unless the company arranges to speed up the procedure it is doubted if all employees can be given passes by the dates fixed in the phased programme. I talked with many people who stood in queues for passes for hours in scorching sun with the temperature well above 110°F today. They complained that they had registered their names three or four days ago but were still to get their passes. There were other queues of people who wanted to register their names as preliminary to getting passes.

"In two morning shifts today (A and E) 4,064 men attended work compared with 3,548 yesterday."

We have further the curious spectacle of strikes in the dockyards of our major ports. It is curious because the very labour leaders who have organised the strikes, have repeatedly accused the Government of being indifferent about food shortages as also about the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. These strikes will hold up the import of food and the carrying out of the Plans, due to the great delay in unloading ships carrying food and essential materials. The Government for once seems to have woken up to realities and at a belated hour is trying to tackle the situation. Beyond that it seems to be a hopeless mess as yet.

Indian Success on the Himalayas

May 15 marked the first Indian success on the Himalayas. On that day two members of the 8-man Indian Expedition to the 26,867 feet

Cho Yu reached the summit of the peak. Nepalese and Indian national flags were hoisted on the Cho Yu to mark this success.

By all standards this is a creditable performance: as a first venture the success of the Indian team in reaching Cho Yu, world's sixth highest mountain peak, deserves all praise. The Indian team on the hills suffered great reverses, not the least was the death of the noted climber, Major Jayal. It speaks highly of the determination and ability of the members of the team that even such an initial shock could not deter them from following up to their object. We heartily congratulate the members of the team—particularly the great Pasang Lama whose experience of the Himalayas is not equalled by any other individual except Tenzing—the victor of the Everest.

The Brother-in-law

The fortnightly *Reporter* of New York writes: "The recent and reluctant prominence of Colonel George Gordon Moore, the President's wife's sister's husband, reveals that the American language lacks a precise word to describe such a relationship."

The average Indian never ceased to wonder at the relative paucity of words in English to describe personal and social relationships. His surprise was all the more greater because the greater majority of the well-known languages of India was very rich in these types of vocabulary. In Bengali, for example, the relationship referred to by the *Reporter*, would simply be described as *bhaaera* and everyone would understand it. One of the sociological factors for this richness of Indian languages might be traced to the prevalence in India until recently universally, of the joint-family system which necessitated the formulation of exact, but short, terms for denoting the proper relationship between so many relations as the poverty of the English (American) language in this vocabulary might be ascribed to the absence of this joint-family system in England or the U.S.A.

EVOLUTION AND ROLE OF THE SPEAKER IN FOREIGN DEMOCRACIES

By PROF. DR. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

In many countries the presiding officer of the representative or the Lower House of the legislature is known as the Speaker. The institution of Speakership was first developed in the House of Commons in England and has been adopted along with its name by other countries as they developed representative legislative bodies. Curiously enough the Speaker in the English House of Commons does not speak except on very rare occasions. Tradition prohibits him from taking part in the deliberations of the House and from making political speeches outside. However, the name has stuck on to the office because at one time long ago the Speaker acted as the official spokesman of the Commons before the king.

The institution of Speakership has passed through several stages in the course of its development in England and it has also undergone changes in the course of its transplantation in other lands. In England, during the pre-Tudor, Tudor and Stuart regimes the Speaker acted more as an agent and servant of the king advocating and protecting the interests of the royal master than as the defender or champion of the rights and privileges of members. In the next period, during which evolution of Constitutional government took place in England, the Speaker stood forth as the Tribune of the people, defying the arbitrary mandates of the king and promoting the interests of the representatives of the people. It was only since the close of the eighteenth century that the Speaker in England has been able to maintain more or less continuously the character of a non-partisan umpire, keeping aloof from politics both inside and outside the House, and of an impartial regulator of the proceedings and business of the House. Since then the English Speaker has maintained the tradition of perfect impartiality and non-partisanship. On accepting office the English Speaker leaves his politics behind him.

By convention he is forbidden to have connection with political parties or to become a member of a political club. By another convention the English Speaker makes no political address when he seeks re-election from his constituency and is allowed to remain in office so long as he is willing and able to serve and his constituency is not contested.¹ As Speaker he is expected to deal impartially with members of all parties, recognising those who want the floor, and applying the rules and guiding business without favour. For centuries he has been denied the right to speak and vote in the proceedings of the House. He has a casting vote but practice has limited its use to the maintenance of the *status quo*. The English Speaker today is very largely a mere presiding officer and is, 'as near as can be in a human being, the Rules and Practice of the House come to life without interposition of his own'.²

II

In other countries where the institution of Speakership has been adopted, it has not been found possible to maintain all the characteristics as they have developed in England. Local conditions have necessitated variations—even development on different lines in some places. In the United States of America absence of ministerial leadership in the House of Representatives has resulted in

1. Between 1895 and 1935 there had been ten elections in the U.K., in none of which had the Speaker's seat been contested. In 1935, Captain E. A. Fitzroy, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was opposed in his constituency by a candidate sponsored by the Labour Party, but Captain Fitzroy was elected and re-elected to the Speakership for the fourth time in succession. In the last five general elections, the Speaker was opposed four times. In 1956, when Mr. William Shepherd Morrison, who was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1951, contested election as a Conservative candidate, he was opposed by an independent Labour candidate, Mr. D. C. Cox. The official Labour Party did not contest the seat in the Speaker's constituency and Mr. Morrison eventually won.

2. Herman Finer: *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. 2, p. 782.

the Speaker assuming the role of the leader of the House and in his becoming an active party leader, openly promoting party interests in the House. On the continent of Europe existence of a large number of small parties and groups and the consequent political instability has made it difficult for the Speaker to keep out of politics or to become non-partisan and neutral. In Colonial countries the conflict between the Imperial power and the representatives of the people has led to the assumption by the Speaker of the role of the Tribune of the people, protecting their rights and championing the interests and privileges of the members and in helping to enlarge the powers of the legislature. Before attempting to describe the evolution of the office of Speaker in India it will be not without value to review briefly the development of the office in some important democratic countries as the U.S.A., France, Canada, Australia and the Phillipine Islands.

III

The Speaker in the U.S.A. is, unlike his British counterpart, one of the leaders of his party and is actively and openly identified with his party organisation in the House. Convention makes the American Speaker a pronounced partisan. It is partly due to the absence of ministerial leadership and partly due to peculiar conditions prevailing in the country for a long time. Due to the application of the separation of powers in America the Executive is debarred from direct participation in the proceedings of the Legislature. Hence the Executive in America cannot lead the legislature as the Cabinet does in England. Leadership must be exercised and it is but natural for power of leadership to gravitate into the hands of the Speaker as the only officer chosen by the House from its membership. The Speaker soon became not merely the presiding officer but also the leader of the House. With the development of parties he became a party leader. As the influence of the parties grew and as the size of the House increased his power also grew with them and he became a virtual dictator determining the procedure of the House and the course of its legislation till some of his powers were curtailed in 1911.

Historically there was strong tradition of a political Speaker in America. The office was nurtured in the very cradle of liberty. During the middle of the 18th century there was great conflict between the Governor and the Assembly for the attainment of democratic rights. The Speakers of the Colonial legislatures were leaders in the struggle for independence and fought hard for the constitutional rights of the people.

After independence the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives grew enormously, partly as the result of dynamic leadership of Speakers like Thomas B. Reed (1889-91, and 1895-99) and Joseph G. Cannon (1903-10) and partly as a result of necessity of streamlining the organization of the House in order to get legislation enacted. During 1880 Speaker Reed secured adoption of rules which greatly expedited the business of the House at the expense of the rights of individual members and granted to the Speaker virtually dictatorial power over the House through his power to recognize or refuse to recognize members and through his selection of and his membership on the Committee on Rules. Without the assent of the Speakers practically no legislation could be enacted. Those who chafed under such restraints organized a revolt against Speaker Cannon and got a resolution passed by the House depriving the Speaker of his Rules Committee membership. The Rules Committee was now to consist of ten members from the majority party and four members from the minority party of the House. However, the Speaker still continues to exercise his other functions and important privileges. He decides questions of order, recognizes members, appoints select and conference committees. As a member of the House he has the same right to speak and vote as other members, although he is required to vote when his vote would decide the issue, as by breaking a tie. He is accorded the front rank not only as regards legislative influence but in politics as well.

Presiding officers on the continent of Europe stand midway between the Speakers of the English House of Commons and the Speakers of the National House of Representatives in the U.S.A. with some attributes of the office of the Lord Chancellor in the House

of Lords added.³ They do not forego the privileges of being partisans outside the chair. They contest the election at the end of the term of their office and are re-elected if the political complexion of the Chamber does not change. In France due to the existence of many parties and groups and due to political instability it is difficult for a Speaker to keep the strict role of party neutrality. He is elevated to the chair less for technical competence or judicial impartiality than for his political attitude. The President of the National Assembly is elected anew at the beginning of every new session. At election time party passions are stirred up and Presidents are opposed in their own constituencies. Consequently there are more frequent changes in the office according to the changes in the political complexion of the Chambers. Whereas from 1876 to 1920 the House of Commons had only six Speakers, France had thirteen Presidents. Of these Grevy, Gambetta, Floquet, Brisson, Deschanel were elected three times each or more. Brisson, who served for six years, was elected twenty times.⁴ The President of the National Assembly remains attached to his party, takes part at group meetings, and sometimes enters into press controversies. He cannot continue in office after his political party loses control of the House. He invariably takes part in politics and exercises all the rights of an ordinary member. He passes into ministries and then back on the chair. He not infrequently takes part in debates and political controversies on the floor, though of late a tendency has been noticeable on his part to refrain not only from participation in the debate but also from voting. In Germany due to the multiplicity of party groups and bitter party conflicts it is not possible for the President of the Reichstag to maintain party neutrality. The President of the Reichstag remains closely attached to his party, speaks at meetings and writes in the Press. His office is both judicial and political. He is bound by rules at all times but he has to use all his legitimate powers to further the interests of his party.

Even the Speakers of the Dominion Parliaments are not altogether above and beyond the politics and strife of the Chambers. It is not the usage at Ottawa, as it is at Westminster, that the Speaker shall completely sever himself from his political party. Speakers make political addresses in their constituencies, like all other members elected to support the Government; and there have been instances in which a speaker has vacated the Chair in order to accept office in the Cabinet.⁵ There is no English tradition in Canada of re-electing the Speaker. It is always open to elect a new Speaker for a new Parliament.⁶ The reason for this larger freedom at Ottawa is that conditions at Ottawa, partly due to race and language, and partly due to long-prevailing ideas as to the distribution of all government patronage, have all gone against the adoption of the Westminster precedent of allowing the occupant of the Chair to continue for two or three Parliaments regardless of the change of political parties at general elections.⁷ However the Speaker is re-elected if it suits the convenience of the majority. The rules as to the Speaker's vote in the Dominions are curious. The Speaker has only his casting vote but in the exercise of the casting vote he does not follow the British precedent. In 1877, the Speaker of the South Australian Assembly voted against the Ministry on a vote of no-confidence because he held that he should always vote against a Ministry which apart from his vote did not command majority in the House. However, the Speaker in New Zealand Assembly in the same year voted for Sir George's Ministry due to his desire to conform to the British practice which requires that the casting vote should be used to maintain the *status quo*. Thus the rules governing the casting vote in the Dominions are not fixed and not strictly governed by the British Parliamentary tradition. The Speaker in the Dominions, though expected to discharge his duties impartially, has not been wholly free from partisanship and the tone

5. Edward Parritt: *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 380.

6. Keith: *Responsible Governments in the Dominions*, p. 379.

7. Parritt: *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, p. 382.

3. The Lord Chancellor of the House of Lords is a partisan and exercises his ordinary right of vote.

4. Edward Saint: *Government and Politics of France*, p. 22.

and temper of the assemblies in the Dominions have not reached the level prevailing in the House of Commons.

The role which the Speaker has played in non-sovereign and colonial institutions is different from that played in the sovereign legislatures. The speaker in colonial legislatures has stood forth as the champion of the rights and privileges of the people and has often led the people's struggle for democratic institutions. The evolution of the Dominion of Canada presents an interesting study in revealing the true role of the Speaker in the constitutional struggle of the people against the representatives of the Crown. Both in the lower and upper Canada, which were separate provinces from 1792 till 1841 with distinct governments, political differences had long existed. These grievances were due to the lack of harmony of spirit between the legislative and executive authorities. The legislative assemblies, when they initiated legislation, were opposed by the legislative councils and the Governor. The legislative councils were packed with the nominees of the Governor and the Governors from 1792 to 1837 were notoriously partisans and were imbued with the spirit of English Toryism of the period.⁸ The Governor was a great opponent of the elected members of the legislative assembly and openly interfered with elections. Louis Joseph Papineau who was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in the French Province in 1815 became the leader of the constitutional revolt against the oppressive Executive. He held the office of the Speaker until the armed rebellion in 1837. The issue at that time was whether the British minority or the French majority should rule at Quebec. At this time the influence of Speaker Papineau on the French Canadians was as strong as the hold of either O'Connell or Parnell on the Nationalist movement in Ireland in the 19th century. Speaker Papineau launched an attack against the Government at Quebec within purely constitutional limits. Under his leadership the House obstructed Government business and withheld supplies for the redress of grievances. A similar type of agitation was launched in Upper Canada and the Speaker

supported the Assembly in their struggle for constitutional government. Under the political leadership of Papineau and William Mackenzie, an independent elected member of Upper Canada, rebellions broke out in Lower Canada and Upper Canada, although they were suppressed violently. The direct result of this revolt was the Durham Report which united the Lower and the Upper Canada and established representative, though not responsible, government in the union. However, the Canadian Assembly under the wise leadership of their Speakers carried on the struggle for self-government from 1841 to 1849.

The political evolution of Australia as a self-governing Dominion ran in lines parallel to that of Canada. The period of the constitutional development was a period of bitter conflict between the Speaker and the Legislature on the one hand and the Governor and the Home Government on the other. The Speaker of the Lower House stood forth as the champion of the rights of the people and fought hard for their constitutional rights. There were constant conflicts between the Governor and the Speaker and the elected members. The latter rejected the budget estimates for 1844 in the New South Wales legislature for redressing their grievances. The dissatisfaction which existed in the Legislative Council increased due to the promulgation of the depasturing licenses regulation by the Governor on April 2, 1844 without consulting the Legislative Council. Speaker Alexander Mcleay allowed the representatives of the people to pass a resolution condemning the regulations and expressing disapproval of the land policy which was placed beyond their control. On 28th August, 1846, the legislature under the legislative leadership of the Speaker passed a vote of censure upon the Executive for appropriating more than a certain sum of money which had been fixed for the detection of illicit distillation. The Speaker with the concurrence of the House appointed Francis Scott, Parliamentary Agent, in 1844 to exert pressure on the Home Government to redress their economic and political grievances. Again, the legislature under the leadership of Speaker Charles Nicholson passed a protest vote against the Constitution Act of 1850 which did not redress the long-

8. *Ibid*, pp.

standing grievances of the colonists. The legislature demanded the withdrawal of power by Parliament to tax the people of the colony. The legislature again on 25th August, 1852, decided that they would not grant supplies for the year 1854 unless a favourable reply was sent to them. The Home Government conceded all the demands of the legislature.

The legislature in the Philippines, which remained a colony till 1935, became the natural spearhead of Philippine nationalism and played a great part in developing a politically dependent people into a nation-State. As early as 1907 various political groups united to form a nationalist party for the attainment of immediate independence of the Philippine islands and to constitute themselves into a free and sovereign nation under a democratic government.⁹

In the first election of July 30, 1907, the Nationalist party captured 58 seats out of 80, and elected Sergio Osmena as the Speaker of the Assembly in which capacity he was both the symbol and chief architect of national independence. Measures passed by the Philippine Assembly in 1907 made the Philippine Speaker as powerful as the American Speaker. He was considered the next in rank and importance to the Governor-General who had to consult him in all important legislative measures and other matters such as appointments.¹⁰

Under his leadership the legislature made a strong plea for immediate independence. In 1909, Speaker Osmena and the Assembly came into serious clash with the American dominated commission. The Assembly refused to pass the budget which was certified by the Governor-General. On his re-election in 1916, Speaker Osmena with the support of national leaders made repeated attempts to bring the Executive under the control of the legislature. The Speaker and the House of Representatives with the co-operation of the Governor-General Francis-Harrison were able to attain considerable success

in the rapid Philippinization of the Government. The successor of Francis-Harrison, Major General Leonard Wood who took office in 1921 re-established the prerogatives of the Chief Executive and this led to a clash between the Philippine nationalists and the Governor-General. Speaker Manuel A. Roxas of the House of Representatives who succeeded Speaker Osmena in 1922 also came into conflict with the Governor-General. He led an independent mission to America where he presented a memorial to the American Government urging the grant of independence to the Philippines and denouncing the high-handed policy of Governor-General Wood. The demand for independence was not conceded by the American Government which urged greater economic and social development of the Philippines before granting them political independence. However, Philippine leaders and Speakers did not relax their efforts for the attainment of their political objective of self-government. The Tyding-McDuffie Act of 1934 was the result which provided for a ten-year period of transition prior to the proclamation of Philippines Independence.¹¹

IV

From the above short review of Speakership in various countries it is clear that the Speaker of the Lower House has played different roles according to the political exigencies of the time in each country. The institution of Speakership was first developed in the mother of Parliaments from where it was transplanted in other countries. Although the English Speaker today is noted for his impartiality and non-partisanship, yet before the development of constitutional rule in England he was a strong partisan and had marked political leanings. During the mediaeval period and Tudor and Stuart regimes, the English Speaker continued to remain subservient to the Crown and regarded himself more as an agent of the Crown than as defender of the rights and privileges of the Commons. During the evolution of the constitutional rule in England, the English Speaker was able to assert himself and actively promoted the interests of the Commons. After responsible government had been firmly established on sound parliamentary lines in England, the English Speaker established the tradition of

9. Grayson Kirk: *Philippine Independence*; p. 40.

10. The Philippine Speaker could appoint all Chairmen of Committees, was himself a member of the Committee on Rules, and enjoyed powers of official recognition to members desirous to speak. His political powers were taken away from him by a resolution in 1922 that he shall be a mere presiding officer. Speaker Osmena remained in office from 1907 to 1916 and from 1916 to 1921.

11. Political Independence of the Philippines was proclaimed on July 4, 1946.

absolute impartiality and party neutrality. His severance from party lines is, indeed, so complete that, after his election, he does not enter the portals of any political club of which he may happen to be a member. In other countries where the English pattern of Speakership has been adopted, it has not been possible to adopt the characteristics of the English Speakership in toto. Indeed, there have been marked variations in other countries which are due to the peculiar circumstances obtaining in them. In the United States of America the establishment of the Presidential system of Government and absence of ministerial responsibility has resulted in the Speaker assuming the role of the leader of the House, and an active party leader, openly promoting party interests in the House. In the Continent the existence of multiplicity of party groups and the consequent political instability and many other factors have all militated against the Speakers of the Lower House assuming strictly impartial roles.

In the Dominions and Colonies, the Speakers of the Lower House could not conform to the British pattern of Speakership. This is in the main due to the Speaker assuming the role of the Tribune of the people protecting their rights and privileges from official encroachment and leading the people in their struggle against the imperial authority. In Australia, Canada, the Philippines and other colonies which struggled for responsible government the Speaker assumed the role of a leader of the nationalist party and played his part in securing democratic rights to his countrymen. But although there is bound to be a variation in the institution of Speakership in the course of its transplantation in different countries from the country of its origin, under stable conditions there is a tendency of the office towards approximation to the British model. In those colonies which have emerged successful from their struggle for responsible government and where parliamentary government is firmly established on sound party lines without the evil features of acute class-conflicts of multiple-party groups, the Speakers of the House have assumed the role of perfect impartiality and party neutrality. The task of the Speaker in such conditions is merely reduced to the maintenance of order in the deliberations of

the House and allowing the minority legitimate opportunities for debate and criticism without undue obstruction and delay. In the U.S.A. also there is a noticeable change in the Speaker's office which if allowed to continue would bring it to the level of the English model. After the Revolution of 1911 the Speaker has been stripped of all dictatorial powers and leadership has fallen into the hands of the floor leader of the majority party. Mr. Underwood in the 62nd and 63rd Congresses as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and as floor leader of the majority party exercised as much influence and authority as the strongest Speakers have done. Although after Underwood the Democrats were not so fortunate in possessing a similar leader of marked abilities, the fact is that the floor leaders have succeeded in dominating their majority and in obtaining the legislation they desired. If the change in the Speaker's position becomes permanent, a person desiring active leadership will not desire Speakership but some other position. It is, therefore, not improbable that in the not-too-distant future the Speaker of the House of Representatives may become an impartial presiding officer stripped of all political influence and power but possessing great dignity.¹² In England, however, it appears, that a tendency is at work that may make it difficult for the Speaker to maintain the traditions of absolute impartiality and neutrality. The Parliament Act of 1911 has cast upon the Speaker a function in discharging which it may not be possible for him to be strictly impartial. This fear has been expressed again and again by Conservative members of the House of Lords. Another complication has arisen with the rise of the Labour Party to a position of great influence and power. Previously, as Prof. Laski has pointed out, there were no fundamental differences between the two major political parties but today the two leading parties stand for two different social orders. While the Conservative Party wishes to preserve the existing capitalistic order of society the Labour Party desires to liquidate it and in order to carry out its programme of socialization is likely to need help from the Speaker.

12. E. Kimbale: *National Government of the United States*, pp. 325-326.

ON THE POSITIVE SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS

By PROF. PRIYADARANJAN RAY,

Calcutta University

THE late Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal was not only an eminent scholar of philosophy, but was equally familiar with the literature, religion and scientific ideas of the ancient and the modern age. His contemporaries and colleagues were known to regard him with great esteem, and many of them used to speak of him, quite significantly indeed, as: "He is not a seal but a hypopotamus," alluding obviously to his extensive studies. It will, therefore, be no easy task for me to give you an adequate idea of his outstanding scholarship.

In ancient India, knowledge was regarded as an integrated whole. The early Hindus seemed to recognize no sharp line of demarcation between religion, philosophy, literature, and natural sciences that comprised cosmology, astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, biology, mathematics including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry, medicine including anatomy and surgery, etc. As a result, scientific concepts, methodology and experiences of the ancient Hindus and their application to industrial technique, were scattered over religious scriptures like Brahmanas and Upanishads, philosophical treatises like the six systems of Hindu philosophy, ancient Sanskrit literary works, mythological writings like Puranas, treatises on religious practices like Tantras, etc. On the other hand, even the medical treatises like the *Charaka* and the *Susruta* are found overloaded with philosophical concepts and discourses. So, the scientific concepts and experiences of the ancient Indians lay buried under and intermingled with a vast mass of old Sanskrit literature till some European and Indian scholars like Colebrooke, Wilson, Hoernle, Macdonell, Royle, Dutt (Uday Chand), Thakur Sahib and others by their zealous exploration brought these to the notice of the scientific world. But their contributions were, however, of a somewhat fragmentary character. A comprehensive and systematic investigation and treatment had yet to be made. Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal along with Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray undertook this task and the results of their monumental labour are recorded in their famous publications *The Positive Sciences*

of the Ancient Hindus and the *History of Hindu Chemistry* respectively. As a matter of fact, more than half of the second volume of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* consists of a chapter on the "Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus" and an appendix on the "Scientific Method of the Hindus" contributed by Acharya Seal.

THE MECHANICAL, PHYSICAL AND CHEMICAL THEORIES

In the 'Mechanical, Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus' Seal has given us an account of the cosmogony as expounded in the Samkhya-Patanjala and the Vaiseshika-Nyaya systems of Hindu philosophy. The former furnishes possibly the earliest clear and comprehensive account of the process of cosmic evolution and the latter elaborates the concepts of mechanics, physics and chemistry, with particular reference to the theories of atoms, molecules and compounds. The Vedantic view or *Maya-bad* leading to the evolution of matter by *panchikaran* has also been more or less fully discussed. Acharya Seal has shown that many modern scientific concepts have their analogues in these philosophical systems of the ancient Hindus. The conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy, together with the doctrine of causation as a corollary, form the basis of these systems, though only as essential concepts of systematic and logical thought without any experimental verification. The concepts of time, space and causal series in the Samkhya-Patanjala system have been shown by Seal to bear comparison with the most advanced modern views about them. On the basis of Samkhya view Seal interprets that our conception of an ultimate particle of matter stands in three relations (1) Position and space¹ (2) Position in time,² and (3) Position in a causal series.³ He thus shows that time is a mere construction of the understanding in order to express the succession of events or the course of evolution. Order in time is nothing but the relation of antecedence and sequence. This seems to suggest that there is no reality of time; it has got no

१ देशावच्छिन्न २ कालावच्छिन्न ३ निमित्तावच्छिन्न

objective existence. One is thus tempted to compare this idea with that of Einstein in his theory of relativity. Space has been described as having extension⁴ and direction.⁵

A remarkable interpretation by Acharya Seal of the measures of time as given by Bhaskara in his *Siddhanta-Siromani* deserves a particular reference here. The smallest unit of time defined by Bhaskara is called *Truti*, which is equal to $1/34,000$ part of a second. This was used by Bhaskara in astronomical calculations.

According to Seal, Bhaskara may, therefore, be regarded as the precursor of Newton in the discovery of the principle of the Differential Calculus, as well as in its application to astronomical problems and computations. In his opinion, Bhaskara's claim in this respect is stronger than that of Archimedes to the conception of a rudimentary process of integration.

Discussing the measures of weight and capacity as mentioned in *Amarakosha*, Seal particularly draws our attention to the smallest measure of weight called *Trasarenu*, used by the early Hindus. It stands for the minimum visible, or that which is just discernible, e.g., a mote floating in the sunbeam entering into a dark room through a slit or peep-hole in the window. The size of this minimum visible body, which is equivalent to the size of an atom or *paramanu* was deduced by Seal from Varahamihir's table. The thickness of the minimum visible or of a mote in the sun-beam was thus taken to be 3×2^{-20} of an inch. From which it follows that the volume of *trasarenu* or *paramanu* is $4/3 \pi \cdot 3^3 \times 2^{-63}$ of a cubic inch. As one inch is equal to 2.5 cm. the radius of a *paramanu* according to Hindu view, becomes of the order of 10^{-6} cm. This value approaches that of the modern scientific calculation of 10^{-8} cm. (approx).

Another concept of great significance in modern science, which finds its parallel in the philosophical speculations of the ancient Hindus, has been stressed by Acharya Seal. This is the conception of molecular motion.⁶ It resolves all physical action into motion. The Vedanta, for example, speaks of a cosmic vibratory motion. A similar idea is conceived by Samkhya as well to characterize every process and phenomenon of cosmic evolution. According to Nyaya-

Vaiseshika the world at bottom is an infinitude of continually whirling or vibratory particles (atoms).

CHEMISTRY

Dealing with chemistry in the medical schools of ancient India Seal has shown that the prevailing schools of medicine and surgery as represented by *Charaka* and *Susruta* were based on the Samkhya teaching with a methodology derived from Nyaya-Vaiseshika doctrine. An elaborate theory of inorganic and organic compounds is found in them. In this connection he has also referred to the knowledge of chemical compounds and of their preparation, to the metallurgical and chemical processes described in the treatise on Metallurgy⁷ by Patanjali, especially the preparation of the metallic salts, alloys and amalgams, as well as to the extraction, purification and assaying of metals. The use of the mixtures, called 'Vidas,' containing aqua-regia or other mineral acids *in potentia*, is ascribed by Seal to Patanjali. The preparation of mercury and its compounds by Nagarjuna has also been noted.

From the *Vrihat Samhita* of Varahamihira (early 6th Century A.D.) Seal quotes the preparation of several cements or powders called *vajra-lepa* (cements strong as thunder-bolt), dyes, cosmetics, flower-scents, mordants, and indigotin from indigo plants. Dealing with chemical industries of ancient India in this connection Seal refers to the tempering of steel in a manner worthy of advanced metallurgy, a process to which the medieval world owed its Damascus swords. He remarks that "it was this applied chemistry much more than handicraft skill which gave India her premier position in the Middle Ages and earlier (from Pliny to Tavernier) in exports and manufactures." Seal has also mentioned that the art of making and polishing glass, lens and mirrors (spherical⁸ and oval⁹) was known to the ancient Hindus, quoting from Pliny that 'best glass ever made was Indian glass'.

Mention of alchemical preparations in literary works like *Vasavadatta* and *Dasakumara Charita* also has not escaped Seal's attention. Chemistry in *Vrinda*, *Chakrapani*, *Rasarnava* and *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* has been fully dealt with. Seal has also discussed the

recipes for nourishment of plants as found in the treatise of Varahamihir.¹⁰

MECHANICS AND KINETICS

In the chapter on Hindu ideas of mechanics and kinetics Acharya Seal has discussed and analysed the various kinds of motion and their causes. He has pointed out that in the astronomical treatises of Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and Bhaskara the movement of a falling body, caused by gravity,¹¹ is ascribed to the attraction exerted by the earth on a material body. In giving an account of motion due to direct contact with a body exercising continued pressure Seal refers to Udayana's account of balloons filled with gas or smoke, drawing our attention to the fact that balloons were known in Udayana's time (970 A.D.).

The concept of momentum is also found in Nyaya-Vaisheshika where it is called *Vega*.¹² Seal discovers a logical explanation of acceleration in Udayakara's view of *Vega*. He proceeds further and states that

"Vega, it will be seen, corresponds to inertia in some respects, and to momentum in others. This is the nearest approach to Newton's first law of motion."

In the Vaisheshika theory of motion gravity and *Vega* have been described as acting in the same direction.¹³ According to Seal "this laid a good foundation for the explanation of the accelerated motion of falling bodies" which was discovered by Galileo later on.

Our attention is also drawn by Seal to the notion of three axes formulated by Vachaspati (circa 842 A.D.) in order to indicate the position of one particle in space relative to another. This remarkable analysis anticipates, according to Seal, in a rudimentary manner the foundation of solid or co-ordinate geometry, eight centuries before Descartes. That the principle of relative motion is implied in Aryabhata's description of the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east and the apparent revolution of the starry heavens in the opposite direction (east to west), has been particularly stressed by Seal.

ACOUSTICS

Seal has also dealt with the Hindu ideas of acoustics and has referred to the theory of sound, as given in *Mimamsa* being caused by

the wave motion in air. In this view the particles of air are subject to a vibratory motion¹⁴ in the production of sound. This is more or less in agreement with our modern ideas.

PLANTS AND PLANT-LIFE

In the chapter on Hindu ideas about plants and plant-life, Seal has referred to the classification of plants as given in *Charaka* and *Susruta*, as well as that followed in *Amarakosha*. The classification was, as Seal observes, rather very superficial. That the ancient Hindus were not unacquainted with the elementary ideas of plant physiology has been shown by Acharya Seal by quoting from Udayana as well as from the Buddhist scholiast Dharmottara and the Jain writer Gunaratna (circa 1350 A.D.), e.g., the phenomena of life, death, sleep, waking, disease, drugging, transmission of specific character by means of ova, movement towards what is favourable (sun) and away from what is unfavourable. Gunaratna also notices the sensitiveness to touch of plants like the *Mimosa pudica*. Seal further points out that the Hindu scriptures teach that plants have a sort of dormant or latent consciousness and are capable of pleasure and pain.¹⁵ This is also supported by quotation from the Mahabharata that plants are sensitive to heat and cold, to the sound of thunder, etc., as well as to odours, both pleasant and unpleasant.

It is, therefore, not unlikely that Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose drew his inspiration for his famous investigation on plant life from this ancient Hindu faith.

ZOOLOGY

In zoology too, the ancient Hindus did not fail to make their notable contribution. Acharya Seal has cited evidences for this by referring to the classification of animals as given in *Charaka*, *Prasastapada*, *Patanjali*, *Susruta*, and even in *Chhandogya Upanishad*, *Puranas* and in the ancient Jaina work, the *Tattvarthadigama* of Umasvati (circa 40 A.D.). From a consideration of the views of all these authorities Seal summarised the Hindu classification of animals into a few main divisions with several subdivisions under each. Space does not allow me to give a full account of it. Nevertheless a very

14 परिस्पन्द

15 भन्तःसंज्ञा भवन्त्येते सुखदुःखसमन्विता

10 वृक्षायुर्वेद 11 गुरुत्व 12 वेग 13 उभयसमावेश

brief and condensed statement might still be of considerable interest.

A. *Kshudrajantus*, boneless and without (red) blood:

Invertebrate.—(a) *Ayonija*—a-sexually generated: (i) *Svedaja* (from heat and moisture), (ii) *Udviija* (eruptive or metamorphic); (b) *Yonija*—sexually generated, e.g., the *Andaja*—oviparous.

There are again several sub-divisions under each head, e.g., the *krimis*, the *jalaunkas* (leeches), *kosasthas*—shelled animals or mollusca (*sankhas*, *suktikas*, *sambhukas*, etc.). Insects (*pipilika*, *bhramara*, *makshika*, *vrishchika*, *masaka*, *patanga*, *kita* or butterflies, glowworm, etc.).

B. *Tiryakyomi* animals—sexually generated animals possessing bones and blood; the vertebrata.

(1) *Andaja* (oviparous)—(a) *Matsyas*, (b) *Uragas* (snakes), (c) *Bhujangas* (reptiles)—include *Godha* (lizards, chameleons, etc.); *Kurmas* and *Nakras* (tortoise, crocodiles); *Sisumaras* (crabs, etc.); (d) *Pakshi* (birds). There are several sub-divisions among birds again.

(2) *Jarayujas* (viviparous)—(a) *Charmapaksha-pakshis*, leather-winged animals (bats); (b) *Vilesaya Jarayujas*—mammals that live in holes or burrows (rodents, insectivora, etc.); (c) *Parnamrigas*—arboreal mammals (wild cats, squirrels, apes); (d) Non-carnivorous quadrupeds: (i) *Janghalas*, strong-legged (deer); (ii) *Kulechara*—grazing on the banks of rivers (elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, hog, etc.); (iii) *Gramyas*—living in villages, domesticated quadrupeds (horse, mule, goat, sheep, cow, etc.); (e) Carnivorous quadrupeds: *Guhasaya* (living in caves and hollows)—e.g., lion, tiger, wolf, hyena, bear, panther, cat, jackal, etc.; (f) Man.

The classification, however, did not proceed on an anatomical basis. This brief reference abundantly testifies to the minute Nature study of the early Hindus to which our attention has been drawn by Acharya Seal.

PHYSIOLOGY AND BIOLOGY

Acharya Seal has also provided us with a comprehensive account of the achievements of of the early Hindus in the field of physiology and biology. Materials for this purpose have

been gathered by him from *Charaka*, *Susruta*, *Vagbhata*, *Chakradatta*, and other ancient treatises. These deal with metabolism, the circulatory system, the vascular system, the nervous system, the sympathetic spinal system, automatic and reflex activity of the organism, foetal development, heredity, the sex-question and then life itself. Seal's interpretation of these physiological and biological processes enable us to make a sensible comparison between them and those of modern science for a proper assessment of their value. As it will not be possible to deal here with every aspect of the subject even cursorily, only a few salient features might be touched upon.

The chemistry of digestion, as presented by *Charaka* and *Vagbhata*, has been described by Seal as follows:

"The food we eat contains five kinds of penta-bhautic organic compounds. From their predominant elements substances are named Earth-compounds, Ap-compounds, Tejas-compounds, Vayu-compounds and Akasa-compounds. The Earth-compounds supply the hard, formed matter of the body, the Tejas-compounds give the animal heat (or the metabolic heat), the Vayu-compounds are the sources of the motor-force in the organism, the Ap-compounds furnish the watery part of the organic fluids, and the Akasa-compounds contribute to the finer etheric essence which is the vehicle of the conscious life.

"Roughly speaking, the Earth-compounds answer to the nitrogen compounds in the food, the Tejas-compounds to the hydrocarbons (heat producing), the Vayu-compounds to the carbohydrates (dynamic). The Ap-compounds are the watery parts of food and drink. The flesh, for example, is a tissue composed principally of the Earth-compounds; the fat of the Earth- and Ap-compounds; the bones of Earth-, Vayu-, and Tejas-compounds. The Tejas-compounds predominate in the composition of the blood. Different operations of the metabolic heat (perhaps, different digestive fluids are also meant) are required to digest the different substances in the food."

In describing the circulatory system from *Charaka* and *Susruta* our attention is drawn by Seal to the statement in *Charaka* of the number

of *Sira* cords (arteries, lymphatics, bile-ducts, etc.) as 700, and of *Dhamani* cords (veins, nerves, chyle-ducts, ducts for urine, sweat, etc., ducts for Vayu, etc.) as 200, and their ramifications (capillaries) as 3,056,900. How did *Charaka* arrive at such a large number, stated with such definiteness, is rather inexplicable.

Dealing with the nervous system after the *Tantras*, Seal points out that in *Charaka* and *Susruta* as in *Aristotle*, the heart is the central organ and seat of consciousness; but in the *Tantric* writings as in *Galen*, the seat of consciousness is transferred to the brain or rather the cerebro-spinal system.

While dealing with heredity as discussed in the ancient treatises Seal shows that *Charaka's* view on the subject may be compared to that of Darwin's gemmule. *Charaka* assumes that the sperm cell of the male parent contains minute elements derived from each of its organs and tissues. That is, the fertilized ovum or the 'Vija' contains *in potentia* the whole organism that is developed out of it. The theory was somewhat modified by *Atreya* to explain the observed facts of inheritance. According to *Atreya*: "The parental Vija or germ-plasm is a minute organism and derives its elements from the parental organs, but distinct from the latter, and independent of their peculiarities. It is this combination and characters of these constituent elements of the parental Vija that determine the physiological characters and predisposition of the offspring." Seal calls this as *Atreya's* germ-plasm theory and considers it as an advance on the conception of gemmules by Darwin.

Dealing with the sex-question as expounded in *Charaka*, Seal draws our attention to the law of alternate rhythmic change which seems to determine the sex-character of the foetus. Reference has also been made to another factor mentioned in *Charaka*, which is the relative predominance of the sperm- and the germ-cells in the fertilized ovum. Excess of the sperm-cell produce the male and that of the germ-cell the female.

Dealing with the Hindu conception of life Seal introduces us to the materialistic view of the *Charvaks*, who used to regard life as a result of physico-chemical process occurring in the organic body, even as non-intoxicating rice or

molasses assumes the intoxicating properties of spirituous liquors by fermentation. Similarly, external stimuli are the causes of instinctive movements and expression of new-born babes, like the movement of iron under the influence of magnet. Living organisms like animalcules are in the same manner generated spontaneously under the influence of heat and moisture; and maggots are developed in curds and similar substances. This is more or less in accord with the view of a large majority of modern scientists.

According to *Samkhya* also life is a reflex activity, a resultant of various concurrent activities of the sensori-motor, the emotional and the appreciative reactions of the organism. According to *Vedanta*, on the other hand, life is a sort of subtle rarefied "ether principle," pervasive of the organism.

ANATOMY

In *Anatomy*, Seal points out that the ancient Hindus based their experience on actual experimental work and they practised dissection on dead bodies for the purpose; ingenious directions for such dissection are given in *Charaka* and *Susruta*; post-mortem operations and major operations in obstetric surgery (the extraction of the foetus, etc.) also were carried out for embryological observations; further, in *Materia Medica* and in *Therapeutics*, especially in the symptomology of diseases, the observations of the ancient Hindus were precise, minute and thoroughly scientific.

METEOROLOGY

Dealing with *Meteorology* Seal observes that the Hindus used the rain-gauge in their weather forecasts for the year; they made careful observations of different kinds of clouds, the area of disturbance of different earthquakes, the altitude of the terrestrial atmosphere, etc. (*cf.* *Varahamihira*, *Sripati* and others).

ASTRONOMY

On the other hand, Seal notes that in astronomy the observations of the Hindus were rather somewhat defective, though the determination of the lunar constants entering into the calculation of lunar periods and eclipses reached a remarkable degree of approximation to the correct values, exceeding that of Graeco-Arab computations.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to give in this article a brief outline of the contribution which Acharya Seal has made to our knowledge of the scientific ideas and experiences of the Ancient Hindus. Much of the achievements of the ancient Hindus in the field of positive sciences would have possibly remained in the dark but for the comprehensive study and extensive investigation of a scholar of the eminence of Acharya Seal. I am quite conscious of my frailty to do full justice to his valuable work; for, he was a scholar of versatile genius who could never remain satisfied with acquiring the mastery over any particular

branch of knowledge. A man of his gigantic intellect would have been a valuable asset to any country of the world, and it will be no exaggeration to state that had he been living with us today many of our vexed problems in the field of education and learning might have been solved without any serious difficulty. I carry in my mind my personal impression of this great scholar as a man of rare simplicity and humility, and I join with you all to pay my respectful homage to his illustrious memory.*

* Read before a gathering on the birthday centenary of the late Acharya Brijendranath Seal.

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AGRICULTURAL PRICE STABILIZATION IN INDIA

In the Context of Rapid Economic Development

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

THE *laissez faire* principle which dominated State policy for a very long time received a rude shock after the world depression of the thirties. This change manifested itself in active interference by the State in the primary sector—agriculture—and was visible in the form of Canadian Wheat Pools of 1939, American Agricultural Adjustment Acts, 1933, the Australian Wheat Growers Relief Act of 1933 and many more similar measures adopted in other Western countries.¹ A scheme of agricultural price stabilization which was defined² as a policy involving a scaling down of the heights of prices as well as an elimination of depths was preached with all the vigour.

India, perhaps, was one of the few countries in the world where so little positive action was taken by the State to meet the depression.³ This followed the inflationary period of World War II. The fear of deflationary tendencies at the

close of the war again brought the problem of price stabilization to a head and the Krishnamachari Committee Report was the result of such an awareness. The galloping inflation of the post-war period belied the earlier fears and the recommendations of the Committee remained in cold storage. Sudden fall in prices during 1954 and 1955 for about an year, however, revived the issue.

This brief historical study would show that price stabilization policies which have invariably translated themselves in price support programmes, have been depression-orientated or, as one may say, backward looking.⁴ Also, whatever the degree of success achieved by these measures, they have been adopted in surplus and developed economies. India today, as against this, symbolises if not a deficit, at most a marginal economy which is looking forward for an ambitious rapid development. And if such a development is envisaged, a continuing fall in agricultural prices cannot be visualised.⁵ An expenditure of the order of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public and Rs. 2,300 crores in the private sector with as big a slice as Rs. 1,200 crores to

1. These emergency measures have since become permanent and three great wheat exporting countries of the world, viz., the U.S.A., Canada and Australia, are now irretrievably committed to the policies pursued by and under the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Canadian Wheat Board and Wheat Industry Stabilization Acts.

2. *Businessmen's Commission Report on Agriculture in the USA, 1927*; p. 178.

3. *Prices Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries*, p. 19.

4. Prof. M. L. Dantwala, *The Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*; April-June 1956; p. 175.

5. Prof. Dantwala, (*ibid.* p. 174) would even consider such a phenomena as a failure of planning.

AGRICULTURAL PRICE STABILIZATION IN INDIA

be met from deficit financing during the coming 5 years may, on the other hand, release an inflationary spiral.

This in other words means that the very context in which price stabilization measures came to be adopted in other countries was different. We have thus to examine the validity or otherwise of this policy under the conditions now prevailing in India and see how far agricultural price stabilization can help or hinder the process of rapid economic development.

Our cherished objective under the Second Five-Year Plan is:

- (a) A revived target of 40 per cent increase in food production;
- (b) A rapid industrial development both in the heavy as well as in the small-scale industries; and
- (c) A substantial improvement in the standard of living by a 25 per cent increase in the national income and the provision of more of employment opportunities.

As regards food production, for a proper study of its inter-relation with prices, it would have been advisable to examine the trend in prices on the one hand and area and production on the other, in respect of some of the important agricultural commodities. Under the existing conditions when there is a complete lack of data and historical series in respect of any of these constituents are conspicuous by their absence, such a study will not lead to any useful results. We will, however, discuss the cost of production theory in detail. Seasonal factors remaining the same, Dr. Natarajan established a high correlation between acreage and production.⁶ Serious objections have, however, been raised with regard to the validity of this cost of production theory.

This theory is assailed on the ground that firstly, agriculture in India is never a profitable or even a business proposition. It has on the other hand been accepted as a losing concern.⁷

6. Dr. B. Natarajan, *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 1951, p. 198.

7. *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, p. 1440; *Sir John Russell Report on the World of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 67; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*, op. cit., p. 8; Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, pp. 226-39; *Cost of Production of Crops on a Canal Irrigated Estate in the Punjab (1935-36 to 1939-40)*, p. 7—Punjab

Secondly, the cultivator is on the land not by choice, but by the force of circumstances, because he cannot do anything else.⁸ Thirdly, the supply of the various factors of production—land, labour and capital—which tend to be more or less inelastic, is not responsive to the changes in the price of agricultural produce. According to George O'Brien,⁹ capital invested in the land also assumes a fixed form, and the supply of labour becomes all the more inelastic, particularly when the farm is worked by the owner and his family. The abandonment of a farm in such cases means the abandonment of the home. Even if some little elasticity is assumed in the supply of these factors, the greater time-lag between the 'input' of these factors and the corresponding output renders the cultivator helpless to adjust production to price changes. Fourthly, agriculture being susceptible to natural hazards most, the cultivator can rarely think of his actual cost of production. According to Wylie,¹⁰ 75 per cent of crop variations are due to weather conditions. Lastly, while the cost of production is more or less sticky, prices of agricultural produce are invariably determined mainly by extraneous factors. Costs of production vary from place to place, but agricultural prices tend to be the same over wide areas. There is, for example, a slight difference in the basic price of wheat in the various 'mandies' (markets) of India. No wonder, if even world prices exert their influence on the prevailing prices in other countries. Farm prices at least are influenced to an appreciable extent by the general price level. This is supported by E.M. Ojala¹¹ who makes a comprehensive study of the farm prices in USA, Sweden and U.K.

Board of Economic Studies; Dr. M. B. Desai; *The Rural Economy of Gujarat*, pp. 204-205; Dr. D. R. Gadgil and V. R. Gadgil, *A Survey of Wai Taluka*, 1940, p. 178; M. G. Bhagat, *The Farmer—His Welfare and Wealth*, p. 178 and the *National Sample Survey*, No. 2, p. 3.

8. The position though peculiar to countries like India, is not much different in the case of others. *Businessmen's Commission* (op. cit., p. 8) pointed out that even in America "there are many toilers on farms who if subjected to ordinary business standards would be eliminated from the reckoning."

9. *Agricultural Economics*, pp. 10-11.

10. *Transition of Agricultural and Highland Society*, 1926, p. 23. Also Engberg *Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer*, pp. 41-42.

11. E. M. Ojala, *Agriculture and Economic Progress*, Oxford University Press, 1952; p. 142.

Changes in prices have been so varied¹² and wide that the question of their having any relation with cost of production would not arise. The prices of agricultural commodities were reduced by one-half during the depression period, while the cost of production fell only by 15 to 20 per cent.¹³ The problem can be examined with respect to falling as well as rising prices separately.

Normally it may be said that when price of a commodity falls below the cost of production, the supply would stop over a period. The fundamental law seems, however, to be contradicted in the case of agriculture in general and food in particular, where farm consumption itself takes away a major portion of the total production. Again, due to the peculiar nature of agriculture, the farmer cannot introduce changes in his programme at short notice. There are, for example, certain paddy lands in South India which are not suitable for any other crop. No shift under such circumstances is possible even over long periods. Where such a shift is possible, the cultivator can at best divert lands from less profitable to better crops. Even this becomes impossible in the case of a general depression.

A glaring proof of the inability of the cultivator to adjust production to the level of fall in prices is found when we study the position during the thirties. According to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, the value of agricultural crops, taken at an average harvest price, fell from Rs. 10,340 million in 1928-29 to Rs. 4,730 million in 1933-34.¹⁴ But there was hardly any decline in the net sown area or the agricultural output.¹⁵

Odds are that, agriculture being more a mode of life than a business proposition in a country like India, the cultivator may be compelled to increase rather than decrease his production under falling prices. The tendency was

clearly observed during the depression of 1929-30.¹⁶ This is because he cannot afford any further contraction in his already scanty income.¹⁷ An individual farmer who, acting in isolation reduces his production may have to face a double loss arising from a smaller output and a lower price.

It may be argued that the demand for agricultural, particularly food crops, being practically inelastic, the cultivator may charge monopolistic prices. Such possibilities are, however, rare. Firstly, because the number of producers is large and secondly, scattered as these cultivators are over a vast area, there is no machinery or institution under which they can put themselves. Agricultural prices are thus rather competitive.¹⁸

Production may, therefore, have an inverse relation with falling prices. But the question of its having a linear relation would not arise. Supply in agriculture in other words remains more or less inelastic during the falling prices¹⁹. Notwithstanding all this, there are examples in a country like England where between 1873 and 1896, a 50 per cent fall in the price of wheat led to a decrease in the area under wheat from 3.5 million to 1.7 million acres. Again, the passing of the Wheat Act there in 1932 was followed by an increase in wheat acreage by over 40 per cent in a period of 3 years. Such a price flexibility may be possible where agriculture is run more on business lines and where the country has an industrial, rather than an agrarian economy, but not in a place like India.

The position with regard to rising prices would, however, seem to be a little different. The farmer, under the depressed market condition, while not curtailing his production is at the same time disinclined to make an addition to the price costs. The application of fertilizers, for example, was uneconomical in India during the thirties, at least for food crops. But the demand for them has tremendously increased during the post-independence price spurt. High

12. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends During the Last Decade, 1940*; pp. 8-9.

13. According to a report of the League of Nations on 'Depressions' (quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao; *Studies in Rural Economy*; p. 188) during the last 20 years the price of wheat and jowar was halved three times within 12 months and the price of cotton three times in periods of under 18 months.

14. Quoted by Palme Dutt, *India Today*; p. 215.

15. Cf. P. C. Malhotra; *Stabilization of Agricultural Prices in India, 1946*; p. 5.

16. S. G. Beri, *op.cit.*; p. 9.

17. *Businessmen's Commission on American Agriculture*, pp. 77; 118-119; O'Brien; *op.cit.*; p. 31; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*; *op.cit.*; p. 32; and P. C. Malhotra; *op.cit.*; pp. 4-5.

18. Cf. O'Brien; *op.cit.*; p. 19.

19. This is also confirmed by O'Brien; *op.cit.*; pp. 11 and 31.

prices also provide sufficient incentive for the cultivator to try improved methods of cultivation and put into practice the result of experiments conducted in the laboratory. It is, however, implied that Government will extend not only full co-operation, but also resort to extensive propaganda in that direction. If normal facilities are not available, even progressive cultivators who are keen to introduce new improvements would be helpless to do anything. All these things may have the combined effect of increasing production but always in response to an effective demand. This is the most important thing. During the initial stages of the Grow More Food Campaign, the cultivator was not prepared to divert cotton lands to food, unless the Government gave an assurance to purchase the extra produce at pre-announced²⁰ prices.

On the strength of what has been stated above, it can be safely concluded that agriculture, specially food production, may never have a sagging tendency either under falling or rising prices. The real position would thus seem to be that agricultural production would depend more on factors other than prices. Any way, prices would not seem to be a pre-requisite of food production.

The other objective relates to rapid industrialization and raising the standard of living of the people. This can best be achieved by providing better employment opportunities. One of the most striking features of Indian agriculture is the presence of a surplus unproductively-employed agricultural population.²¹ Along with this unutilized or under-utilized manpower on the one hand, there are unexploited natural resources on the other hand.²²

Any scheme of economic development would mean the provision of full-time employment to the under-employed and a syphoning off of the surplus agricultural labour from the agricultural to the industrial sector—big or of the small type. When surplus agricultural labour is moved to the non-agricultural sector (mostly

to the towns) it is not necessary that the supply of food-stuffs made available by agriculture for the non-agricultural sector will simultaneously increase. "The appropriate financing of industrial investment will not suffice automatically to evoke an increase in this crucial supply of necessary subsistence. Now that there are less mouths to feed in the village, more of the villagers' own produce may be consumed by each of those remaining there. Those who remain may even be induced by the easing of their position to enjoy more leisure and to cultivate less intensively (in economists' jargon, their demand for income in terms of effort may prove to be so inelastic as to produce the situation of a backward-sloping supply-curve of agricultural output). In such a case, the increased wage-bill and expenditure of the industrial production coming up against an inelastic supply of *marketed produce* of agriculture will certainly have inflationary consequences so far as agricultural prices are concerned. This rise of agricultural prices might seem at first sight likely to bring its own cure by stimulating a larger supply to be marketed. But if manufactured goods are not plentiful, on which agriculturists can spend their extra money income, the offer of a larger money income may merely reinforce the tendency to enjoy more leisure or for the villagers to consume more of their own crops."²³

Now an increase or decrease in the marketable surplus is dependent upon the psychology of the cultivator in a free economy. Under the conditions already detailed, marketable surplus can best be increased only by creating in the cultivator a desire to go in for more of industrial consumption goods in exchange for which the agricultural produce may be made available. This in other words means making the terms of trade more favourable to agriculture. Such a policy is possible only if we have at our disposal huge stocks of industrial consumption goods which can be supplied to the cultivators at reasonable or even subsidised rates so as to induce him to go in for them. Agricultural prices high or low, stable or unstable will thus have little effect on this surplus. The surmounting of this problem is accordingly a matter, "not of providing appropriate financial policies and institutions,

20. Cf. Sir Henry Knight; *Food Administration*; p. 125.

21. Cf. Morrill R. Goodall, *Administration and Planning for Economic Development*; p. 11 and Maurice Dobb; *Some Aspects of Economic Development*; p. 38.

22. *The First Five-Year Plan; Planning Commission*; p. 7.

23. Maurice Dobb; *op.cit.*; pp. 44-45.

but of the appropriate organization of the social and economic life of the village, of agricultural production and of commercial exchange between village and town."²⁴

This shows that all our objectives under the planned development are inter-related. Industrial development will involve a regular flow of agricultural raw materials to feed the industries and the availability of foreign exchange for the purchase of heavy industry. This in turn will depend upon exportable surplus and that also mainly from the agricultural sector. The net result is that every aspect of economic development will revolve round increased agricultural production and marketable surplus which as we have already seen do not bear any relation to prices. Price stabilization would, therefore, seem neither relevant nor helpful under conditions of rapid economic development.

Besides this, the policy if adopted has to be implemented either by physical controls over prices or adjustment of supply to demand or even demand to supply under a set policy. As regards physical controls over prices, they involve not only administrative problems, but also those pertaining to the fixing of appropriate prices. The parity formula has come in for much of criticism²⁵ and is of little applicability in an under-developed economy like that of India.

The measures adopted for the adjustment of demand to supply require the regulation of production or storage operations. Production regulation can be attempted only if we have an accurate data about production and consumption levels in the country. Not to speak of an under-developed economy like that of ours, such comprehensive data are not available even for advanced countries like the UK and USA. Again, in an industry like agriculture, which is scattered among millions of small cultivators, it may not be possible to enforce such rigid rules. Our experience of the Grow More Food Campaign in its various phases would bear testimony to this.

In so far as storage operations are concerned, besides the administrative and allied difficulties involved in the implementation of

the scheme,²⁶ the other and the major problem is that of the cost required to be incurred.

The Government will have to spend money firstly for the setting up of a machinery to purchase food-grains and then to distribute it to the non-producers at subsidized rates. Although the controlled period of about a decade does not bear any analogy to the policies now under discussion, it gives an ample proof of the fact that State trading in an essential commodity like food involves heavy expenditure on the part of the Government. Marketable surplus in the case of wheat and rice according to the respective Marketing Reports is of the order of 55 and 40 per cent respectively. Coarse grains are, however, mainly consumed by the producers. Such a surplus in their case has been found to be only 15 to 20 per cent.²⁷

Assuming that our average annual production of fine grains is nearly 33 million tons and that of coarse grains including gram another 30 million tons, the available marketable surplus would be as shown in the table below. Price has been worked on the basis of Rs. 10/- per maund for coarse grains.²⁸ In order to leave some margin for some discrepancies (if there may be any) in the figures for marketable surplus and also for increased consumption on the farm as well as what might be retained in the villages for the consumption of the rural non-producers, such a surplus has been taken at 40 per cent in the case of fine grains and at 15 per cent for coarse grains.

	Total production	Market- able surplus	Price per ton (Rs.)	Total price (Mill Rs.)
	(Million tons)			
Fine Grains	33	13	280	3640
Coarse Grains	30	4.5	168	756
<hr/>				
Total				4396

It is apparent from this that if the whole of the marketable surplus is required to be pur-

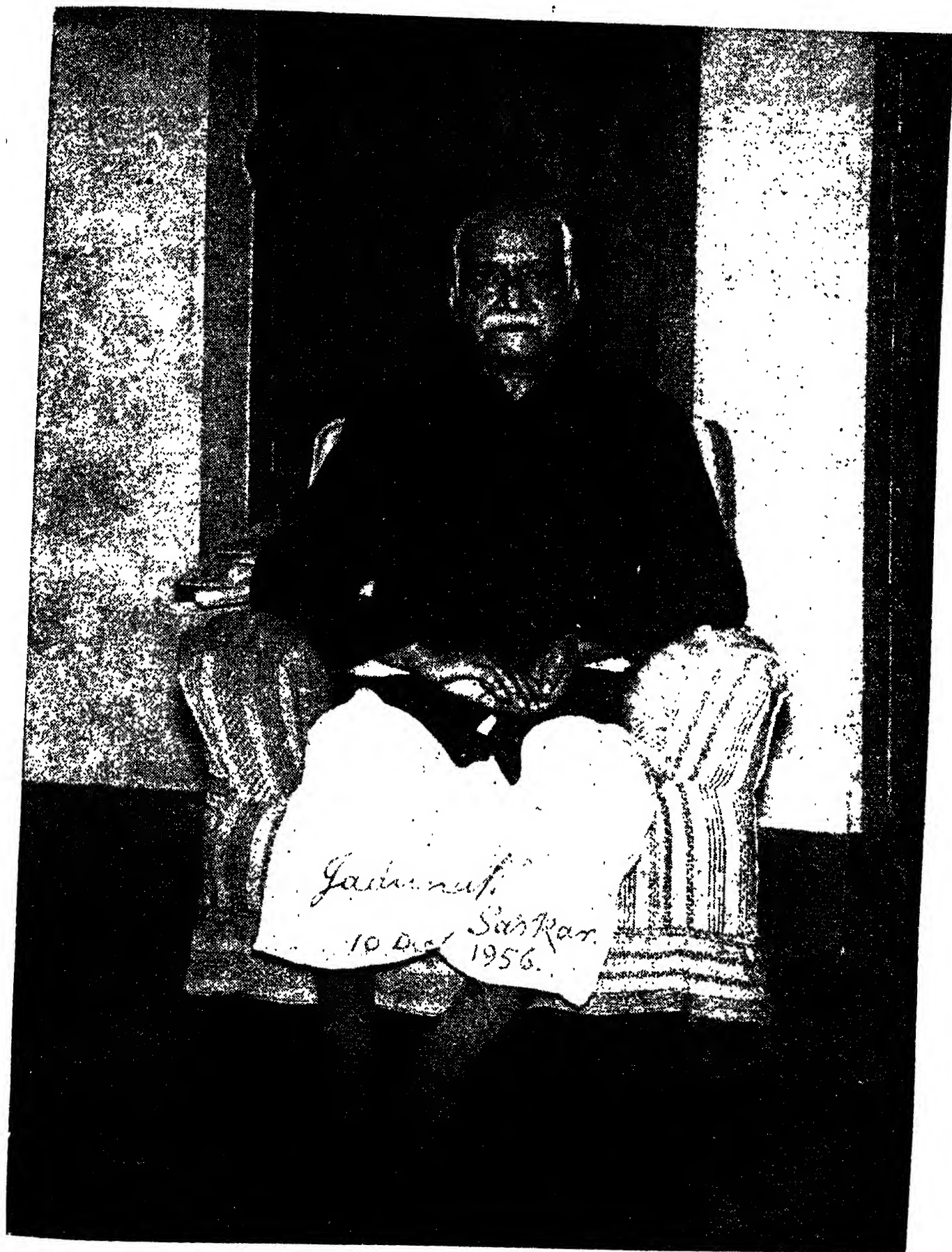
24. *Ibid.*; p. 46.

25. Cf., J.J. Anjaria; *The Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*: op.cit.; p. 185 and "Agricultural Price Stabilization in India" by P. C. Bansil; *The Economic Weekly*; February 25; 1956; pp. 247-48.

26. Cf., Geoffrey Shepherd; *Agricultural Price Control*; pp. 85-112 and 142-144.

27. *Report on the Marketing of Maize and Millets*.

28. This is the minimum level below which we may not like to go. But in the context of things, as they are, prices may be much higher.



Jadunath
Sarkar
10 Dec 1956

Born Dec. 10, 1870

JADUNATH SARKAR

Died May 19, 1958

Courtesy: Jogesh C. Bagal



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in conversation with the members of the Nepalese University Commission when they called upon the Prime Minister in New Delhi.



The King of Afghanistan studying rare books and manuscripts at the History Department of the Aligarh University during his recent visit to Aligarh

chased by the authority concerned, the annual expenditure would be about Rs. 440 crores. There is, however, no question of the whole of this surplus being purchased. Although the Government will have to be ready to purchase the total quantity offered by the peasants for sale, the actual quantity that the Government may be required to purchase may not, however, exceed 25 to 30 per cent of the surplus, which in other words means a capital expenditure of say Rs. 120/- crores. It may be added that there is nothing sacrosanct about this figure. This may vary this way or that way. According to Shri M. Srinivasan,²⁹ working capital required is Rs. 75 to 100 crores.

This is only if the policy is restricted to cereals. It may become necessary to extend it to other crops like cotton, sugarcane and jute as well. Price-support policy when restricted to cereals alone, while correcting the disparity between the prices of food articles and manufactured goods, may deepen the gulf between cereals and other non-food agricultural products. France, for example, had to extend the price-support policy to oil-seeds also. All this would mean that an appreciable portion of the capital available for investment will have to be allocated for the price stabilization policy when every penny is required for the developmental programmes.

The Commodity Credit Corporation in the USA ever since its inception in 1933, incurred losses to the extent of \$24,240 million (Rs. 1,152 crores) in respect of sales and support programmes, during the first 20 years of its life. The CCC's investments in surplus commodities have jumped up from Rs. 952 crores in 1952 to Rs. 2,619 crores in recent years. We, in India, might not be required to incur such heavy expenses, but U.S. experience can give us an idea of the extent to which we might be required to go.

If the stabilizing agency is required to level up demand fluctuations, the remedial measure is the development of subsidize consumption programmes. This also involves heavy expenditure.

²⁹. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*; p.cit.; p. 151.

The payment of subsidies in any form to any sector of the economy is fraught with dangers under a scheme of rapid economic development.

Price stabilization will thus have little relevance³⁰ from theoretical, practical or even institutional aspects. It is no accident that price stabilization was not included as a project either in the First or the Second Five-Year Plan. The objects in view in both these plans were either an increase in investment and resources in the Indian economy or an increase in standards of life. Agricultural price stabilization could not obviously help but would have rather hindered the first objective. It was not relevant or necessary for the other purpose.

If Indian experience is viewed in the long-term world perspective, the absence of emphasis on price stabilization need not be regarded as exceptional. Barring the economies which are solely dependent on one or two crops and economies which have had chronic agricultural surpluses, price stabilization has not been needed in the post-war period.³¹

All this does not, however, mean that the behaviour of prices can be allowed to move unchecked. If a close watch is not kept on the movement of prices, the whole of our plan may be thrown over-board. More so, when in spite of the greater emphasis on the public sector under the Second Plan, the private sector comprising of agriculture, cottage and small industries and some large-scale industries will continue to contribute a very large proportion—probably 75 to 80 per cent—of the national income,³² some check on the erratic behaviour of prices would be necessary.

Some of the apparent maladies in the agricultural price structure are the seasonal variations and speculative activities of the traders.

³⁰. Even otherwise price policy cannot be considered as a panacea, a magic device; capable of removing all obstacles in the way of a more satisfactory utilization of agricultural resources. (Cf.; D. Gale Johnson; *Forward Prices for Agriculture*; p. 87).

³¹. Cf. Colin Clark; *Economics of 1960*.

³². Dr. S. R. Sen; Paper on "Price Policy for the Second Five-Year Plan," Papers relating to the Formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan; *Planning Commission*; p. 591.

Seasonal variations will be levelled to a great extent as a result of the Produce (Development and Ware-housing) Corporation Bill, 1956. Besides its functions of storage and ware-housing, the Central National Co-operative Development and Ware-housing Board which is being constituted, will plan and formulate programmes for the production, processing, marketing, imports and exports of agricultural produce with the help of co-operative societies. The fundamental difference between this scheme and storage operations is the source from which the funds come. This will be wholly financed from the co-operative private sector as against the burden on the public sector under the storage operations.

As regards speculation, credit control measures already taken by the Reserve Bank—restrictions in the scope of advances against food-grains and cloth³³ as well as necessary changes in the reserve ratio under section 42 of the Reserve Bank Act—will, it is felt, be a sufficient guarantee against the evil effects of excessive money supply.

The Forward Price System also helps in achieving a high degree of price as well as in-

come stability, if a few basic aspects³⁴ of the system could be followed properly. Forward Markets Commission has already been set up in terms of Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1952, and regulatory provisions are being applied to forward contracts in specific areas throughout India not only in cotton, but also oils, oil-seeds, spices, wheat and gram. Added to this are the export-import quotas which serve a very useful purpose by effecting the needed changes in the supply and demand conditions.

Then finally there is the question of technological improvements and of an increase in agricultural production at the cost of little extra investment, directed if necessary from elsewhere. The benefit of such direct investment in agriculture may be several times more than that from any of price stabilization policies, may be in the form of assured support prices to the farmers or subsidies to the consumers. On the basis of what has been stated above, we may conclude that price stabilization is not relevant in the context of rapid economic development in India. It is neither a pre-requisite nor a necessity for the achievement of planned targets. Some of the palliative measures as already taken, and mentioned above, may instead be more effective to meet the short-term expediencies.

³³ *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, June and July; 1956.

³⁴ Cf. Johnson; *op.cit.*; p. 11.



LYRICS—THE LIFE-LINE OF TAGORE

By JOGES C. BOSE

I have a fine recollection of the day I first heard Rabindranath's song *Tumi sandhyar megh santa sudoor*, Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky, blissfully remote and serene.*

We had gathered for a bit of gossiping on the outskirt of our playground after the games of the day were over—it was in a mufasil town of Bengal. A stranger of our age came that way. He was meticulously metropolitan in dress and demeanour and we accosted him, voluble with a sense of hospitality. As we learnt that he was a student of Santiniketan, we coaxed him for one of Tagore's songs. We had hit the bull's eye, he knew how to sing; and after the formality of a shy hesitation he sang:

*Tumi sandhyar megh santa sudoor
amar sadh-er sadhana
Tumi amari, tumi amari,
Ami apen man-er madhuri mishay-e
tomar-e Karechi rachana.
Ogo shunyu gagan-bhara . . .*

Thou art like a floating cloud of the evening sky
blissfully remote and serene; thou art so intensely mine, the crown of all my desires.

I have woven round Thee all the sweetness of
my inmost being, all the sweetness I can
muster strong, as Thou hast been wandering
aloft in the vacancy high, etc.

On the threshold of adolescence, when consciousness seeks to meet understanding, the song had a strange reaction on me. In fact, I did not chuckle my way home, but felt thoughtful—What the song really meant? Was it a love-song, indicative of that hunger of which I was having a hazy idea surreptitiously creeping over me? And as I concluded that this 'Thou' is no other than God, I marvelled at the silver accents of a new approach. The types of devotional songs we were attuned to, were in nature and kind sombre about God and his ways. The accepted techniques centered round the world as a stage and men playing willy-nilly their allotted part; round the evanescence and hollow-

ness of things we see and perceive and man as but an eddy of illusion on the ebb and flow of life; round the suggestion of the last fateful day staring us in the face; in fact, round about what is essentially calculated to trim the mind off things earthly. But no matter at what plane I alternately fixed the song I noted one self-effacing intenseness the lover and the devotee share in common. Flesh was getting transmuted into spirit.

In the chain of cross-questionings, crude imaginativeness is prone to, I am since then in the grip of an amorphous complex—If God creates man or man creates God? It is an outright heresy to those, who believe *ipso facto* in God as the first principle of life. With them all doubts resolve by fulfilment in realisation, which is a phase of the mind, a mind rationalised to be above a question on the point.

Realisation cannot be card-indexed. It is personal, it is exclusive. All the same, it has a sweet contagion as it exudes in tears of sleepless hankering, in tears of the joy of union and the fear of loss. A representative song to cover the various aspects touched above is:

*Duksher barashay chokhkher jal jei namlo,
Bakkher darojay bandhur rath shei thamlo;
Milaner patrati purna je bichhed bedonay
Arpinu hat-e tar khed nai khed nai!
Bahu din banchita antar-e sanchita kee asha,
Chokhkher nimishei mitlo se parasher tiasha;
Eto din-e janlem, je kaden kandlem se kahar
janya.
Dhanya e jagaran, dhanya e krandan,
dhanya r-e dhanya.*

As sorrow's monsoon breaks and it rains in tears,
The friends' chariot stops at the door-post of
the heart that yearns;

And I am to quiet lulled.

What else have I to grieve, as I hand over to
him the cup of union, full to the brim with
pangs of separation?

Long have I nursed the hope, even if deprived
so long.

But now in the twinkling of an eye is appeased
the thirst for touch;

* All translations of this article save the one acknowledged are mine.

And at long last, I wake up to realise who he is
I have kept waiting for.

Blessed is that awakening and thrice blessed is
the longing in tears.

Rabindranath's conception of tears makes for a hymn. It has for its sheet-anchor that in pain, as he says, is symbolised the infinite possibility of perfection. He weaves a chain of pearls with tears of sorrow for the universal deity; to him a mist of tears hovers round the creations of beauty; the tears of the earth keep her smiles in bloom; tears cleanse the penury of the heart and wash the dust of the road that to salvation leads. Baptised in tears, he listens to the lover's footfalls, silent as night eluding all watchers; and as the much-awaited stands face to face to flood him with smiles, he feels to the fibre of his being that without Him 'work is an endless toil in a shoreless sea of toils.'

All these are suggestive of an intimate, personal contact and lead us straightway to the question: How does a man stand to God? It admits of no categorical answer. Could it, however, be that the vital realisation of oneness with the Infinite—an unanalysable, transcending factor—is one solution of the insoluble? The eternal power is the power unseen, unknown, uncreated. But paradoxical as it seems, it is not beyond the reach of a man, who can tune up his mind, vibrant and quickening with hope and faith. I am, however, loath to accept the validity of Pascal's dictum, 'Thou wouldst not have looked for me if thou hadst not found me'; because, the reverse of it is as plausible and has at least the equalitarian value in keeping alive the zest for perfection. It is this, which integrates the varied endeavours of a man to save him from obscurity.

A side-glance on one matter-of-fact aspect of the question, as reflected in some great poets, is interesting from the stand-point of association of ideas. Shakespeare follows the golden mean between 'a divinity that shapes our ends rough-hew them how you will,' on the one hand and on the other, a man is his own doing, such as 'the fault dear Brutus, is not in the stars but in our selves.' Milton, even before he was blind and 'on evil days fallen and evil tongues encompassed,' saw very little to fall thin man's will to do. He writes over the tograph in his Bible, preserved in the British

Museum, that 'the stars ride over man's fate easier than the tide.' Byron drank life to the lees. But as the bowl was filled with gall and wormwood, he denied nothing, doubted everything and finally came to believe that God plans the fate not only of man but the entire cosmos. Poles asunder in the quality of personality, Browning is but a lump of clay for the Potter to mould him in any manner he likes. Wordsworth delights to be 'suckled in a creed outworn,' so that he might sense God in the smell of earth and the feel of weather; to him 'a blade of grass opens paradise.' This diversion of man's allegiance to God over the line of a self-forgetful adoration of the Beautiful, has, in the context of easy human terms, its last say in Vidyapati's two lines of unclassified and unclassable sweetness, bringing it up to the pitch of, what I was discussing, personal contact with the unseen, the unknown and the uncreated:

*'Janam abadhi ham rupa neharana
Nayana na tirapitaa bhela,
Lakha lakha juga hiye hiya rakhanu
Tabu hiya jurana na gela.'*

Birth to birth I have at Beauty gazed in all
wistfulness, but the vision's delight has not the
level of satisfaction reached.

The heart to heart has pressed for ages un-
ending, but its craving is unsatiated as ever.

Vidyapati makes music the vehicle of approach; so does Rabindranath. "I know," he says, "that only as a signer I come before thy presence." In music as in nothing else, is there the scope for concentrated harmony bridging the gulf between the finite and the infinite. It explains why Rabindranath, the lyrist, outdistances the poet and philosopher. In fact, whatever be his fate as a poet one hundred years hence, he fancied half in jest half in earnest, the lyrist, it is accepted without qualification, is insured for all time. Were a large-scale draft on credulity permitted in our age, it would have been as much claimed that the finger of God wrote many a line of his songs.*

Early in life, Rabindranath had taken to Vaishnava literature with the joy of an explorer.

* A time-honoured tradition credits a line of Jaydev as penned by his Lord, Srikrishna himself.

suddenly in possession of, as he says, the philosopher's stone. By heredity and upbringing he had his overall moorings in the *Upanishads*, which embody truths revealed to the Rishis in their moments of illuminated awareness. In the plastic period of life, these two great influences blended in him to make his relation to God one of unified personality. Yet as the two streams have intermingled, each retains its individual genius. He subscribes to the Geeta's *Taya hrishikesha hridishitena*. Thou God dwelling in the inmost recess of my heart, but is chary of reconciling himself to the very next thought. *jatha nijuktoshmi tatha karomi*. I do as thou biddest, because it smacks of subservience and therefore separateness. Nonetheless, his is as much a surrender and no prostrate resignation. It is a joyful, reposeful, willing surrender, which brings in its trail the immutable consciousness of attainment in merger. And in the integrality of synthesis, he is voiceful of a toned, tuneful flageolet delivering the sense of tranquil restoration but in the vitalizing warmth of the Vedic apocalypse.

Him I have known, who resides beyond
the ken of vision, in region celestial

In the sum total, the lyricist gives us a colourful pattern of compositeness and the intellectual satisfaction of a deeper reality of life. He who gets into the spirit is no longer 'the player that struts and frets his hour on the stage and is heard no more.' Slowly and imperceptibly, he is, by and large, clothed with a colossal faith that to look life in the face is to look God in the face. It is this steady translation, which makes Tagore's devotional songs a joy and sustenance even to those in whom spirituality is no vital impulse.

W. B. Yeats, in the composition of whose mysticism India is supposed to have a share and in whom India, in return, caught the patriotic poignance of Ireland, writes the Introduction to Rabindranath's *Gitanjali*. In it he invokes the doctrine of Nietzsche to say that 'we must not believe in the moral and intellectual beauty which does not sooner or later impress itself upon physical things.' I do not know what it means in cold objectivity and might have

struck a rather queer line to understand its implication.

A few days before Rabindranath left for England with the manuscript of the *Gitanjali*-translation, he attended a party at the Calcutta University Institute in honour of a musician, hailing from Hyderabad, if I remember aright. After the musician had entertained the audience with his classics, Rabindranath, pressed hard, sang '*Tum kemon kor-e gun kara h-e guni*,' . . .

I knew not how thou singest my master!
I ever listen in silent amazement.
'The light of thy music illumines the world.
'The life-breath of thy music runs from sky
to sky.
'The holy stream of thy music breaks through
all stony obstacles and rushes on.
'My heart longs to join in thy song, but vainly
struggles for a voice.
'I would speak, but voice breaks not into a song
and I cry out baffled.
Ah, thou hast made my heart a captive in the
endless meshes of thy music, my master!
-- *Gitanjali* (English).

Such lines, by the way, as 'I ever listen in silent amazement' and 'thou hast made my heart a captive in the endless meshes of thy music' are purely Hellenic. I would, however, take the liberty to say, at the same time, that they have lost much of their excellence in the bizarre context of music's 'light,' 'life-breath' and 'holy stream' in disturbing succession, even if they fit in so well in our language with its flair for metaphor. Very few of Rabindranath's translation, so far as I know, convey the ineffable charm and significance of the original, far less the thrills of their depth and mellifuousness. In fact, I have my doubts if the judges at Stockholm could ever get to the core of the *Gitanjali*, but for the distinguished orientalist, who, as Earnest Rhys says, read the poems in Bengali before they came out in English. However to resume.

Pitted against the renowned musician, Rabindranath, my boyish misgivings were, would suffer in techniques. What musician, however, I instantly thought, would have in the voice his profound personality, which belongs to no technique but is of the soul. Did he, people

wondered—at least I did—compose the song on the spur of the moment? Such a situation, had for me the aroma of what ‘for its grace is dear and yet dearer for its mystery.’ When, therefore, a gentleman broke in upon the spell-bound animation of the house to say, amongst other things while offering thanks, that Rabindranath had treated them to his latest song published in a Bengali monthly some four-five days back, I, for one, could not take kindly to the disclosure. As I held it to scrutiny, my displeasure, I concluded, was the measure of my reluctance to forego the pleasure of a metamorphosed atmosphere—moral and intellectual beauty impressing itself upon things physical. I would fall back upon one other incident of my college life. One night after roll-call at nine in the hostel, I was moving about with our Principal to select a team for a cricket match the following day. In front of the room we had in view—these were all single-seated rooms—we heard muffled voices and they quieted down to make room for a voice singing low but none-the-less clear. It was a gross breach of hostel rules, frowned upon without mercy. Not, however, before the song concluded the Principal got in. To our surprise, he, the great stickler for the niceties of discipline, uttered not a word about the delinquency. An Irishman, who did not know Bengali, he said that he could not follow what was sung but was deeply stirred by its rhythmic roll. Would he not be right to say, he asked after a moment’s pause, that it was an orchestral song? We all joined in to say that it was one of Tagore’s songs and explained what it meant, the more so earnestly in order to gloss over the ticklish affair—violation of hostel rules. I focussed his attention upon the lines—

*Eito tomar alok-dhenu surya tara dal-e dal-e,
Tara tomar charay dhenu, kothai bosh-e
bajao benu mahagagan tal-e.*

The sun and stars in rotation thy cattle tend;
But where really under the blue canopy art
thou seated playing thy flute eternal?

He had heard, he said brimming with vivacity, a lot of Tagore’s from Pearson (W. W. Pearson of Santiniketan) but could hardly imagine that a few lines of his would move him like that. We slipped into a rambling discourse about Tagore; and as we got up, initially

forgetful of what we were out for, Time had crelong passed over to another date.

From this a rather banal way of interpreting literature and what is, I am afraid, tantamount to twisting values, it is worth recall that as Romain Rolland received the news of the First Great War, he got his copy of the *Gitanjali* and took to reading it with his sister to help tide over some gnawing thoughts*. In a world at odds Tagore’s is the healing touch.

I have often wondered why the Nobel Committee preferred Rabindranath, who was no more read than by a few Bengali-knowing people, to Romain Rolland—Nobel Laureate, 1915; Anatole France—Nobel Laureate, 1921; W. B. Yeats—Nobel Laureate, 1923; and in this category may be included L. Tolstoy and Thomas Hardy. All of them were in the hey-day of their popularity the world over.

“The songs of the *Gitanjali*,” says W. B. Yeats, “display a world he has dreamt of all his life long.” This vision of a new world has an added meaning in relation to the conditions of contemporary Europe, which fairly within two years witnessed the First Great War and the barbarism it unleashed. With the advancement of Science, the proud achievement of Western civilization, there have been right from the beginning efforts to prevent it for sinister ends. In individual life, people had taken to multiplying wants and cluttering it with frippery and tinsel. But in the midst of what is enough and to spare in contributing to convenience and stateliness, there was the pinching awareness of one shortage and it withered the bloom of things. Does the *Gitanjali* give a clue to that inwardness of spirit answering the need? Does it satisfy the test of Walt Whitman’s longed-for ‘song of the universal, no poet has chanted amid the incalculable grossness and slag?’ Their compelling note is the assurance that God’s emanence is always for those who seek it with a sustained devoutness. And this assurance has been conveyed in a language, which has, to borrow a line of Swinburne ‘all the grace of perfect force and all the force of perfect grace’ and in the glitter and fragrance of Nature’s many-varied wondrous aspects. Long after the edge of first novelty

* I remember having read the same story in respect, of Countess De Nuailles and Clemenceau. I forget the authorship of either and cannot say which one is correct.

wore off, Johan Bojer hailed Tagore as India bringing to Europe 'a new divine symbol, not the Cross but the Lotus.' By 'Lotus' he meant the tradition of a culture, which has outlived the rise and fall of civilizations.

No poet of the East has had the world-wide celebrity of Rabindranath. The fifth-century Indian poet and dramatist Kalidas, to whom he bears affinity in expatiating the joy of life, the deification of rains and in giving us consummate pictures of landscape, has been held in high esteem in Europe since when his drama *Sakuntala* was translated into English by Sir William Jones. The English translation was translated into German, French, Danish and Italian. Rabindranath adorns the succession all too well. He has, besides, reinforced the faith of the West in the integrity of India's spiritual foundation.

A hurried word, how the *Gitanjali* came out by way of acknowledging those, who sponsored it, may not be grudged. Rothenstein is the largest possible influence. He first met Rabindranath at the Calcutta residence of the Tagores while on a visit to discuss Art with Abanindranath Tagore. He was struck, he says in *Men and Memoirs*, to see how in Rabindranath 'physical and moral beauty were harmoniously wedded' in 1912, as Rabindranath went to England for reasons of health, he contacted Rothenstein and showed him his manuscript of the *Gitanjali* translation. Rothenstein was so much impressed that he sent typed copies to some distinguished men of letters and then arranged a reading in his house. Rabindranath read it before W. B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, May Sinclair, Earnest Rhys and others. C. F. Andrews, who had not seen Rabindranath before sums up his impression as he listened to the recital that 'his great longing was to touch his feet.' Ezra Pound found in these songs 'the sense of saner stillness in the midst of the clangour of mechanisms.' Bradley and Stopford Brooke wrote Rothenstein giving them high praise. What literary critics sent in their recommendation to the Nobel Committee remains a guess-work. Rabindranath was awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in November, 1913. The *Gitanjali* has since been translated into French, German, Danish, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.

My first reaction on receipt of the news of this Blue Ribbon to Rabindranath was one long sigh—How little of his was available to the judges of the Nobel Committee? Was it not the one facet of the lyrist only? As I read the English *Gitanjali*, a like voice filled my mind intermittently. It was the voice of the German ecclesiastic Thomas-a-Kempis of the *Imitation of Christ*. Much, however, as Kempis held me down by the haunting cadence of his music and the spiritual fervour of his mysticism, I was stung by the idea that he makes man basically a sinner for no fault of his, but, because, we are all born of concupiscence. Rabindranath is a refreshing contrast. He makes man a part of the universe, which is, as the *Upanishads* have taught him, born of love and by love propped up and into love absorbed. This unifying sense of love gives him the 'right of entrance to the great fair of common human life.' In any case, it tones him up to outwear the accidents of breed and border.

In obedience to the vogue, set by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the doyen of Bengali literature in modern times, our public at one time likened Rabindranath to Shelley, 'the lyric lord of England's lordliest singers.' As I read it, I was at my wit's end to catch the exact strands of conatet, except that the leading strain of either is lyrical, and, that either has pressed humanity first into the alembic of his art. As I grew up and read Mathew Arnold's criticism of Shelley, which to my immature mind passed for an authoritative pronouncement, I felt particularly unhappy at the comparison. Rabindranath is as much 'a beautiful angel' and his wings as 'luminous' but I would not accept that he 'beats his wings in the void in vain.' I, therefore, dubbed the estimate as the one-time complex of our people to spiritualise a pet reference with a drop of water from the English Channel. But later on, as I read Brownings' summing-up of Shelley—'his simultaneous perception of Power and Love in the abstract and Good in the concrete,' I glided unawares into the school of thought I had shied at. Yet, I have no manner of hesitation to say that they failed to size up Rabindranath Tagore, endowed with the gift of faith in the culture of India, renewing the sense of life full, significant and worth-living.

DR. JADUNATH SARKAR

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

No flame burns for ever. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the acknowledged doyen of historians in India was at the zenith of intellectual output for over six decades, a record in the world. A giant among intellectuals, Jadunath was an institution by himself. His tall erect stature, broad forehead, well-set brilliant eyes, his dignified poise, gait and measured words, all indicated that it was Acharya Jadunath. He literally looked a man of the mind. In his writings there was no gush, rhetorical padding, no digression and no anachronism of ludicrous absurdity. He had no time for gossiping stories and gasconading traditions. His critical analysis was of a devastating type. Both his personal bearings and writings indicate the high character of the man—a realist, a stoic with a supreme intellectual detachment. From his earliest years he had obviously fixed a standard, far too high for the present day intellectual vacuum, plagiaristic research and history made to order. There was an encyclopaedic character about his personality and works.

He was an eternal student. Books and old manuscripts were his passion. How many could carry on research on a subject for 50 years as he did on Aurangzeb? But the spirit of research did not crush the man in him, rather he imbibed an insight with which he could interpret historical facts for the future. With him it was not merely picking the bones from oblivion and setting them to a shape but he breathed life into the bones and interpreted the past to the future with an oracle's wisdom. If any one had read his volumes on Aurangzeb or on Shivaji critically he would have known why Jadunath in the last few years had been more or less silent and had been writing occasionally with a prophetic vision about the present trends in India.

The greatness of his genius can only be realised from a survey of the conditions amidst which he rose to be the father of historical research in India. He spent a fortune in worshipping the Muse of history, acquiring books, manuscripts, photo-stats from all parts of the world and training up students at his cost. For researches in mediaeval India he learnt Persian and for studying Shivaji he learnt Marathi and other languages. He had not only to go to the original sources but like a ruthless jeweller who

would not hesitate to spurn a base ornament he would reject spurious documents acquired at a great cost without the least idea of the sources from where the documents had come. If one would only read the analysis of the bibliography he has appended to his monumental works on Shivaji or Aurangzeb one would be literally overwhelmed, by the list of the sources in French, Portuguese, English, Persian, Sanskrit and Marathi. The last time I met Jadunath in Calcutta he bitterly observed that doctorates were being liberally strewn by the Universities even when the research-workers have no knowledge of the language in which the original sources of his subject are.

Among his monumental works mention should particularly be made of the five volumes on *Aurangzeb*, *Studies on Mughal Administration and Mughal India*, *India through the Ages* and *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Any one of them is adequate to commemorate the author for generations. Apart from his historical researches Jadunath was a literary critic. He was a brilliant writer in Bengali and took an active interest in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. The present generation may not know that long before Tagore had won the Nobel Prize for his *Gitanjali*, Jadunath had introduced Tagore to the English-knowing world by translating many of his writings.

Reminiscences spread over 38 years crowd on the memory. Very few people know that within his rough exterior he had the soft mother's heart. He was extremely reserved and almost curt to any one who would waste his time but at the same time his large-heartedness knew no limits. But he never allowed his kindness to go astray. There was an occasion when after trying a research scholar for about a year during which period the scholar was living in his house as a family member Jadunath asked him not to come back after the summer vacation because he thought the student did not have a research scholar's cut. But at the same time Jadunath gave him some money unobtrusively to tide over the present difficulties. If once he came to like a student or a friend his house was the second home for that man. When he lived in Cuttack and Patna his house always had five or six

scholars and students sharing food with him and working on their own. Like a typical patriarch he would preside on the meals and carry on conversation on all possible topics. There was no reserve then. If he was inexplicably cold occasionally that was due to his pre-occupations or to the various family misfortunes that he had throughout his long life. It is indeed a tragedy that this great man had a series of domestic bereavements. Last year I had an occasion to see Sir Jadunath immediately after one of his great bereavements but the way I was received in the old affectionate but reserved manner and Jadunath plunging into academic discussions I could not possibly refer to his bereavement. He would not like others know the effects of his personal tragedies. The more sorrow he had the greater keenness he showed for his work. The sorrows deepened his intellectual detachment that he always had and he appeared satisfied with a self-inflicted banishment. But his very silence proved how much he valued what he loved. Life's tempests had waxed and waned with him but he appeared to be at peace outside although God knows what full tides that silence might have borne.

Bihar was his home for decades. The Bihar Research Society, the Patna University, the Suhrid Parishad and various other institutions here were shaped by him. His students will all say that a like of him is not to be seen. It almost looks that God destroyed the mould he was shaped in.

The flame has burnt out. Sir Jadunath's works remain reminding us that the source of light could always be tapped if one has the mental equipments. But to those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately the personal void can never be filled up. The curious mixture that he was, scared others but not those whom he loved. I never knew the largeness of his heart till he advised me 36 years ago to come over to Patna for further studies after my graduation from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. I was just one of his thousands of students. After staying in his house for a few days when I wanted to shift to a hostel the great man literally had burst on me and asked me if I was inconvenienced in his house. That settled the matter and I lived with him as one of his family. That was Sir Jadunath the man.

(Broadcast from A I R, Patna on 24.5.68).

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THE NEW COMMONWEALTH AND INDIA

BY PROF. GOPI RAMAN RAUT, M.A.

THE Commonwealth of Nations or the New Commonwealth is merely a name signifying an association of states free to agree and act as they choose, a unique phenomenon the like of which has never existed. The purpose and ideals of this association are shrouded in mystery. It is neither a treaty, nor a regional body nor a confederation. Members can secede at will from this association.

India's membership of the Commonwealth is, however, a matter of serious study, in so far as the present Government is insistently continuing as one of its members, the others being the U.K., the leading partner, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa.

The history of the Commonwealth is interesting in the sense that it has not been rigid but amazingly adaptable to the changing circumstances. A hundred years ago the term

'commonwealth' meant public good (common weal). In another sense it signified a state, e.g., the commonwealth of England, more particularly a form of government in which the general public had a direct voice. As some of the colonies of the British Empire rose to be self-governing dominions within the British Empire, the British Commonwealth of Nations began to develop. During World War I the dominions fought on the side of Britain, and signed the Treaty of Versailles as equals. Mainly due to the efforts of statesmen like Gen. Smuts of South Africa, and Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations came into effect in 1917. In 1925, it was explicitly mentioned that the Dominion governments were free to pursue their own foreign policy and could make treaties as independent states. The status of the Dominions in the Commonwealth was defined in the

Imperial Conference in 1926 in the following words:

"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate to each other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

This was subsequently embodied in the famous Statute of Westminster in 1931. The associated self-governing communities of the British Empire were thus free to act as they liked in their domestic and foreign affairs. But the British Crown was the "golden link" binding them together, and they all owed allegiance to it. Another landmark in the evolution of the concept of Commonwealth was in 1937 when Ireland declared herself a sovereign independent democratic state. Allegiance to the British Crown was not taken seriously by the U.K.

But a change in the nomenclature of the British Commonwealth of Nations occurred with the independence of India. A wholly new situation arose as India was pledged to sovereign democratic republicanism and had different historical traditions and culture. The U.K. Government was keenly desirous of keeping India associated with the Commonwealth. As regards India's association with it the Indian National Congress resolved in its Jaipur session in 1948 as follows:

"In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, the present association with the U.K. and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace."

Subsequently, a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held in April 1949 in London, and a formula was found out to

accommodate the sovereign republican state of India in the Commonwealth. The Joint Declaration at the conclusion of the said conference defined the position of India *vis-a-vis* the Commonwealth in the following words:

"The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth."

Thus the British Commonwealth imperceptibly changed itself into the Commonwealth of Nations. There was now no question of any allegiance to the Crown as it had been under the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, quoted above. The Queen has no function in relation to India; she is merely a symbolical head. Nothing is done here in her name. Besides, membership does not mean that India accepts all or any of the policies of the member states. It does not come in the way of her independent foreign policy. It is not a treaty binding her. Thus it does not in any way impinge upon her sovereignty or upon her republicanism.

Before examining some of the issues involved in India's association with the Commonwealth, it may not be out of place to point out to an intriguing speech of Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade on June 7, 1957 in Paris in connection with European free trade area proposals:

"Our deepest roots are there in that unique family of free nations and colonies on their way to freedom. The Queen is our Head. *We are united by our loyalty to Her Majesty, by our principles of Parliamentary government, by our legal system and by trade arrangements we have built up over many years. We see in the Commonwealth how many different races and territories in different stages of development can work together for common purposes.*" (Italics ours)—*Commonwealth Survey*, Vol. III, No. 13, p. 577.

This is from a speech made by a cabinet member and published in an official publication of the U.K. government. His reference to loyalty of member states to Her Majesty might be due to his obsession, but statements like these

must not be lightly brushed aside, for they are derogatory to our sense of national pride and tend to a denial of the republican character of our Constitution.

The manner in which India was hurried into the Commonwealth cannot be called proper or justifiable. The Constituent Assembly of India was asked by the piloting leaders to ratify India's membership of the Commonwealth, and it did so on May 17, 1949. But this could have reasonably been postponed till the new Indian Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, would have considered it.

Besides, it cannot be claimed that this association was in keeping with the pledges and ideals of the Congress itself. Sri Nehru, presiding over the Lahore session of the Congress, 1929, had stated:

"Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British Imperialism. . . . India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth, unless Imperialism and all that it implies is discarded." Again, since January 26, 1930 our annual Independence Day pledge had included the following:—"We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence."

One may argue that we were against Dominion status and not the Commonwealth. But how could it be accepted that British "Imperialism and all that it implies" has been discarded to-day, least in 1949 when India entered the Commonwealth?

There is then the question of the headship of this new Commonwealth. The British King or Queen has been acknowledged as the symbolical head. The capital 'Head' in the Prime Ministers' declaration is worth noting. It gives somewhat undue importance to the status of the British monarch for all the members. And was, after all, any head even symbolical, needed for all of them? A head would have been needed if it were a federal or confederal structure, an imperial organisation, or a constitutional entity. The Commonwealth being none of these, the headship of the British king or queen was not at all necessary at least in the case of India. How can India, having thrown off princely order in her Constitution, reconcile herself to the head-

ship of the British hereditary monarch? Even though there is no legal or constitutional flaw in it, it has an adverse psychological effect on Indian feelings.

Much has been and is being said of the "silken bond which is invisible but nonetheless strong" subsisting between the different countries of the Commonwealth. No pains have been spared to placate the "common tradition of parliamentary democracy," the Rule of Law, with its fundamental principles of trial by jury and independent judiciary, and the use of English language. It is also pointed out that many of the parliamentary procedure obtaining in British Parliament are common to all the members, the judgements given on legal points in one country are often quoted in another, and that legal training is almost the same in all of them. To strengthen this so-called link, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has been formed to arrange visits and conferences and courses of instruction for the officers of all the parliaments. All this being said, there is nothing referred to above, which is not being practised in one democratic country or another, such as the U.S.A., France, Switzerland, Burma etc. And in spite of all this, how can the strict stipulation of only a Muslim Governor-General in the Pakistan Constitution, the religious bias there, the 'apartheid' policy of the South African government, etc., be reconciled to secular democracy avowed by those who flaunt the 'silken bond'? It is not meant here to deny wholesale the common features, but to show the incongruities and basic differences that are many. Indeed if the 'silken bond' would have been 'strong,' the Commonwealth could not have been so loose a structure as it is. The metaphysics of unity has been given undue importance.

Attempts have been made to over-emphasize economic advantages accruing from it and its political value. On the other side bitter critics have complained of the alleged domination of British Imperialism over Indian economy. Without going into the details of the controversy it is proposed here to mention some of the facts in brief. The economic significance of India's association should not be wholly ignored. Britain has been our principal trading partner and by far the largest investor in various industries and plantations. India lies in the Sterling Bloc

area. The following figures illustrate the position of British trade with India:

Year	In lakhs of rupees)		Total India's		Total Ind exports	P. of	
	Total import from U.K.	Total export from U.K.	imports	Exports		Imports	Percent
	1	2	3			1	2 to 4
1951-52	46228	18786	94313	73299		17.2	25.6
1952-53	13884	12244	66988	57737		20.7	21.2
1953-54	14271	14871	57193	53962		24.9	28.02
1954-55	15336	18808	65626	59354		23.3	31.7
1955-56	17269	16438	70181	60941		24.5	27.01
					—Figure	From <i>Economic</i>	

—Figure

First a Economics

Besides, there is the Colombo Plan which undertakes to give financial and technical help to the under-developed countries.

However, India is in trade deficit with Britain. There are other substantial trading partners also, viz., the U.S.A., W. Germany, Japan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Czechoslovakia, China, the U.S.S.R. etc. The Colombo Plan itself is not limited to the Commonwealth countries but includes Cambodia, Burma, Japan, the Philippines, etc. India,

too, could have reaped advantages from the Plan without being in the Commonwealth. Lastly, Britain herself faces balance of payments difficulties, and, hence, we may not expect any substantial financial aid from her. We will have to seek other sources.

A consideration of the political aspect of the association reveals many obnoxious features. Of course, there are Indians in British territories such as Fiji, Mauritius, East Africa etc., and if we were to leave the Commonwealth the problem of their nationality would arise. But political divergences are many. Australia and New Zealand are mostly European in outlook on many matters. India was not informed of the British action against Egypt even as a courtesy. Indian prestige was no doubt enhanced due to her vehement denunciation of the aggression, but it cannot be said that aggression was halted on account of her being in the Commonwealth. Britain, Pakistan, Australia, etc., are members of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, which threaten the freedom and security of Afro-Asian nations. British attitude towards the Kashmir issue has been lamentably biased against India. The question of Indian and Pak nationals in South Africa is not being resolved. The intransigence of the South African government and the open support of Britain to it in the U.N. bears ample testimony to the invidious racial policy of the die-hard imperialists. Britain is supporting colonialism in Algeria, and is perpetrating atrocities in Cyprus and Kenya.

A great publicity was once given to the goodwill shown by Britain at the return of the relics of Sariputta and Moggallan. But what about the question of the India Office Library, possessing highly valuable materials belonging to India, which has not yet been resolved? India's association with the Commonwealth is thus anomalous.

One may ask, as to why we should break this tenuous link when there are already so many breaches in the world to-day. Well, leaving the Commonwealth can in no way be treated as a breach. Ireland, the nearest neighbour of Britain, left it in 1949. She lost nothing, and Britain is not unfriendly to her. Our neighbour Burma is not in it and she is not in any disadvantageous position.

THE SPIRIT OF REFORMATION

By PROF. CHUNILAL CHAKRAVORTY, M.A.

II

The most interesting feature of Calvinism was that though its initiator preferred passive obedience to resistance, nonetheless, as from the beginning it had to side with the mercantile interests of commercially advanced countries, the doctrine underwent gradual changes commensurate with the historical development of such individual countries. Although the centralised monarchy, at one stage, received the support of the protestants because it ensured peace and order that was essential to efficient and unhindered economic pursuit, yet wherever the monarchs attempted to become absolute and disregarded the interest and aspirations of the mercantile class, Calvinism stood as the defender of democracy and individual rights.

In this connection it is pertinent to examine the contention of Max Weber, which has been developed in his great scholarly work, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber had endeavoured to prove that capitalism in minor form had always been there. It could not release its force fully and assume its social predominance until Calvinism provided the spiritual material. Therefore capitalism was the social counterpart of Calvinism. But subsequent facts will prove the weakness of this one-sided argument. R. H. Tawny argues:

"It (Calvinism) varied from period to period and country to country, with differences of economic conditions, social traditions and political environment. It looked to the past, as well as to the future. If in some of its phases it was on the side of change, in others it was conservative. The Calvinism which fought the English Civil War, still more the Calvinism which won the uneasy toleration at the Revolution, was not that of its founder.

while puritanism helped to mould the social order, it was, in its turn, moulded by it,"¹⁵

It is necessary now to examine briefly the progress of the Protestant movement in major important European countries. Lutheranism, after its initial success in Germany fell into a torpor. Calvinism with its rigour, crusading zeal, military discipline and unflinching support to the cause of the bourgeoisie provided appropriate spirit and strength against the onslaughts of the powers of the counter-Reformation. England, the first country to revolt against the Roman Church, made a complete breach under Henry VIII. As a result of the Peasant's Revolt and the War of the Roses, the feudal foundation of the society had been violently shaken giving way to the middle class, which ushered in an age of commercial prosperity in the country. The Tudor monarchy chiefly counted on their support. The Protestants also lent their support unequivocally to Tudor despotism as long as it did not threaten or interfere with the freedom of commerce of the bourgeoisie. The measures of Henry VIII regarding the dissolution of monasteries and other steps taken to effect the breach with Rome could be carried on smoothly chiefly because the middle class had consented to it. This breach also involved that some day or other England would come at loggerheads with Spain which then controlled the trade of the New World and the West Indies. The English merchants were eagerly waiting for the opportunities to have their share in the trade of the New World and the opportunities offered itself during the reign of Elizabeth after the destruction of the Spanish Armada. In the wake of it the contest for the supremacy in the New World grew more intense and the pirate-like activities of Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh received active and throaty support from the Crown and

"There was action and reaction, and

15. R. H. Tawny in the foreword to the *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

the merchant-middle class. With regard to the internal religious policy the so-called middle course that was being followed by Henry VIII and Elizabeth with a view to consolidate their position, could not stand the ultimate test of time. The efforts of the Tudors to keep the Parliament in good humour by adopting deceitful manoeuvre could not have been a permanent feature. With the removal of all danger from without and within, the Parliament rose its head and opposed Elizabeth on the monopoly question, for it had interfered with the freedom of commerce of many in favour of a privileged few. The problems which the Tudor monarchs did not solve, but only kept in abeyance, assumed a formidable proportion during the Stuart monarchy. The bourgeoisie must have their unfettered rights and if the monarchs pave the way, well and good, or else the very legitimacy of the monarchy must be brought under fire. The nascent capitalist development could not be and must not be thwarted. The Stuart monarchs attempted to do the impossible and hence came in headlong collision with the middle class. Calvinism found its way into England and the Puritan movement began. The Puritans became the spearhead of the revolution which broke out in England in 1642, chopped off the head of Charles I in 1649 and established a commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, that would guarantee all opportunities to the commercial interests of the bourgeoisie by harnessing the state machineries favourably. Up to this point their zeal for freedom, rights and liberties reached the high watermark. But as soon as the Republican elements of the army advanced claims so as to extend these democratic rights to the lowest elements of the society, the same people turned conservative and ultimately helped the restoration.

In Holland the movement initially took the shape of a national struggle against the Spanish domination and interference in her domestic affairs. But innately it was a struggle of a commercial nation whose interest was jeopardised by a foreign king. When the General of Philip II, Alva, carried his persecution too far and throttled the commerce of the country by imposing extortionate taxes, the liberation struggle became more intense and the bour-

geoisie threw their entire support to liquidate the stranglehold of Spain. In this they principally obtained support from England. Perhaps they also looked farther and cherished hope to have their share in the Spanish colonies in some future date. Calvinism found a fertile ground for their preachings. The doctrine of passive resistance and pre-destination were construed to suit the interests of the bourgeoisie. Althusias and Grotius propounded anti-Royalist theories. In 1581, the States General, in the Act of Abjuration, renounced their allegiance to Philip II with the assertion:

"All mankind know that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector, when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not as a prince, but a tyrant."¹⁷

So, after a long-drawn struggle they succeeded in defeating the enemy and forming a Republic which obtained the sanction of the powers of the Treaty of Westphalia and by the 17th century not only founded the strong basis of a commercial country, but also started expanding her markets by acquiring colonies which brought her in a headlong collision with her one-time ally—England.

In France the movement assumed a somewhat different form and the success of the bourgeoisie was not as easy as it was in England or in Holland. One of the chief causes was that the monarchy was steeped in reaction and yet had to depend on the feudal aristocracy. Catherine de Medici tried to increase her autocratic power by playing off the Guises against the Bourbons. She did not side with either thereby failing to gather any strong force behind the monarchy. Nevertheless at heart she was a Catholic and aspired to crush the power of the Protestants not only at home but even abroad with the help of Philip III of Spain. Yet commercialism was trying to develop itself in France. The energetic Huguenots were the pioneers and leaders of com-

17. Quoted in *The History of Political Theories* by Sabine.

merce and industries. They must also have some share in the Government which Catherine was not ready to concede. When Catherine summoned the States General the "third estate" put forward revolutionary demands of constitutional reforms, confiscation of church property for secular use, etc. The third estate was principally the elected representative of the municipal oligarchy. The country naturally got involved in intermittent civil strifes which climaxed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew that swept away the lives of 20,000 Huguenots. The persecution instead of stifling the spirit of the Huguenots rather intensified their crusading zeal. One important effect of the massacre was the birth of the *Politique* which pleaded toleration. Another fact was that the Huguenot movement which had hitherto been in alliance with local nobilities has now completely dissociated itself from feudal attachment; for most of the nobles either have fallen or abjured their faith. "The importance of the bourgeoisie and their ministers consequently increased and under their influence republican ideas had become more prominent."¹⁸ Francis Hotman wrote *Franco Gallia* in which he developed the theory of elective monarchy governed through the people and for the people. Theodorus Beza wrote in *Vindiciae Contratyrannos* in 1579:

"The king was made subject to law: He should be the watchdog of the people's interest; for he is the representative of the people. The king is accountable to law for his every act." Here it should be remembered that the spirit of *Vindicia* was not democratic but aristocratic. It did not seek popular representation, but of the corporation.

The fundamental question was, therefore, that bourgeoisie capitalism must thrive. It might not have an easy victory but it must ultimately win. It could not initially take a total national character, because unlike England, feudalism was still a formidable force. "It was a great weakness of the Huguenots, that they were in general on the side of local privileges and against the king."¹⁹ The observation

is appropriate. But it was equally appropriate in 16th century France under a succession of Catholic monarchs who, although endeavoured to increase their power at the cost of feudal privileges, nevertheless always preserved the feudal character of the society and its economy. Hence it was impossible for the Huguenots to lend support to such monarchs. But whenever any monarch, be he a Catholic, actually tried to bring about the unity of the country and adopted progressive economic measures, the Huguenots were always agreeable to support. They supported Catholic Henry IV because of the reforms of Sully. Richelieu could take away their local privilege and maintain peace, because he had conceded to their commercial aspirations. Even during the war of Fronde, they did not ally with the nobles but peacefully pursued their commercial activities. They were the staunchest supporters of the Government of Louis XIV because of the Reforms of Colbert. Had not Louis in later date, turned a bigot and aspired to become the Holy Roman Emperor, by waging continual wars, thereby wasting the resources of the country, if he did not revoke the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and persecuted the Huguenots, France might have been spared the bourgeoisie revolution of 1789 that established the delayed capitalist institutions in France.

In this brief survey, attempt has been made to show the general trend of socio-economic development that started its career in the 16th century and its relation with the Protestant teaching that has supplied the theoretical weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. "Such teachings, whatever was its theoretical merits or defects, was admirably designed to liberate economic energies, and to weld into a disciplined social force, the rising bourgeoisie."

No ideology can perform any social function if it does not voice the demands and aspirations of the creative forces of the society. At the same time the ideology must be sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to the developing trend of the rising social forces. Therefore, though it influences the movement, yet at the same

18. Johnson: *Europe in the 16th Century*.

19. Sabine: *A History of Political Theories*, p. 319.

* R. H. Tawney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 119.

time, is influenced by it. It is the interaction of the conscious and the unconscious. The conscious aspects of Lutheranism aimed at maintaining the feudal structure of the society and religion, minus its corruption. But the unconscious aspects released the forces of revolution for which Luther was least prepared. Therefore, whereas Lutheranism created a rift in the German Empire, it could not, at the same time, invigorate or open a new vista before the indigenous bourgeoisie who, as a result failed to take the destiny of the country in their hands. But in other parts of Europe the onward march of the bourgeoisie could not be checked. Calvinism not only lent unflinching support to the bourgeoisie institutions, but also adopted its doctrine of pre-destination and collectivist dictatorship in favour of direct action, initiative and individualism. After winning its initial victories in commercially advanced countries, it had to prove its inner strength in the decisive struggle against the forces of the counter-Reformation in the Thirty Years War. The issue was principally, which should have its sway—old forces or new? Ultimately the latter triumphed. Then after in the treaty of Westphalia the religious questions had to be compromised in favour of the heretics. Now nationalism as an important factor in politics made its definite appearance. With the passage of time the religious issues receded into the background and gradually detached itself from actively interfering with a secular affairs. Capitalism started its unhindered and relatively independent historic journey. Now Nationalism came to supply the spirit to the nations of Europe who have set their goal of accomplishing capitalistic development of their respective countries. The history of the 17th century and

18th century Europe, had principally been the history of asserting the bourgeois leadership and the promotion of their economic interests even at the cost of other countries. Out of this emerged another political phenomenon—struggle for colonies which would serve them in both ways, as market to buy raw materials at a cheap rate and at the same time sell their finished products at a higher price. By the 19th century the colonial rivalry reached its peak—point out of which England came out as the strongest capitalist and colonial power.

The bourgeoisie today seem to have reached the end of mission. Now, this one-time progressive and revolutionary force has become conservative. Internally they oppress and exploit the labour, put down the modern heresy with same ardour as it was done by the Jesuits in the 16th Century. Externally they suppress the liberation movements of the colonies. As theoretical justifications to their oppressive actions, they even revive religious dogmas mixed with doses of pseudo-scientific casuistry to prove the immutable nature of their order in which some are pre-destined to work and suffer, while some to guide and enjoy: and blinded by narrow selfish interests, these people forget the past. But if the past is the exemplar of the future, if in our brief examination we have found a trend of historical development, then of course, this seemingly universal and immutable order of the bourgeois world is sure to make way for new social forces. And in this historic march a suitable theoretical guise like that of Calvinism has not been found wanting.

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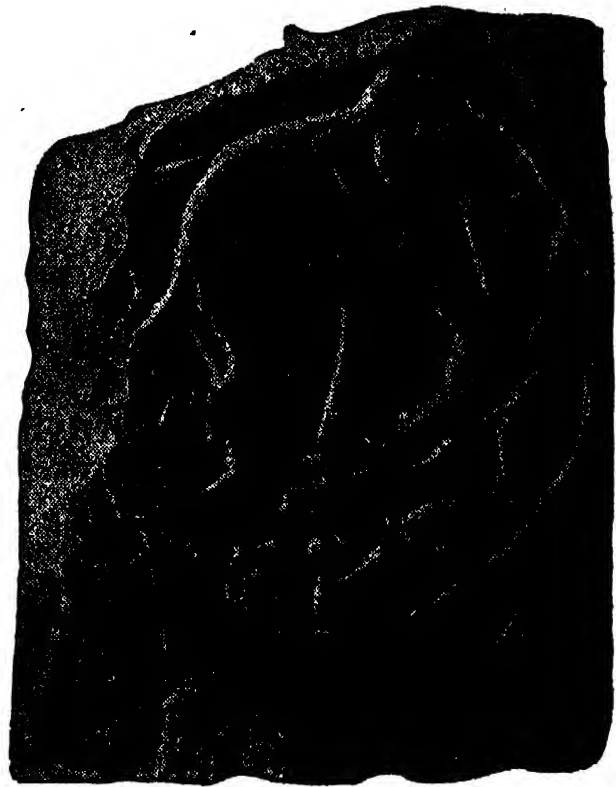
FISH AND FISH-GOD IN ART AND SCULPTURE

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE story of fish and the fish-god appears to be interesting when we find that there is a strange note of oneness and commonness behind it through the different parts of the world. The worship of the fish is one of the most ancient religions. The idea of worshipping this 'ever open-eyed creature of scales and fins' might have originated in a strange but very possible way; when lands began to be created out of and at the expense of the vast sea, and in which the principal means of transit were the rivers and the canals, the fish inhabiting the sea and the rivers became an object of veneration to the indwellers of the lands. Thus the fish, as the lord of the waters occupied an important place in the religions and mythological conceptions. Thus again the god Ea of Erudu became one of the most famous gods of the Babylonians and the Oannes in the form of a fish became very popular among the peoples of Greece. Fish was chosen in some countries as the symbol of vigour, endurance, perseverance and power and in some as the symbol of great potency and supreme sanctity.

From the dawn of human civilization fish-worship was common in different parts of the globe like Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, America, China, Japan and Europe and other places. Fish has always played an important role in objects of art and crafts and sculpture which are so much closely related to different religions. In Egypt the fish is associated with the great goddess Isis—the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus. Sometimes the Semitic races of Egypt gave this creature of the seas and rivers a phallic symbol: this fact may be due to its relation to fertility, fecundity and reproduction. In Mesopotamia extensive use of fish motive was made on seals and palace-walls of Sennacherib's palace at Kouyanjik and on a cylinder-seal where we find a crab effectually pressing its nippers into the body of a luckless woman. In Mesopotamia, like other places, fish was undoubtedly used for food from the earliest times; one of the reforms introduced by Urukagina, a king of the 1st dynasty of Lagash, was 'the deprivation from office of the extortionate fishery inspectors.'

Some very interesting terra-cotta figures from Assyria representing the Fish-god, Dagan, are preserved in the British Museum. A fish-god sculptured in relief was discovered in Assyria and Babylonia. The Dagan-cult had possibly found its origin in the alluvial centres of civilization in the extreme south of Babylonia, where the water was an all-important factor for good or ill. From Babylonia again a four-sided block of clay forming an elongated kind of cube (British Museum No. 92611) dating about 2100 B.C., has been found and it is inscribed with lists of the names of fish, birds, plants, stones and garments. According to



Fish motif in Bharut (2nd century B.C.)

some philologists the Hebrews have derived the word for fish, spelled variously 'dg,' 'dag,' or 'deog,' which is believed to have come from the Sanskrit word 'de' or 'deo' and 'ag' or 'ab,' words that are allied to the solar 'ak' and 'aqu,' meaning water. Then following the common habit of early peoples reading a word either from left to right or from right to left, the word 'God' as 'Good One' has been evolved. The Talmudic Messiah also was called Dag and had a fish for

his attribute. In the same way the Syrian Sun-God, Baal, wears a 'skin of fish.'

In Greece, Poseidon, the god of the sea and of the watery element, rides a dolphin. The dolphin motive is commonly found on Greek and Roman coins. The people of ancient Greece used to call the dolphin as the 'Philanthropist' because to them the dolphin was the 'friend' of man and the 'saviour' of wrecked ships. In fact, Christ the Saviour is called sometimes as 'The Fisher of Men.'



Piprawah casket with fish-handle (4th century B.C.)

In China and Japan fish motif has been extensively used in art and sculpture from very early times. The Chinese people take fish as the symbol of energy and perseverance and among the piscinian species the carp is highly esteemed. The carp which through untiring zeal and zest is known to succeed 'in leaping the waterfall and making the ascent of the river' has become an example to the Chinese youngsters. The carp leaves the idea before the young mind that true life rests in surmounting all difficulties and trials of life. In China the precept of the carp is applied at the time of the annual examinations for literary honours and those who succeed are referred to as "the fishes which have become transformed into dragons." The painting of fish in China dates back to the early 7th century A.D. i.e., the period of the T'an dynasty. Among the

Japanese the fish motive became very popular during the middle of the 14th century A.D., although the idea of worshipping a fish-god is much earlier. Subjects like 'Taki Nabori,' 'Leaping the Waterfall' 'Shiesei no Kai' and 'Reading a Love-letter' are very common and popular in Japanese art and sculpture. All these subjects relate some aspects of a fish. The last-named theme, i.e., 'Reading a Love-letter' is very interesting: 'the composition is a rebus based upon the homophone of Koi, which may mean either 'love' or 'carp'; hence the woman who symbolizes love is made to ride the carp after the fashion of Kinko, a Chinese recluse and an expert in painting fishes. The Boys' Festival is another interesting occasion in which fish plays a dominant part. In this festival every boy is represented with one fish-flag which is the symbol of courage and endurance. The military officials of Japan are always asked to eat of the carp at the time of going to war and other important occasions with the belief that by so doing they would imbibe the heroic qualities of the creature. The fish also appears in every temple of China and Japan in the shape of drums and gongs. Sometimes the twin-fishes are found in Japan among the Seven Appearances, which symbolize "Freedom from Restraint." Kwanon, the feminine manifestation of the Indian Avolokitesvara, is frequently represented carrying a basket containing a fish.

In India fish has been respected from time immemorial and it is given high honour even today. On religious occasions like marriage ceremony fish is represented as the symbol of fertility and fecundity. In Hindu mythology Vishnu, the All-encompassing One, incarnated Himself in the form of a fish and saved mankind from the Deluge. Varuna, once the creator and ruler of the world and later the lord of the waters is associated with a *Makar*, a kind of fish combining the body and tail of a fish and the legs and head of an antelope. Vishnu as Matsya Avatar is represented mostly as half man and half fish; in earlier sculptures he is shown as a mere fish. On the potteries of the second and the third millenium B.C., from the Indus Valley sites we can detect a number of fish motifs and the style is so much common with that of the other parts of the world that we struck with wonder

at this similarity, this strange commonness and oneness. The same motif of 3000 B.C., is again to be found in the Bharhut sculpture in the 2nd century B.C., and again in the Rajput paintings of the 16th and the 17th centuries A.D. Thus we see that there remained always a continuity and 'no-break' in this motif. Another interesting specimen of the fish-motif is to be found in the crystal casket of the 4th century B.C., discovered by Samuel Peppy in Piprawah near Lumbini during the last decade of the 19th century. This bowl has two parts, the top is of fish motif sealed at both ends. The lustre and polish of this unique bowl of the Maurya period is a real wonder that human

hands can produce. The fish is quite a common motif in the art of the ancient Americans, the Peruvians, the Mayas, the Aztecs and the Mexicans.

Fish, belonging to the oldest of totemic animals, has been portrayed either as a means of representing some element associated with it or for the magical purpose of averting an evil. It has perhaps become an object of attraction to the artists of all ages partly because of its own grace and charm and partly because of the mysticism which surrounds its life and its inhabited world. The artists have truly found innumerable graphic possibilities in the many modes of this natural element.

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ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART. CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

NAMED after Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the great Indian educationist, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art was opened in Calcutta in 1937. As the first University Museum in India it was intended to collect and preserve representations of different phases of Indian art with special emphasis on the art of Bengal.

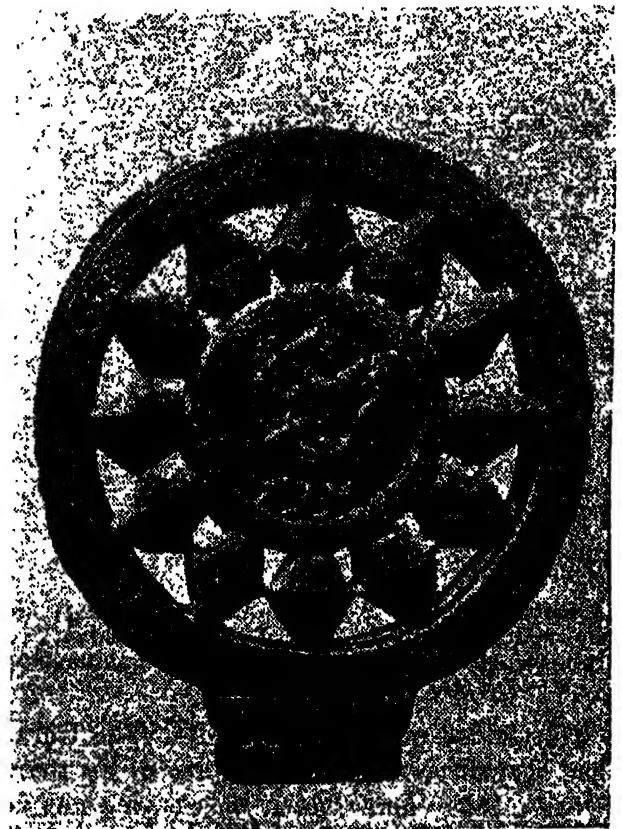
Implements of the stone age, in the shape of axes, found in Bankura, Bangarh and Tamluk, preserved here, carry the cultural history of Bengal to the remote past. A comprehensive collection of folk-art of Bengal and Orissa is a feature of this Museum—unique in India—on which special emphasis has been placed to show the unbroken continuity of Eastern Indian artistic tradition for the last two thousand years and more.

The growth of the Asutosh Museum reveals, on the one hand, the rich potentiality of different parts of India in antiquarian remains and art-treasures and, on the other, it illustrates how a museum can develop in this country without much financial assistance.

The University has, in fact, during the last twenty years spent only about thirty thousand rupees on actual purchase and acquisition but the total value of the Museum collections exceeds thirty lakhs of rupees.

The Museum opened with 50 exhibits, the number going up to 1,228 at the end of 1937, and 2,423 in 1938. By the middle of 1956, it swelled up to 13,000 pieces consisting of stone sculp-

tures, terra-cotta objects, paintings, folk-art objects, metal and ivory objects, wood carvings,



A black stone representation of a Sudarshana Chakra encircling Vishnu dancing on Garuda. Sundarban, West Bengal (C, 11th century A.D.)

painted book-covers, palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, gold ornaments, textiles, coins and

excavated antiquities. It is growing bigger still.

Field collections and generous private benefactions are the two pillars on which the Museum mainly supports itself. A systematic scheme of collection specially in the districts of Bengal, in which several under-graduates and post-graduate students, teachers of schools and artists took part, at considerable personal sacri-

collection of antiquities has grown rapidly since 1938, when excavations were at first started at Bangarh. These excavations have thrown fresh light on the dark periods of the history of Bengal. Five successive strata, reaching down to the Sunga level (1st century B.C.) and revealing numerous monuments, buildings and walls of the different periods were unearthed at Ban-



A metal image of Siva-Lokesvara (standing) crowned by a seated figure of Dhyan Buddha. Bronze. Habibpur, Dist. Barisal, E. Pakistan (C. 11th century A.D.)

fice, has yielded magnificent results. The Curator has also succeeded, in the course of his tours in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, in securing unique objects of plastic and graphic arts and in discovering little-known monuments.

EXCAVATION ACTIVITY

Excavation of old historical sites is a regular activity of the Museum. As a result, its rich



Life-size figure of Gopala playing on flute, carved out of a single log of wood. Cansat, Dt. Malda, W. Bengal (C. 15th century A.D.)

garh, apart from numerous portable antiquities including some remarkable pieces of terra-cotta figures, inscribed seals and potteries and punch-marked silver coins and gold jewellery. Excava-

tions were also undertaken at Tilda (Midnapur) in 24-Paraganas and two in Howrah. They and Tamluk (a port site) in 1955. bear testimony to the fact that about two thou-



A female head. Terracota. Gupta period. Panna, Dist. Midnapur, West Bengal

Besides, Chandraketugarh which was excavated recently, is an ancient port city-site in 24-Parganas, twenty-five miles only from Calcutta. Thirteen layers of human occupations were successfully revealed here, the lowest one reaching down to pre-Maurya level. Antiquities from Chandraketugarh range from the Maurya period up to the Gupta, in the shape of about one hundred punch-marked silver coins, Maurya, Sunga and Kushan terra-cotta figurines of singular beauty, inscribed tablets in early Brahmi and Greek, Roman potteries, vases and Hellenistic figurines and rare gold coin of Chandragupta. Having extraordinary grace and loveliness, some of the early terra-cotta sculptures are among the most refined ever found in any part of the country.

During the last three years about a dozen hitherto unknown ancient sites have been discovered by the Museum within a radius of fifty miles of Calcutta forming a sort of garland around it; five in the district of Midnapur, five

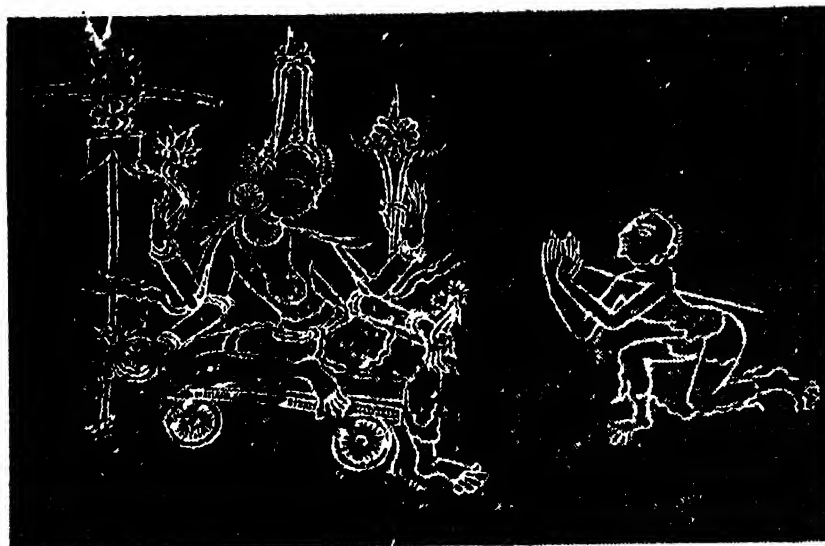


Avalokitesvara flanked by attendant deities. A painting from a Mahayana Buddhist text from Nepal in the Eastern School style of Taranatha. From a Nepalese manuscript dated 1105 A.D.

sand years ago, besides the great sea-port of Tamralipta, Gangetic Lower Bengal bordering on the sea was dotted with numerous cities and ports, and the Bidyadhari Channel was once a prosperous maritime highway for foreign commerce.

GENEROUS DONATIONS

Among the valuable gifts to the Museum, undoubtedly, the most noteworthy are those of Bijay Singh Nahar consisting of almost the entire collection of his father, the late Puran Chand Nahar, containing more than 1,000 pieces. The late Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen also presented his valuable collection of Bengali and Assamese art to the Museum. In 1939, Biren Roy's collection consisting of 1,500 objects of Orissan art was secured by purchase, as also the Dutt collections of Mazilpur, which included some of the rarest stone-carvings from



A copper-plate engraving showing Vishnu seated on a chariot with a devotee in adoration. Sundarban, W. Bengal (1198 A.D.).

the Sundarbans belonging to the Pala and Sena periods. Secured in 1955, the collections of the late A. C. Gupta contain some priceless Rajput and Pahari paintings and Nepalese bronzes.

Before the establishment of the Asutosh Museum, rarely any art and archaeological museum-piece from Bengal was to be found dating earlier than the Gupta period or later than the mediaeval age. Now in less than twenty years' time it is possible to study with the help of selective and comprehensive records at this Museum the artistic and cultural achievements of Bengal without any gap from at least the 3rd century B.C. up to the modern times.

Emphasis on Bengal art notwithstanding, some of the Museum objects, such as a remarkable copper-plate from Sundarbans, engraved

with Vishnu seated on a chariot (dated 1198 A.D.) and a bronze figure of Siva-Lokeswara from Barisal (c. 11th century A.D.), have proved important source material for the study and development of South-East Asian art and iconography. Other unique specimens include a double-sided stone Chakra showing Vishnu as Nataraja from Sundarbans, and the earliest illuminated paper manuscript so far discovered in India in the shape of a Mahavana Buddhist text from Nepal dated 1105 A.D., with eight exquisitely painted figures of Buddhist divinities.

The Museum's usefulness has been considerably enhanced by its guide lecture scheme, art appreciation course and a summer vacation course for the training of teachers and art lovers.—*PIB*.



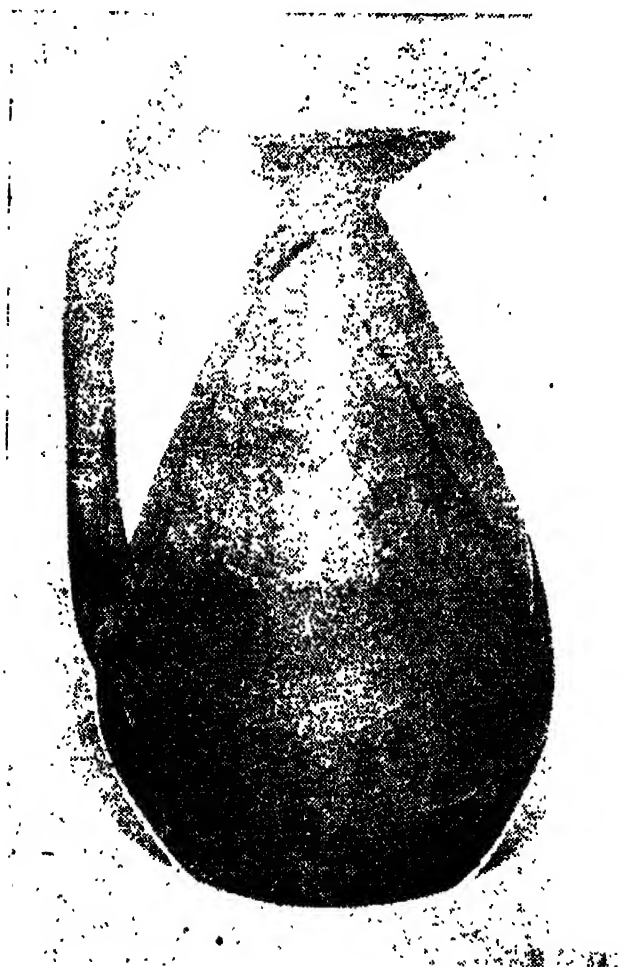
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ANCIENT GLASS EXHIBITED AT U.S. MUSEUM

THE Ray Winfield Smith collection of "Glass from the Ancient World," the largest private collection of ancient glass in existence, was recently exhibited at the Natural History Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Included in the collection were numerous objects of early Islamic glass, featuring items from Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Lebanon and other eastern Mediterranean countries.

Arranged chronologically by period and area, the exhibit traced the history of glass-making from the most ancient period known to man down through twenty-seven centuries of hollow-glass production. The objects were grouped by major historical periods and depicted clearly the four basic methods used in glass production.

Examples of these four basic techniques



This ewer of clear mold-blown glass was acquired in Tehran, Iran. Probably Persian, Sassanian period (7th-10th century A.D.)

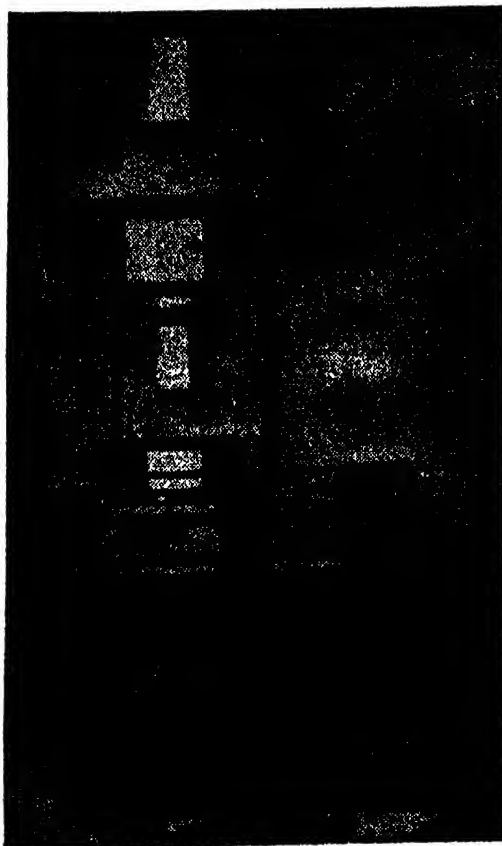
Mr. Smith spent 25 years assembling the collection, which begins in 1500 B.C., and ends in 1200 A.D. The exhibit revealed in a manner without parallel the infinite variety and extraordinary quality of ancient glass. It also demonstrated the great contribution that a dedicated collector and scholar has made to the knowledge of one of man's relatively few basic materials.



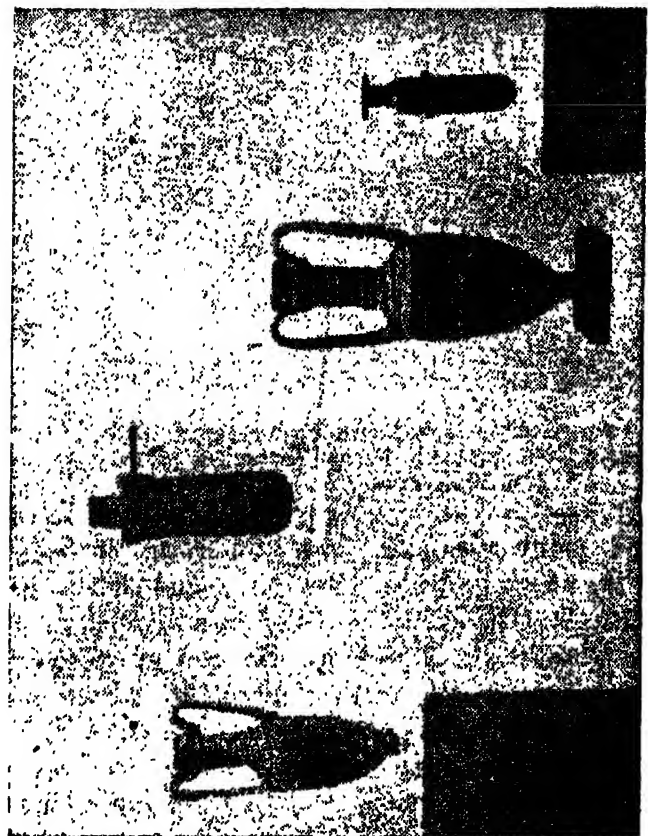
This rare head is an example of early mold-pressing. Acquired in Cairo, Egypt. (First half of the 1st millennium B.C.)

—core-molding (commonly known as "sand-core"), abrasion, mold-pressing and inflation —were included in each grouping.

In the "sand-core" method a mold of sand or clay was placed on the end of a rod shaped in conformity with a vessel's desired form. The rod was then immersed in molten glass, or in some cases the molten glass was poured or daubed over the core. Repeated heating of the vessel in a furnace would permit the addition of



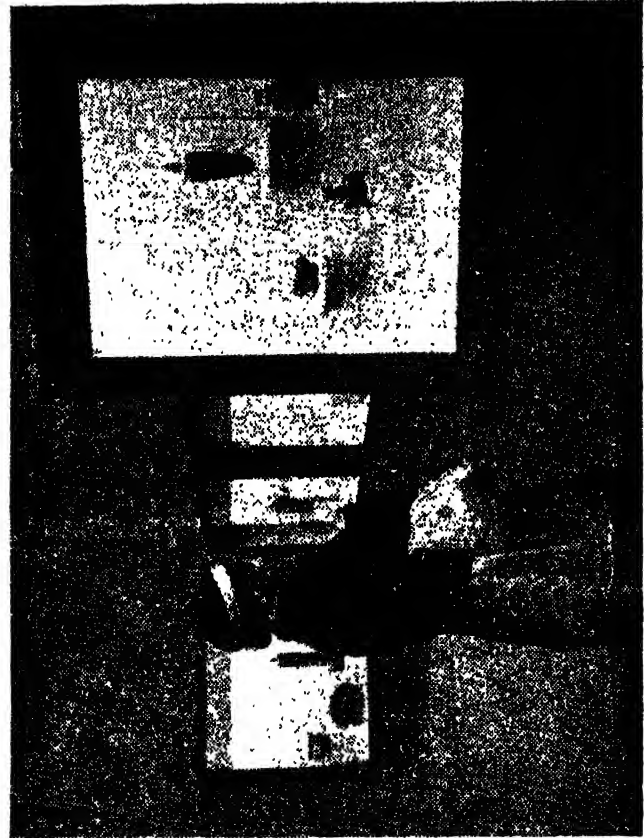
Display of Islamic lustre-ware at the Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.



Collection of vases from the eastern Mediterranean area. The vase (second from right) from Iraq dates back to the 1st century B.C.



Islamic glass objects from Iran (7th-12th century A.D.)



A visitor to the Museum studies the Islamic glass objects.



Ray Winfield Smith, collector of the ancient glass exhibit, explains to a group of visitors the methods of glass-making used during the late Roman Empire.

handles and base, the shaping of rims and other details, and the characteristic decoration usually found on "sand-core" objects, well as large jars showing vertical seams where the sides were joined.



The mold-shaped lily bowl. Acquired in Lebanon (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)

Mold-pressing involved the use of an exterior mold of clay, with the vessel's interior fashioned by other means, or the pouring or daubing of molten glass over an inverted interior mold.

Abrasion, or cutting of vessels from solid blocks of glass, involved the use of a revolving wheel. Examples of hemispherical bowls of almost clear transparent glass were exhibited, as

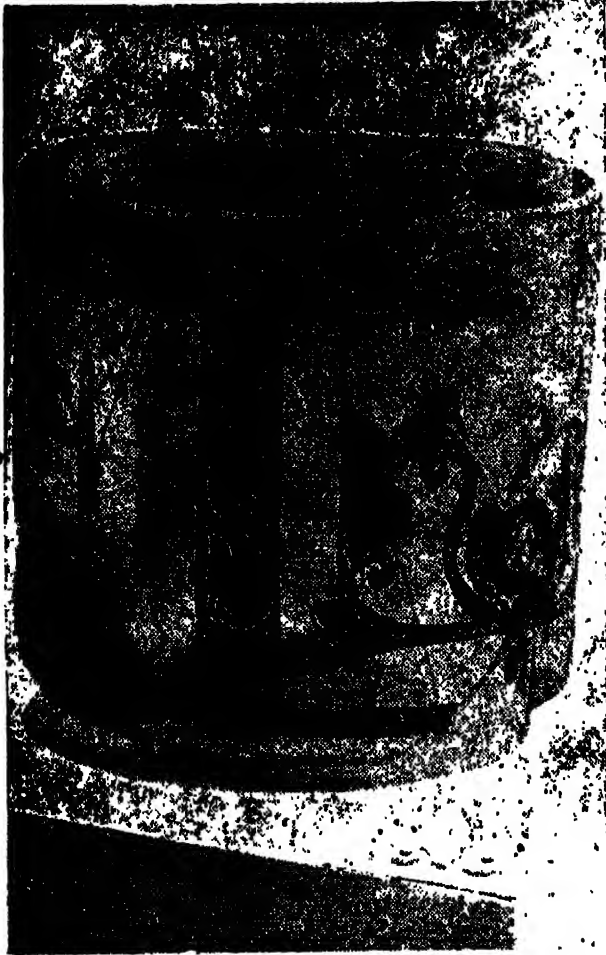


Transparent red glass plate from Persia (9th-11th century A.D.)

The technique of glass blowing, which began about two centuries before the Christian era, has dominated the art of glass-making ever since. Probably no three consecutive centuries (2nd century to 1st century A.D., witnessed a greater industrial expansion in the history of glass-making, for first-century glassware has been found throughout the ancient world.

One of the most interesting and beautiful sections of the Smithsonian exhibit featured

objects of Islamic glass, which covered the period, 7th to 12th century A.D. Islamic artisans not only preserved all the classical traditions of glass-making, but contributed their own methods as well.



Transparent cup. Acquired in Iran. Possibly Persian (9th-12th century A.D.)

Decorative techniques were promoted in Islamic times with taste and imagination. Tooling (cutting) was widely used, not only to embellish vessels ornamentally, but also to fashion cufic inscriptions, section by section, by competent tooling—twin tubes surmounting a span of horses being a fine example of this method.

Lustre-ware, considered the greatest contribution to decorative techniques in the history of glass-making, made its appearance during the Islamic period. This method involved the use of silver compounds and other metallic oxides which, when applied to the surface and brought to a high temperature, resulted in brilliant colors ranging from golden shades through reddish browns into deep purple.

Islamic artisans most certainly made use of scientific knowledge, for lustre-ware was produced by the same chemical processes used in glass-making today. Highlight of the exhibit was a special case containing Islamic blown lustre-



Twin tubes surmount a span of horses. Pre-Islamic or Islamic (6th-8th century A.D.)

ware, especially lighted to bring out the beautiful colors.

An example of fused mosaic, or millefiori technique, was a mold-pressed lilac bowl filled with purple and white spiral elements. This technique, practised in Islamic times, consisted of impressing multi-colored glass into molten mixtures before shaping.

Other outstanding examples of Islamic glass featured were ointment bottles shaped in the form of a bird and a dolphin, molded beads, "sand-core" bottles, a pale green transparent ewer and a lustre cup. The last two were from Persia, where the art of ancient glass-making reached its zenith, as it did throughout the Islamic world, during those amazing five centuries.—*USIS*.

INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

BY PROF. LAKSHMAN PRASAD SINHA. M.A.

OBJECTIVES OF TAXATION

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TAXATION should not be considered as a mere source of revenue-collection and revenue gathering for the state. It is not to be regarded as a burden and an evil. The payment of a tax is to be considered as a necessary obligation of citizenship. The tax system of a country is not only a revenue-earning measure and device but a powerful weapon to wipe out the vast disparity of wealth and income that exists in our society to day. It is a measure through which public good and public welfare can be achieved and realised. It is to be regarded as an instrument of social change if the tax system leads to equitable distribution of wealth and income. It has a social purpose and aim. The tax system stands for social reconstruction and social change. But there are certain limits to the concept of taxation as a means to social change. Fundamental economic and social changes can not be brought about by fiscal measures only. Non-fiscal measures are also necessary for such fundamental changes.

The tax system of a country is to be judged from the triple principles of equity in the distribution of tax burden, the productivity of the country and the economic effects thereof. The problem of incidence can determine the equity of the tax system. A sound tax system must be fair in its incidence. All must pay the tax according to their capacity and ability. The twin principle of benefit and ability to pay must be taken into consideration in the formulation of a tax policy. The purpose of a tax system is to secure rapid economic development and progress. Economic growth and progress must be regarded as a *sine quo non* of a sound tax system. The aim of a tax system is constructive. In a welfare state, the tax system is considered as an instrument of providing the greatest good to the greatest number. It is an instrument of bringing redistribution of wealth and income through public expenditure policy. In fact, everything depends upon the purposes

for which increased tax revenue is spent. An unwise expenditure policy will neutralise the effects of a good tax system.

In fine the tax system of a country stands for providing the greatest good to the greatest number. It stands for rapid economic development, growth and progress as well as bringing social and economic readjustments in society. The tax system is a reflection of the social, economic and political relationship that subsists in the society. It expresses the relative position and relationship of different classes of people in an economy. It expresses their social views and economic ideas. It is an index of their economic growth and progress, their welfare and well-being. In short the tax system of a country is a true reflection of the sum total of various relationships, economic, social and political that we find in an economy in a particular period of time.

NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

(a) Not based on accepted principles of Taxation:

Indian tax system is not based on accepted principles of taxation. The accepted canons of taxation are the principle of progression, justice, equality, elasticity and diversity. The tax system of India is based more on the considerations of practical nature than on the right principles of taxation and hence the tax system is not scientific.

(b) Unplanned Tax System:

Indian tax system is unsystematic, unscientific, unplanned, hap-hazard and regressive in character. A sound tax system must be motivated by the triple objective of welfare, economic development and equitable distribution so that there may not be any wide gap, unbridgeable chasm between the wealth and income of the different classes of people. Indian tax system is not sound in this respect.

(c) **Large number of indirect taxes and few direct taxes:**

In the Indian tax system we find a large number of indirect taxes and a small number of direct taxes. The balance between direct and indirect taxes is absent and the range of taxes narrow. The element of progression is found in a very few direct taxes like the Income tax, Corporation Tax, Capital Gains Tax, Estate Duty and Expenditure Tax. Custom Duties, Central Excise Duties, Sales Tax, Commodity Taxes, Land revenue and such other indirect taxes are all regressive in character. The burden of such taxes do not fall equitably on all sections of the people. The poorer sections of the people are bearing much greater burden than they can afford while others who are rich are not paying as much as they can afford to pay. The burden of taxation on the urban population is much greater than that on the rural population.

(d) **Yield of tax efforts unbalanced:**

The proportion of direct tax efforts to total revenue is very low in comparison to advanced countries of the world. The contribution of direct taxes to total revenue in India has increased from 12 per cent in 1938-39 to 45 per cent in 1944-45, but has fallen down to 38 per cent in the current Mr. Krishnamachari's budget of 1957-58. In India only one person out of every 560 pays income tax as compared to 44 per cent in U.K., 37 per cent in U.S.A., 34 per cent in Australia and 20 per cent in Canada. The contribution of direct taxes to total revenue stands at 38 per cent in India whereas in U.S.A. it is 85 per cent and in U.K. 54 per cent.

(e) **Direct taxes are inefficient and inequitable:**

According to Prof. Kaldor, the British expert, the present system of direct taxation is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation "Income" is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain class of tax-payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of information furnished by the tax-payers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and proper income make large-scale evasion through concealment

or under-statements of profits and property income relatively easy.

(f) **Large volume of Evasion:**

Prof. Kaldor holds that the amount of tax evasion stands between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores annually and the hidden income may be of the order of Rs. 576 crores. This volume of tax evasion and hidden income takes away the little element of progression which we find in the Indian tax system. A re-oriented tax system must try to reduce the large volume of tax evasion and hidden income.

(g) **Regression nature-incidence heavy:**

Indian tax system is highly regressive in nature and character. This is so because the incidence of taxation is not fair. A sound tax system in a welfare state must be fair, just and equitable in its incidence. A tax system brings redistribution of wealth and income in the society through proper public expenditure policy. The Indian tax system is vitally linked up with the problem of public expenditure policy. Public expenditure policy may neutralise the effects of a sound tax system.

(h) **Burden of the tax unequal:**

The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924 opined that the burden of Indian tax system was not high, but its distribution was unequal as it affected the poor section of the people proportionately more than the richer section of the community. Certain classes went untaxed while the burden on others was heavy. Sir Walter Stamp supported this view. Sir James Grigg, the Finance Minister of the Government of India, declared in 1938 that "taxation in this country (India) lets off the rich too lightly and presses the poor too heavily." Prof. K. T. Shah, too concluded that the burden of Indian tax system was unequal.

(i) **Effects not wholesome:**

The total effects of the Indian tax system are also not happy. Indian tax system is not helpful and conducive to formation of Capital. The incentives and power to save which help in the formation of capital are vitally vitiated. The low standard of living, the small per capita income, the miserable plight of the people, lack of welfare measures all speak in volume of the bad effects of the Indian tax system.

(j) Low tax efforts:

The proportion of tax efforts to National income in India is very low. It stands at 7 per cent only. This percentage when compared with 21 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 26 per cent in U.S.A., and 41 per cent in U.K., clearly speaks of the low tax efforts of the Indian people. Per capita tax contribution is, also very poor. An Indian pays Rs. 22 only whereas a Canadian pays Rs. 1613, a British Citizen Rs. 1274 and an American Rs. 2272 and an Australian Rs. 1273. But one should not run away with the idea that the burden of taxation is low in India. A low percentage of a low national income entails a much greater hardship and sacrifice than a higher percentage of a higher national income. However, according to Colin Clark, under normal circumstances 25 per cent of the national income is the limit of taxable capacity in any country.

(k) Equality not achieved:

Indian tax system is not contributing very much towards the reduction of inequality of wealth and income prevailing in the country. This is so because the major share of the total tax revenue is collected through indirect taxes which are regressive in character. The rich are getting richer and have to bear a less amount of burden compared to the heavy burden shouldered by the poor section of the community.

(l) Development Programmes suffering:

The present tax system cannot cope with the developmental programmes launched under the two Five-Year Plans because the system lacks elasticity and diversity. Taxes are not diverse and they lack the principle of elasticity. Indian tax system is conservative. Developmental programmes and welfare works can only be successfully carried on if the tax system is diversified and the principle of elasticity is introduced in the tax system. Indian tax system requires thorough over-hauling, reformation and reconstruction to meet the needs of under-developed economy of this country. For rapid development of economic growth and progress, for reducing inequality of income and wealth, for social changes and reconstruction, for insuring the principle of justice and equality the Indian tax system requires re-orientation and changes to fit in with the growing needs of the welfare state.

(m) Pattern of Public Expenditure:

The pattern of public expenditure policy of the Government of India is also not sound in view of the fact that a large sum of money is being spent over defence and security services while national building services and welfare works are suffering and being neglected. So long as the pattern of public expenditure is not geared to the chariot wheel of projects and measures contributing to welfare of the people the grim inequality, the low standard of living, the suffering of the people will remain and tarnish and disfigure the face of the economy.

(n) The distribution of tax revenue between the Union and the State Government is not proper, adequate and based on scientific principles.

PRINCIPAL DEFECTS OF THE INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

The nature of the Indian tax system reveals demerits, defects and short-comings of the tax-structure rather than its merits. In short the principal defects of the tax system may be summed up thus:—The Indian tax system is not based on accepted principles of taxation. It is not planned, organised and systematic. It is not scientific. The element of progression in the tax system is vitiated by a large volume of evasion and hidden income. The direct tax system is inefficient and inequitable. The direct taxes are very few. There are a large number of indirect taxes, and the burden of taxes is not equal. The incidence of tax-burden falls heavily on the poorer section of the community than on the richer section. Tax efforts are very low in comparison to national income. The tax system is highly regressive in nature and character. The tax system does not lead to equitable distribution of national wealth and income and hence grim inequality disfigures the face of the economy. Rapid growth and development of the economy is not taking place due to the lack of the principle of diversity and elasticity. Proper expenditure policy cannot be executed with such meagre tax efforts of the people. The effects of taxation are very much depressing. Capital formation is at its lowest ebb. The will to save and power to save—the two springs and strings of capital formation are not properly

chanellised. The tax system is conservative. It does not take into account the low standard of living of the people. Welfare measures are not properly executed. A large share of tax efforts are being spent on defence and security services and hence nation-building and welfare measures and works are suffering. Inadequate financial provisions for welfare measures and services explain the low standard of living, grim and grinding poverty, misery and degradation of the people. The tax system is unjust, inequitable and inefficient and cannot cope with the developmental programmes launched under the two Five-Year Plans of progress, prosperity and welfare of the people.

REFORM MEASURES AND PROPOSALS TO RE-ORIENT INDIAN TAX SYSTEM

Let us now divert our attention towards the schemes, plans, proposals and recommendations of tax reform suggested by the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54. With Prof. Kaldor, Prof. S. N. Agarwal, and others, we are also to see how these recommendations have been given effect to by Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, the Finance Minister of the Government of India in his budget proposal for 1957-58.

At the very outset it can be said that the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54 attempts to survey the entire structure of Indian Tax system and suggests reforms covering all the spheres of the tax system. The commission attempts at a systematic re-orientation of the Indian tax structure so as to fulfil the requirements of the developmental planning. The re-oriented tax policy is based on the triple arch-stone—the equality approach, the incentive approach and the development approach. The proposals are very comprehensive. Let us examine the suggestions proposed by the Taxation Enquiry Commission.

of the income tax should be reduced from Rs. 4200 to Rs. 3000 so that the tax may be broad-based. This suggestion has been accepted by T. T. Krishnamachari in his budget proposals for 1957-58. Children allowance up to the limit of Rs. 600 has been given. This re-oriented income tax, with a system of allowance is in

(1) It suggested that the exemption limit

keeping with the system of allowance provided in U.K. Income Tax system.

(2) The Taxation Enquiry Commission recommended increases in the Existing Excise duties on sugar, kerosine, tea, cloth and matches and suggested imposition of new duties on woolen textiles, electric lamps, batteries, paper, sewing machine and other articles. This enhancement would bring 40 to 45 per cent increased revenue to Central Exchequer. The recommendations have been incorporated in the Budgets. This trend is likely to continue in future budgets as well.

(3) Additional taxation of wide range of luxury or semi-luxury products at fairly substantial rates accompanied by broad-based taxation of articles of mass-consumption at comparatively low rates has been recommended to achieve equality in the tax system of the country.

For the purposes of developments programming a diversified scheme of taxation with emphasis on both depth and range has been recommended. The Commission recommends a developmental rebate of 25 per cent on all specific investments in fixed assets. To stimulate new investment and enterprise in private sector a grant of a complete tax holiday for six years from the first year of production to new concerns of special national importance has been recommended. The general tax relief up to 6 per cent of the employed capital in all the new industrial concerns is to be replaced by this new scheme of concessions and tax holiday. The recommendations for Developments Rebate and Tax holiday would go a long way in stimulating the Private Sector of the economy. Private investment would be stimulated and Planned Economy would have rounded development.

These suggested changes would make the Indian tax system more equitable, just and efficient.

Prof. Kaldor suggested reforms mainly in the field of Direct Taxes so that finances may be available for developmental schemes and programmes. He aims at broadening the base of direct taxes in India. His scheme is for comprehensive reform in the realm of personal income taxation and suggests significant changes in the domain of business taxation. Prof. Kaldor also

recommended a single comprehensive return, a self-checking system of personal taxation and an automatic reporting system. This scheme if brought into operation will do away with the defect of the large volume of evasion and hidden income in the country. Thus Prof. Kaldor has recommended five taxes—all in the field of Direct Taxes to make the system of direct taxes more efficient and equitable. They are as follows:

1. Income Tax. 2. Capital Gains Tax.
3. Annual Wealth Tax. 4. Personal Expenditure Tax. And 5. General Gift Tax.

Income Tax:—Prof. Kaldor divides his proposal on direct taxation into two categories—one dealing with personal taxation and the other dealing with business taxation. "Income," the present base of personal taxation, is extremely dishonest. The rate of income tax is high. It stands at 92 per cent in the highest slab. The maximum rate of income tax should not be more than 45 per cent. But this reform should be carried on with an imposition of another tax on personal expenditure at higher levels. Personal expenditure tax would serve as a most effective check on private spending and would make up for the loss of revenue if any under income tax. In the domain of business, Prof. Kaldor has suggested significant changes in the domain of business taxation. He suggests a single uniform company tax of 7 annas in the rupee. All other direct taxes on business are to be abolished. These changes if implemented would increase tax revenue by Rs. 60 to 100 crores per annum.

Capital Gains Tax:—All capital gains on realisation and all casual gains and capital receipts not chargeable at present, should be charged to Income Tax which means a flat rate charge of 7 annas in the rupee once the combined income including capital gains exceeds Rs. 25000. Capital gains of companies should be chargeable to tax in the same way as trading profits. Prof. Kaldor's most important recommendations relate to capital allowances and company taxation. There is no justification for allowing depreciation allowance under a system of income tax which exempts Capital Gains. And even when Capital Gains are taxed on realization, depreciation should in equity be allowed for on sale or obsolescence of an asset

and not earlier as is done under the present system. Prof. Kaldor recommends a once-for-all capital allowance in the very year of outlay with a provision for carrying forward the unabsorbed portion. This allowance should be given on selective principle.

Wealth Tax:—Dr. Kaldor has recommended the imposition of Wealth Tax or Property Tax as a substitute for the very high slabs of Income Tax and Super Tax prevailing in this country. The arguments in favour of wealth tax are based upon the defects and deficiencies of the income tax and super tax which are sought to be remedied. The maximum rate of Income Tax is as high as 92 per cent. Kaldor recommended its reduction to 45 per cent and suggested the imposition of wealth tax as the substitute of income tax on higher slabs. The tax on wealth recommended for India was the prototype of the wealth tax prevalent in Scandinavian countries. Dr. Kaldor was of the opinion that the tax be levied at the rate of 0.3 p.c. per annum on the lowest slab (i.e., from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 4 lakhs) rising to 1.5 per cent per annum on the highest slab (i.e., on the value of property in excess of Rs. 15 lakhs). Thus Dr. Kaldor recommended an exemption limit of Rs. 1 Lakh for the purpose of levying an annual tax on wealth. Thus income tax coupled with property or wealth tax better fulfils the taxation canon of 'ability to pay.'

Dr. Kaldor's recommendation of "Wealth Tax" has been implemented by T. T. Krishnamachari in his budget for 1957-58. The exemption limit in the budget has been raised to 2 lakhs from Rs. 1 lakh advocated by Dr. Kaldor. The rates are also different. The rates are $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum of the first 10 lakhs, 1 p.c. for the next 10 Lakhs and $1\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on balance. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has treated the wealthy class a little more leniently than what Dr. Kaldor did in his tax reform proposal.

Personal Expenditure Tax: The introduction of Expenditure Tax as a substitute for Income Tax and the Super Tax for the higher brackets has been recommended by Dr. Kaldor. The arguments for Expenditure Tax are based on the ground that expenditure tax will promote savings and curb spending more than is done by Income Tax and Super Tax. This tax would bring

about equity in the tax system. A progressive expenditure tax would achieve a greater degree of equity than a Super Tax or Sur Tax. Expenditure Tax would stimulate savings and check inflations by discouraging consumption among the richer groups. Expenditure Tax has been incorporated in the Budget for 1957-58 at such rates: 10 p.c. above expenditure of Rs. 10000 and 20 p.c. between Rs. 10 to 20 thousands, 40 p.c. between expenditure of Rs. 20 to 40 thousands and 60 p.c. between Rs. 30 to 40 thousands and between Rs. 40 to 50 thousands, and 100 p.c. expenditure exceeding Rs. 50,000.

Gift Tax:—Prof. Kaldor recommended that there is an immediate necessity of General Gift Tax to supplement the Death Duties. Absence of Gift Tax leads to large-scale evasion of death duties through transfer of property during one's life time. The imposition of General Gift Tax will make the evasion of death duties impossible.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari has tried to bring about changes in the Tax structure of the country by introducing in his budget the recommendations of Dr. Kaldor as well as the suggestions of the Taxation Enquiry Commission of 1953-54.

Wealth and Expenditure Taxes as recommended by Kaldor have been accepted but in a modified form. Capital Gains Tax has also been introduced in the mid-year Finance Bill of 1956. Certain changes in the structure of Income Tax with a system of allowance have been accepted. But one fails to understand as to why T. T. Krishnamachari failed to plug the loophole in the field of Death Duties by income of Gift Tax.

Prof. S. N. Agarwal suggests various reforms in the realm of Income Tax, Death Duties,

Sales Tax, Agricultural Income Tax to bring about the element of progression, justice and equality in the Tax system of the country. Prof. A. C. Minoche advocates for equity in Indian taxation by distributing the tax burden equitably and levying the tax according to taxable capacity. The incidence of taxation must be fair, just and equitable.

Thus the tax system of the country can be improved, and made more equitable by introducing the elements of progression in the realm of direct taxes. Direct taxes have to be made more progressive, efficient and equitable. All loopholes in the management and administration of direct taxes have to be plugged so that evasion may not take place. Evasion has to be stopped. Rates of Estate Duty have to be raised. Imposition of General Gift Tax will make the evasion of Death Duty through the transfer of Property during one's lifetime impossible. All these measures will bring more revenues and at the same time reduce the present inequality in the distribution of wealth. Sale taxes should be reduced by Union Excise Duties specially on luxury articles. Heavy duties on luxury goods will make the tax system all the more just and equitable. Land can bear a higher share of tax burden. The rates of Agriculture Income Tax should be made more steep. Taxes on windfall should also be made a part of the tax system. Different states should levy betterment taxes. The Second Finance Commission has recommended allocation of revenues and Grant-in-Aid from the standpoint of needs, requirements and the welfare of the people. Defence Expenditure has to be curtailed and Expenditure on Development and Welfare works has to be accelerated. All these will go to make the tax system progressive, just, fair, equitable and efficient.



FOOD GRAINS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT*

By HARE KRISHNA SAHA, M.A.,

ALL the agricultural statistics, collected by the Government, show that production of food-grains is increasing. However inaccurate they may be—if the same inaccuracy persists throughout the series, there is very little room for doubting that production *has increased*. At the same time prices are rising in an abnormal way. Mere increase of population does not account for this rise in prices. The Government of India appointed a Committee under the presidency of Sri Asoka Mehta to make a thorough investigation and suggest the remedial measures. The result is the Report under review. The best service the reviewer can do is to introduce the report to the intelligent reader.

The report is workman-like. Quite brief—sometimes too much. Well-documented with statistics and charts. But though the causes of the recent shortage of foodgrains relative to demand and those of rise of their prices have been completely discussed, one feels that the remedies proposed for the disease are very mild, and hardly strike the problem at its roots.

The Report reviews the trends in prices of foodgrains in Ch. II, the Food policy of the Government in Ch. III, and factors in rise in prices in Ch. IV. In Chapter V. the Committee briefly discusses the "Prospects for the Future" and comes to the conclusion that due to (1) increase in population (2% per annum), (2) increase in income leading to an increase in outlay on food especially superior qualities of cereals more than in proportion to rise in income in case of lowest income groups, the total demand for foodgrains may increase by 14.4--15 per cent. The committee estimates the total demand for foodgrains in 1960-1961 would be about 79 million tons.

The Committee then estimates the future supply of foodgrains, and finds that the expected domestic production of foodgrains in 1960-61 would be of the order of 77.5 million tons. The Committee is fully aware that this estimate is however, subject to errors, to cycles in production, defects in primary data, variation from the

trend which may be of the order of 7% in individual years. On the other hand, inter-crop variations in output as well as inter-regional variations must also be taken into account. The Committee then considers the prospect of imports of wheat and rice from abroad and concludes that the gap between demand and output is likely to subsist in spite of imports.

"It should be instability of food prices is also not likely to abate during the next few years" (p. 74). In Ch. VI of the Report the Committee proceeds to consider the problem of price stabilisation. It does not favour complete rationing but it also thinks that complete free trade in foodgrains is undesirable because food-grain markets in India are essentially imperfect and are not able to correct the instabilities caused by demand of large metropolitan areas as also by the existence of pockets of scarcity.

The view of the Committee on this important problem will be found on Sec. 6.5 (p. 77).

"The solution to the food problem in our view lies between complete free trade and full control restrictive character." The Committee thinks that rigid integration of price structure, which is not desirable on the one hand will put too much strain on the administration; on the other it may "distort and obstruct to such a great extent the normal functioning of economic forces that it may result in more harm than good."

The regulatory measures proposed by the Committee is that the Government should undertake "open market purchase and sale of foodgrains as a regular measure . . . food" Sec. 6.11 (p. 80). Certain other measures will have to be undertaken in a period of rising prices to supplement the above. These are suggested in Sec. 6.12 (quote).

These two sections give the gist of the Committee's recommendations. The gist of the Report deals with Administrative Machinery proposed to be set up to implement the above recommendations.

The Committee recommends the setting up of a high-powered "Price Stabilisation Board"

* Government of India Publication, Nov. 1957.

composed of representatives of the Ministries of Food, Agriculture, Finance, Commerce, Industry, Railways, as also the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India. It will work through a separate body, the "Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation," under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The Committee also recommends a Central Food Advisory Council composed of representatives of agriculture, trade, industry, workers, consumers banks co-operatives, leading political parties and economists. We may state at once that the Council is likely to be too unwieldy to be of any real use.

The Committee also urges the creation of a Prices Intelligence Division, to which of course, no exception can be taken. As it is, on this subject, there is dearth of reliable and comprehensive statistics to work upon. We may go further and suggest similar organisations should be set up by State Governments but on a much smaller scale. What is more important is *publication* of the main statistics promptly—a time lag of six months or more, usual with Government publications, is of no help.

In Ch. VII, the Committee deals with the duties of the Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation of which the most important work would be to undertake 'buffer stock' operations. It should complete its purchase operations within three months of the harvest. It must of course, have warehouses in important producing and consuming centres. For building up its stock, some form of 'Limited Compulsory Procurement' would be necessary. The committee recommends the cordoning-off of the States of Orissa and the Punjab, the delta districts of the Andhra Pradesh and the Chhatisgarh area of the Madhya Pradesh. The Committee considers the alternative methods of levy on all rice and flour mills as also a fixed levy for every acre of land on substantial farmers but does not recommend these. The Organisation should according to the Committee, maintain a reserve stock of at least 2 million tons which reserve must be replenished from time to time. To build-up this stock as well for meeting the needs of deficit areas, it will be necessary to resort to imports of foodgrains from other countries. A licensing of all dealers and foodgrains would be necessary if the F.S.O. is to function efficiently.

In Ch. VIII. the Committee deals with Fair Price Shops, subsidised sales, creation of zones, grain golas and organisation of local relief works and recommends that a special division should be set up in the Ministries of Food and Agriculture in the Centre as well as the States to promote the production and consumption of subsidiary food.

In Ch. IX. the Second Five-Year Plan regarding increased production of foodgrains has been considered. The achievement ratio is estimated to be about 80%. In this connection the committee considers the irrigation projects, improved seeds, chemical fertilisers and recommends setting up of a larger number of seed-stores and more factories for the production of chemical fertilisers and briefly touches on mechanical farming, land reclamation, as well as Community Development and National Extension Services. It has also devoted a paragraph on useless and stray cattle.

In order to meet the problem of distribution, it is necessary that measures should be taken to augment and encourage the flow of marketable surplus of foodgrains. For this purpose the committee recommends regulation of the foodgrains markets. There are only 298 such regulated markets in the whole of India and none in West Bengal. It also recommends setting up of Grain Golas in rural areas on co-operative basis, as has been done in Orissa.

In Ch. X., the Committee studies the food situation in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh in some details and recommends intensive surveys for other scarcity areas.

The following reasons are given for low yields:

- (1) Sub-marginal cultivation.
- (2) Over fragmentation.
- (3) Decline in well irrigation due to lack of repair.
- (4) Poor progress of flood control schemes.
- (5) Growth of population.

It is pointed out that even though the area is chronically deficit, the region is a substantial exporter of foodgrains. This, the Committee points out, must be stopped at all costs. On the other hand, it is recommended that foodgrains should be supplied to this area at cheap prices on a continuing basis.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE BUDDHA AND HIS MESSAGE:

By N. Gangulec. Popular Book Depot. Bombay, 1957. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 4.50.

In this posthumously published work the author, who is well-known for his studies in Indian agriculture, has attempted to present 'the essential features' of the Buddha's teachings divested of their accretions of myths and miracles. (p. 18). The author's view-point is well indicated by his statement that 'the message of the Buddha is the greatest heritage of Asia' (p. 17) and that 'a revived faith in Buddhism' freed from its metaphysics is bound to 'provide an enduring foundation for the harmonious growth of Asian culture and civilisation' (p. 26). Admitting the insufficiency of science or secular power to fulfil 'the noble purpose of recreating civilisation' (p. 26), and while fully sympathising with the author's trumpet-call to the Buddhist leaders of Asia to re-interpret the Master's message in the spirit of his 'mandate for the spiritual uplift of man' (p. 38), it is permissible to point out that the above statements ignore the political and economic forces at present in the ascendant among the liberated nations of Asia, and again, the vital role which Islam is playing in shaping Asian history in our times. The author's exposition of the Buddhist doctrines of the 8-fold Noble Path, the Middle Way, and *Nirvana* as well as of the Buddha's attitude towards *ahimsa*, *karma* and transmigration of souls (Ch. III) is correct so far as it goes, but unfortunately it is derived entirely from the canon of the Theravada school of Buddhism. The author would have done well in developing the tenets that give essential unity to the various differences that came to mark Buddhism in the course of its expansion outside India's limits. The concluding chapters (Chs. VI-VII) contain an anthology of extracts (many of which are perfect gems in thought and ex-

pression) from the Buddhist writings of different lands and times. It would have been well if the opinions of modern exponents of Buddhism had been given in the form of an appendix instead of being incorporated in these chapters. We have noticed some mis-statements of fact, e.g., that 'Asia never had any religious wars' (p. 25), and mis-prints such as 'Angarika Dharmapala' (p. 33). Instances of historical inaccuracies are 'Kapilavastu, the capital city of Kosala' (p. 41), and the precise dates given to the birth of the Buddha and the first Buddhist Council (pp. 41, 83). The reference to 'Asoka's Capital Anuradhapura' (p. 91) is a slip, the identification of Suvarnabhumi with Burma (p. 92) is problematical, the *Atthakatha* is not the title of the commentary on the *Dhammapada* (p. 114).

The work which is dedicated to the memory of Rishi Dwijendra Nath Tagore is pre-fixed with a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and an Introduction by Miss I. B. Horner and a poem of Rabindranath Tagore, while it concludes with a glossary of Sanskrit and Pali words. The paper, print and get-up are good and the price is remarkably cheap for the value of the work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF INDIAN METAPHYSICS AND LOGIC: By Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D., Retired George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University.

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: By the same author.

Distributed by Chuckervetty Chatterjee and Co., Calcutta.

The books under review come from a renowned professor of philosophy who taught in the Calcutta University for more than four decades. Dr. Maitra has the unique gift of a clarity of thought and a precision of expression so rare even amongst the more publicised authors

of repute. His *Fundamental Questions of Indian Metaphysics and Logic* is a topical treatment of different metaphysical and logical problems of Indian philosophy. A topical treatment undoubtedly conduces to a clearer perception of the issues and of the standpoints of the different schools of thought. It is an usual practice with the writers of the histories of Indian philosophy to present systemwise the different problems of Indian philosophy, both logical and metaphysical. Dr. Maitra's happy departure from this tradition has undoubtedly enhanced the usefulness of the volume.

The book gives an objective presentation of the Indian treatment of some of the fundamental questions of philosophy as discussed in the different schools of Indian thought. The author has mainly followed the original Sanskrit texts with meticulous care and as such the discussions claim an authenticity which can hardly be ignored. The book has been divided into two parts: Metaphysics and Logic. The first part deals with such fundamental problems of Indian metaphysics as the problems of *samanya* and *visesa*, the problem of the existence of God (Nyaya approach), the Samkhya theory of *purusa* and *prakriti* and the Jaina theory of *syadvada*. The 'Logic' part presents the Indian views on perception, inference and testimony as sources of knowledge. A sifting critical analysis by the author has carefully ascertained the merits of the rival claims of the claimants. The chapter entitled 'Theories of Validity in Indian Philosophy' is really illuminating.

The lucid writing of the author clearly bears out the fact that he knew what he was writing. Though it sounds paradoxical, yet our observation signifies a meaning which cannot be lightly brushed aside as redundant. Metaphysics of false appearance and 'Negation' deserve a careful reading. They bring out to the fore the author's keen insight into and a good grounding in the Advaita and other systems of Indian philosophy. As such the book deserves a distinguished place and we are sure, it will earn its much-deserved distinction before the first edition exhausts. The teacher and the taught and the larger reading public will find it profitable to go through the volume. Serious students of Indian metaphysics and epistemology, we are sure, will not be disappointed.

Studies in Philosophy and Religion finds its second edition. The first edition, when it came out, was enthusiastically received by all serious students of philosophy. It contained fifteen essays. The second edition is a collection of

eighteen papers written at different periods of time. The attentive reader, in spite of the seeming lack of cohesion in the treatise, will surely discover an underlying unity in the essays which has been unwittingly given to them by a logical and consistent mind who spun the thought-webs. It is apparent that the author is an idealist who does not subscribe to the Hegelian notion of a coherent whole of experience except as a wishful thought or a necessary make-believe. It has been his endeavour throughout to make out the objective forms as the self-alienation of the free subject. As an out-and-out Samkarite the author does not believe in any compromise with objectivism either of the idealistic or of the realistic brand. He explains his position in the essays entitled 'Spiritual Life' and in the second paper on 'Theories of False Appearance.'

The essays are mostly of a technical nature and they suit the trained and the initiated. The layman would find it difficult to have a proper appreciation as the abstruse thought process of the author has been couched in very many technical niceties. Of course, essays like capital punishment and 'Religion of Ancient Egypt' are intended for general readers. Essays on religion, such as, 'Religion and Magic' are monuments of scholarship and they have rightly been branded as 'illuminating study and a valuable addition to our literature on religion.' We wholeheartedly recommend the book to all serious students of philosophy and beg leave to say that in style, diction and contents the essays will match the most learned works of similar nature in the West.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

SELECTED SPEECHES OF MORARJI DESAI: Edited by Dr. Chandrakant Mehta, M.A., LL.B. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., (Bombay). Price Rs. 5.

The Indian national struggle threw up a marvellous leadership, a leadership any people may be legitimately proud of. The much-maligned Indian universities are the alma maters of this leadership. A sympathetic foreign observer aptly remarks, "... the universities (of India) produced the fine generation of men who have become leaders in the New India. One would like to think that men of the same calibre are coming out of the universities today" (*India: New Pattern* by Lady Mabel Hartog, p. 120).

Shri Morarji Desai is one of our front-rank political leaders. A firm believer in Sarvodaya, he is a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi and

has followed in the footsteps of the Master for more than a quarter of a century. The Editor and the publishers are to be congratulated for having presented the reading public with a handy volume that reveals the mind of an illustrious contemporary. The printing, binding and get-up of the volume leave nothing to be desired.

S. B. MOOKHERJI

1. JUPJI—the Sikh Prayer: Translated by Khuswant Singh. Published by Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society of London. Pp. 24. Price Re. One.

2. JAPJI—Text, translation and notes by a second-rate prophet. Part I. Published by S. Jaswant Singh. 15 Kutchery Road, Dehradun. U.P. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 5/-.

The first book is a simple translation of the Juppis the most popular sacred book of the Sikhs. It is written by Guru Nanak the founder of Sikhism in ancient Punjabi language and chanted by the devout Sikhs as daily prayer. The translation is prefaced by a brief informative account of the Sikh faith and practice. It is essentially meant for the English and non-Punjabi readers.

The second book has been given the subtitle 'Nanak's conception of the design of existence.' It has the text in Devanagari Script with word-for-word meanings and literal renderings and is followed by a glossary of words used in the Japji. This board-bound broad volume ends with appendices of about eighty large pages on the pattern of life, in which everything under the sun is quoted by the self-styled ludicrous second-rate prophet, who at the foot-note of the page 3 observes: "I believe the Hindus have adopted the Avatara theory from the Christians." These fantastic remarks no doubt expose his unpardonable ignorance of the Hindu History.

The translation has indeed some merits but the comments and criticisms are erratic and objectionable. For this demerit of the book the publisher apologises and observes that the translator is 'half mad brain crack,' and openly warns the readers refrain from reading his footnotes and appendices. It is lamentable that the translator sets out to prove like a dare-devil that Christ was the Original of Lord Krishna. Of course, the publisher in his apology frankly contradicts this idiotic observation at the very outset of the book and challenges the ignorant translator.

But if the publisher is fully aware of the

'mental derangement of the translator' and his non-sensical remarks, what is the use of his publishing such trash? The less such trash is circulated the better for the Society and State, since such writing does more evil than good.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WHAT MAO REALLY MEANS: By Girdhar Lal Jain. Published by Siddhartha Publications Private Ltd., 35, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 73, Price Rs. 2.

In this book the author has presented a study of Chinese Communism so far as the same is understood from the speeches and writings of Mao Tse-tung, President of the People's Republic of China. The author has tried to show that Communism is the same whether it is in Russia or China and its methods and tactics are not different. In China (many people think) the Communists are working in co-operation with other groups. According to the author, this is only a temporary phase. In due course, Communist dictatorship will crush all other forces and groups and make the entire China Communist. Because of special circumstances full Communism is not possible at the present moment in China but the process is already begun and non-Communists of that country are aware of it. There is much truth in what the author contends and the reader will find this book an interesting study.

(1) PLANNED DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: Pp. 26. Price Re. 1.

(2) FOR GREATER FOOD PRODUCTION: Pp. 43. Price Re. 1.

Both by Radha Krishna Khanna. Published by Deepak Publications, Hakim Baga Street, Delhi.

In the first booklet the author severely criticizes the Planning of the Government of India. In his opinion forced industrialisation of India cannot lay the foundations of her economic development or prosperity of the people. He also disagrees with the land and agricultural policy of the Government. He has no faith in co-operative farming. The policy of nationalisation is severely attacked by the writer. "The Government is neither industrializing nor solving the problem of unemployment; far less it is solving the food problem of the growing millions." Planning is described as "purposeless." The writer concludes, "What our Government are really doing, though unwillingly, is to bring

about communism by non-violent means and not planned development of the country."

In the second brochure the author gives some constructive suggestions for greater food production. He supports large-scale farming so that up-to-date methods might be applied to agriculture. According to the writer, agriculture and food production must have priority to industries, otherwise there would be untold privations, sufferings and hardships to the people.

These booklets show the dark side of the picture.

A. B. DUTTA

THE LEFTIST EXPERIMENT: By S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao. *The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7. August 1957. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 8.25.*

This is an inconsequential book with an imposing title. The book purports to record the impressions of the writer, who is deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, gained during his visits to the USSR and Yugoslavia in 1955 and to China in October, 1956. Apparently the writer saw little of significance in those countries and understood still less. The range of his knowledge and understanding is given by the following remark made by him at the conclusion of this book. "China," Shri Rao writes, "is also a Communist country working in close association with the USSR. But unlike the USSR it does not want to mechanise or collectivise its agriculture" (p. 174). The facts are however completely to the contrary. Far from not "wanting" to collectivise and mechanise agriculture, China had completed the process of collectivisation before the author had gone there. The truth is that he was so engrossed in other things that he completely failed to discern even this gigantic change there. There is absolutely no justification for the high price of the book.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE POETRY AND CAREER OF LI-PO: By Arthur Waley. *George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

Li-Po of the eighth century is regarded by many as China's greatest poet. In religion, he was a follower of Taoism. Mr. Waley has given not only a record of his life and career but has also described the social history of the times so that the reader may have an adequate idea of the background of his poetry. He has provided every material necessary for the proper understanding of the poet.

VAISHNABA LYRICS: By Dr. Matilal Das, M.A., B.L. Ph.D. *Bharat Sanskriti Parisat, Block K, Plot 467, New Alipore, Calcutta-33. Price Rs. 3/-.*

151 pieces of choice Vaishnaba lyrics, rendered into facile English prose, preceded by a short but thoughtful introduction. The emotional fervour and the music of the originals defy all attempts of translation. The author has been able to convey to a great extent the mystic charm and the spiritual import, characteristic of them.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

DHARMOTTARAPRADIPA of Durveka Misra with Dharmottara's *Nyayabindutika* and the *Nyayabindu* of Dharmakirti. Edited with Introduction and indices by Pt. Dalsukhram Malvania, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1955, Price Rs. 7.50.

The *Nyayabindu* with Dharmottara's commentary has been published in India and abroad. The Dharmottarapradipa here published for the first time elucidates the positions of Dharmottara and Dharmakirti. It gives us a wealth of information which is not available elsewhere. It is highly learned and at the same time not very difficult to understand. The labour spent on it by the learned editor is well-spent. We congratulate both the editor and the publisher for this new addition of importance to the philosophical literature. The available materials have diligently been utilised. Durveka Misra, a student of Acharya Jitari, was one of the most important scholars of the Vikramasila University and seems to be an older contemporary of Dipankarasrijnana. The non-mention of Vachaspati Misra in this work as well as in his *Hetubindutikaloka* is significant. The pradipa clearly proves that *Ahrika* (p. 246) is not a proper name as is generally supposed. But it means the Jainas in general. Durveka quotes the *Nyayabhasyatikas* of Adhvayana (*Ruchitika*), Trilochana (*Nyayamanjari*) and Visvarupa. All these works are lost. The quotations are, therefore, invaluable to a student of Indian Logic. The *Kavyalamkara* quoted here (p. 6) is the work of Bhamaha. A quotation (p. 173) identified in Uddyotakara's *Nyayavartika* has been introduced with *Yadahaksapadah*. We are inclined to take the word *Aksapada* as a follower of *Aksapada* which Uddyotakara certainly was. The learned introductions in English and Hindi

add to the value of the book. We hope that this volume will be well received by the world of scholars.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

SUNYA PRANTARER GAN (The song of the Barren Field): *By Sivadas Chakravarti: Ranjan Publishing House, 57, Indra Biswas Road, Calcutta—37. Price Rs. 1-8 as.*

Not extraordinary, but readable poems of clear ideas in faultless metres.

HINDI

SANT-SUDHA-SAR: *Edited by Viyogi Hari. Introduction by Acharya Vinoba. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1953. Pp. 663-289. Price Rs. 11.*

Shri Viyogi Hari is a mystic by nature, though the call of the suppressed and suffering humanity, particularly the scheduled classes, has compelled him to be a man of action, always "on His service," (as He manifests Himself with a special appeal in *Daridranarayana*). His inspiration, however, has always been derived from the poet-mystics of India, pre-medieval as well as medieval. The present anthology is

accordingly, a treasure-chest of the 'rubies' and pearls of wisdom—the wisdom of the Eternal—bequeathed to us by these God-intoxicated and God-realized souls. Will our Hindi-knowing young men and women then avail themselves of his treasure-chest, rather than read literature which feeds them on chaff and wild oats? Shri Vinoba's illuminating introduction is, indeed, a letter of introduction to the mystics. G. M.

GUJARATI

JAMAI-RAJ: *By Pannalal N. Patel. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Ahmedabad, 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.*

Pannalal Patel's stories have won a high place already in Gujarati literature of the present times but this is his first attempt in the direction of Drama writing. The book contains three plays. Two of them have been already staged. They reflect certain aspects of our village life. The first one, meant to be a reflection of our domestic life in its opening stages, e.g., where Chandan and Kishore meet accidentally, looks artificial, unreal, laboured. Mr. Patel had better stick to fiction.

K.M.J.

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Indian Periodicals

Scientific Policy of India

Science and Culture writes editorially:

We make no apologies for reverting to the scientific policy resolution of the Government of India. This resolution was placed by the Government of India before Parliament on March 12 and received their approval. It is so important a statement that it has been reproduced below in full.

"The key of national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies in the modern age, in the effective combination of three factors, technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important, since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can, in fact, make up for a deficiency in natural resources, and reduce the demands on capital. But technology can only grow out of the study of science and its applications.

"The dominating feature of the contemporary world is the intense cultivation of science on a large scale, and its application to meet a country's requirements. It is this, which, for the first time in man's history, has given to the common man in countries advanced in science, a standard of living and social and cultural amenities, which were once confined to a very small privileged minority of the population. Science has led to the growth and diffusion of culture to an extent never possible before. It has not only radically altered man's material environment, but, what is of still deeper significance, it has provided new tools of thought and has extended man's mental horizon. It has thus influenced even the basic values of life, and given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism.

"It is only through the scientific approach and method and the use of scientific knowledge that reasonable material and cultural amenities and services can be provided for every member of the community, and it is out of a recognition of this possibility that the idea of a Welfare State has grown. It is characteristic of the present world that the progress towards the practical realisation of a Welfare State differs widely from country to country in direct relation

to the extent of industrialisation and the effort and resources applied in the pursuit of science.

"The wealth and prosperity of a nation depend on the effective utilisation of its human and material resources through industrialisation. The use of human material for industrialisation demands its education in science and training in technical skills. Industry opens up possibilities of greater fulfilment for the individual. India's enormous resources of man-power can only become an asset in the modern world when trained and educated.

"Science and technology can make up for deficiencies in raw materials by providing substitutes, or, indeed, by providing skills which can be exported in return for raw materials. In industrialising a country, a heavy price has to be paid in importing science and technology in the form of plant and machinery, highly paid personnel and technical consultants. An early large-scale development of science and technology in the country could therefore greatly reduce the drain on capital during the early and critical stages of industrialisation.

"Science has developed at an ever-increasing pace since the beginning of the century, so that the gap between the advanced and backward countries has widened more and more. It is only by adopting the most vigorous measures and by putting forward our outmost effort into the development of science that we can bridge the gap. It is an inherent obligation of a great country like India, with its traditions of scholarship and original thinking and its great cultural heritage, to participate fully in the march of science, which is probably mankind's greatest enterprise today.

"The Government of India have accordingly decided that the aims of their scientific policy will be

- (i) to foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of science, and scientific research in all its aspects—pure, applied and educational,
- (ii) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of the highest quality, and to recognize

- (iii) their work as an important component of the strength of the nation, to encourage and initiate, with all possible speed, programmes for the training of scientific and technical personnel, on a scale adequate to fulfil the country's needs in science and education, agriculture and industry and defence,
- (iv) to ensure that the creative talent of men and women is encouraged and finds full scope in scientific activity,
- (v) to encourage individual initiative for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and for the discovery of new knowledge in an atmosphere of academic freedom,
- (vi) and, in general, to secure for the people of the country all the benefit that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge.

"The Government of India have decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position, by associating scientists with the formulation of policies, and by taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary from time to time."

It is, of course, true that since the advent of freedom Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of India has given science and scientific research in this country an importance which they did not receive before. It is chiefly because of his realisation of the pivotal importance of science in the modern age that a chain of national laboratories could be built up in a relatively short space of time. Organisational steps taken by way of constituting different Ministries and Departments dealing with different aspects of scientific and technological development have helped to harness science in the programme of economic development. The Government's initiative in taking up river valley projects, and various industrial projects like fertilisers, steel, atomic power, etc., which are essential for the rapid development of the country, is truly commendable and has brought science and technology before the public eye.

In spite of all the above efforts, however, there has been a feeling in the minds of scientists in this country that the full potentiality of science for the good of the nation was not being realised. The scientific policy resolution of the

Government of India embodies Government's thinking in regard to this matter and does well by indicating the directions of progress. What in our view is now important is the concretisation of this resolution. For this purpose Government may ask the National Institute of Sciences of India to appoint a Committee which will frame the details. Alternatively Government may formulate the measures themselves through a joint committee with the National Institute of Sciences of India. It is possible that some of these measures would disturb some established practices and vested interests inside the Government machinery. They might upset some hierarchical priorities and wound the vanities of some permanent services. But unless the Government is bold enough in adopting reforms which will enable scientists and technologists to pull their weight in the rapid economic development of the country, the scientific policy resolution will remain a resolution and will not sufficiently subserve the interests of the nation.

The University of London

The University of London is an unique metropolitan centre of learning. Lord Strang writes in *The Social Service Quarterly*:

London was one of the last of the larger capitals to be equipped with a University: but in the 130 years or so since the first foundations of this great institution were laid, the University of London has won an outstanding place for itself among the Universities of the world, in point of range and variety of academic activity as well as of student population and geographical extension. In Britain it is unique.

COLLEGES WIDELY DISPERSED

The heart of the University lies in the "Precinct," a University quarter now being developed in Bloomsbury, north of the British Museum and adjacent to it. But its constituent schools are spread over a wide area in London and the Home Counties: from Queen Mary College in the Mile End Road in the east to the Wye Agricultural College away at Ashford in Kent in the south-east, and from Westfield College in Hampstead in the north to the Royal Holloway College at Egham in Surrey in the west. These two latter, like Bedford College in Regent's Park, are colleges for women only. Two of the schools of the University, King's College and the London School of Economics

and Political Science, are in one of the busiest parts of central London, on two sides of the Strand.

The "Precinct" itself includes within its boundaries not only the Senate House and administrative offices (completed in 1936), the University Library and the Students' Union, but also two of the University's oldest foundations, University College and Birkbeck College. University College, with its 3,500 students, the largest of the schools of the University, is in size and comprehensiveness a University in itself. Within its rectangle, arising afresh from the ruins of World War II, on its original site fronting on Gower Street, are the Faculties of a normal University, Arts, Science, Laws, Engineering and Medical Sciences, as well as the world-famous Slade School of Fine Arts. Birkbeck College, by contrast, carrying on in its new building since 1957 an old and honourable tradition, provides part-time degree courses for those engaged in other occupations during the day.

Also within the "Precinct" is a number of relatively newly formed University Research Institutes. These, unlike the schools of the University, each of which has its own governing body, are the direct responsibility of the University itself. Among them are the Institutes for Historical Research, Education, and Archaeology, the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes of Art, and the Schools of Slavonic and East European Studies and of Oriental and African Languages.

SPECIALIST SCHOOLS

Some of the schools of the University are specialist in character, like the great Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington, now to be substantially expanded; the London School of Economics; the small Queen Elizabeth College for women, where there are degree courses in household science and nutrition; the Royal Veterinary College, and the School of Pharmacy.

The University also has within its fold no fewer than 12 Medical Schools for undergraduates, and a whole range of post-graduate medical institutes organized by the British Post-graduate Medical Federation. The importance of medical studies in the University may be gathered from the fact that medical students form about a third of the whole student body.

The University, thus widely dispersed and in all its rich variety, provides for somewhat

over 20,000 students, more than a quarter of them women, reading for degrees or engaged in post-graduate research. Their needs are served by a professional staff unsurpassed in eminence by any other university institution in the country.

The University also has a rich external side, conducting degree examinations for external students, running courses of study through an active Department of Extra-Mural Studies, and maintaining special relations with growing University Colleges in oversea territories.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

What are the main differences between a University of this character and other Universities in the United Kingdom; and what is the balance of advantage and disadvantage for the academic staff and student body?

The London Colleges vary widely in size, and they vary also in the extent to which residential accommodation can be provided within or in the neighbourhood of the college. But in a large college like University College, only a small proportion of the students will live in college halls of residence. Most will live in lodgings, often far out in the suburbs, where rooms are cheaper. And many will live at home. The college cannot, therefore, be the closely-knit community, able if so desiring to live in cloistered calm, like the relatively small Oxford or Cambridge colleges, or the new University of South Staffordshire at Keele. Nor can there be the same intimacy of contact between staff and students as under the Oxford and Cambridge tutorial system. As against this, the staff are perhaps somewhat less tempted by the lure of internal college politics and the students by the appeal of college exclusiveness than in some of the older foundations.

The atmosphere is apt to be more free and open, the intellectual traditions less inbred. There is both gain and loss here. What may be too much lacking in London is the fruitful and stimulating impact of mind upon mind which is one of the requisites of a full and all-round education. As compared, on the other hand, with newer Universities in great provincial cities like Birmingham, Manchester or Sheffield, the London student, even the student of science and technology, may not be sufficiently conscious, in an intimate way, of the world of industry, the realm of technology, and of its meaning for us today and in the future.

"LIVING CLOSE TO THE WORLD"

But such disadvantages, if they may be so called, are largely outweighed by the advantages of spending the student life in a capital city of the unique character of London. The student of politics has the Houses of Parliament and the government departments almost at his door. The student of economics or finance or commerce can look into the city of London; with its banks and finance houses, its shipping offices and its great port, and the headquarters of giant industrial and commercial corporations. The student of laws may turn to the Inns of Court, where barristers are bred, or to the Law Courts, where justice is done. The student of international affairs may look to the foreign Embassies, the student of the arts to the museums and art galleries, the student of classics or philosophy to the multiplicity of learned societies, the student at large to the pulsing intellectual, artistic, theatrical life of the metropolis, with the concourse of visitors for business or pleasure from all parts of the United Kingdom and from the Commonwealth and every country in the world. And great as the advantage of "living close to the world" may be for the ordinary undergraduate, it is even more stimulating for the post-graduate research student and most of all for the occupant of professorial chair.

Writing about the year 1500, that fine Scottish poet, William Dunbar, called London the flower of cities all.' Dr. Johnson said in the eighteenth century: "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford."

Seeds and Sowing for Inner Harvest

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially:

It is true that no two religions, teachers, or sacred books present desirable qualities in the same order. This by itself need not become a great stumbling block; rather it is as it ought to be. It is now being increasingly recognized that each person has certain inborn traits which should be kept in view in all matters connected with his development. In giving secular education, in enabling people to choose their vocations aright, and even while selecting drugs to cure

diseases, the tendency is to study the peculiar characteristics, different 'individuals' exhibit. We see that in some systematic, though to us at present unknown manner, a person takes from his food the pigment 'natural' for his body. What we have to do is to apply the same principle to matters relating to his intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual growth. Where the 'suggestions' given and the 'disciplines' prescribed match his inborn tastes, his reactions will as a rule be favourable, and he will speed along the path of virtue and knowledge. Where, on the other hand, the proffered advice goes against the pattern of virtuous qualities ready to sprout up within him, it will blunt his sensitivity and hamper his growth. Thus, while every quality mentioned in a system is doubtless necessary for all-round progress, adequate provision has also to be made for the individual's 'right of choice' regarding the order in which he would find it economic to cultivate them. When he is encouraged to experiment with them, he is sure, after some trial and error, to discover the one quality which, when strengthened, will give him a steady basis for the advancement of the rest. Viewed in this light, all systems appear equally beneficial, though each step as it stands in any of them may not suit everyone in an equal measure at all stages of his onward march.

Some may have a predominantly devotional type of mind. Their programmes will be centred round the attainment of the grace of God. But even they have to 'exert' in a number of ways,—for example, by studying sacred books, by worshipping God with the aid of symbols, by learning to meditate on Him and, finally, by 'surrendering' themselves into His protecting hands. All these or other 'disciplines' mean intense 'self-effort,' whatever the goal or the direction may be. This 'exertion' is not to be understood as a denial of humility or of a spirit of dedication. It is the direct opposite only of the laziness and inertia that finds it convenient to invoke, in words, the gratuitous aid of outside agencies without doing anything positive or useful. Exertion is the spontaneous expression of the determination to plough one's inner field properly, select and sow right seeds, pull out weeds, and do everything else for raising an excellent harvest, helpful to men and pleasing to God.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Draft of China's 1958 National Economic Plan

Po I-po Vice-Premier and Chairman of the National Economic Commission of China made a report on the Draft of 1958 National Economic Plan at the fifth session of the National People's Congress on February 3. The purport of the report is published in *China To-day*, February 25, 1958:

NATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1957

Vice-Premier Po I-po said 1957 was a year of great victories on many fronts in the country, and these resulted in the all-round fulfilment or overfulfilment of the basic tasks and the major targets of the First Five-Year Plan.

Reviewing the achievements on the political, ideological and economic fronts during the year, the Vice-Premier said they further strengthened the unity of the nation under the leadership of the working class, strengthened the socialist, political and economic system and consolidated its material foundation.

The nation-wide rectification campaign initiated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the struggle against the bourgeois rightists during this campaign, had provided the basic driving force for these victories, he added.

Vice-Premier enumerated the results in the major aspects of the 1957 national economic plan as follows:

Capital Construction: total investment in capital construction in 1957 came to an estimated 12,370 million yuan, exceeding the plan by a wide margin. 178 of the 642 above-norm major and important industrial and mining enterprises which were continued, or newly launched, in 1957 were completed; and this was a greater number than in any other year in the First Five-Year Plan.

With these major enterprises built and in operation, the Vice-Premier said, China now

came nearer to self-sufficiency in high-grade steel, alloy steel and aluminium, could manufacture boilers for thermal power plants and certain heavy machinery which she had been lacking and produced paper on a large-scale for industrial use. An up to-date, comprehensive chemical industrial base had also been completed.

Industry: total industrial output in 1957 (excluding handicrafts) reached an estimated value of 62,810 million yuan, which was 4.1% more than the plan for the year, 6.9% more than the output in the previous year, and 17.3% more than the original plan for 1957 when the First Five-Year Plan was drawn up. The great majority of the major industrial items also exceeded their planned output.

Agriculture: output of agricultural and rural side-occupations last year reached an estimated value of 60,350 million yuan. This was 3.5% more than the previous year's output. Compared with 1956, the estimated grain output in 1957 increased by 2.5 million tons, reaching a total of 185 million tons; and cotton by 195,000 tons, reaching 1.64 million tons. There were increases, too, in the output of sugar cane, sugar beet, jute and ambar hemp and in the number of pigs.

The annual planned totals for communications and transport, commerce, education and cultural services in 1957 had all been surpassed.

Vice-Premier Po I-po said China's national economy had advanced at a rapid pace since liberation in 1949. However, he said, the road had not been ideally smooth but had seen some twists and turns; and progress has been made only after repeated efforts, overcoming one difficulty after another. During the past eight years, China had more than once encountered difficulties caused by serious natural calamities, more than once met difficulties due to insufficiency in resources, finance and technical forces. But these difficulties had been overcome one after the other.

The great victories last year on the political and ideological fronts, won through the rectifi-

cation campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, had acted as a spur to achievements on the economic front during the year; and the victory on the economic front had in turn consolidated the victories on the political and ideological fronts, Po I-po said.

"With the memory of 1957 to encourage us," Vice-Premier Po I-po continued, "each of us can look forward to our great future with confidence and hope."

II. NEW FORWARD LEAP IN CHINA'S NATIONAL ECONOMY IN 1958

Vice-Premier Po I-po predicted that 1958 would see a new leap forward in China's national economy, a good beginning for the Second Five-Year Plan. The scale of capital construction this year would greatly exceed that of any previous year, he said.


The Vice-Premier added that the major tasks in the development of the national economy this year were—energetic work in every field for an upsurge in agriculture and a bumper harvest; vigorous development of heavy industry, chiefly to raise the output of fuel, electric power, raw materials, chemical fertiliser, heavy machinery, farming power machinery and electric power equipment; increased investment in

capital construction to the limit of the country's material and financial resources, mainly concentrating on productive enterprises; hard work to increase consumer goods output, continued efforts to keep market prices stable and appropriate improvement in the living standards of the people on the basis of expanded re-production; energetic development of culture, education and public health.

The Vice-Premier elaborated on the major aspect of the economic plan for 1958 as follows:

Capital Construction: total investment in capital construction this year was tentatively fixed at 14,577 million yuan, or 17.8% more than the estimated figure for 1957. There would be increased investment in agriculture, particularly water conservancy, and in various branches of heavy industry, particularly fuel, electric power, metallurgy, the chemical industry and other branches of industry supplying the needs of agriculture.

A total of 1,185 above-norm projects would be continued or started this year, including 716 industrial projects and 185 agricultural, forestry and water conservancy projects. Of these, 188 major industrial projects would be completed within the year.



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Total industrial output in 1958 was, tentatively, estimated to reach 64,370 million yuan, 14.6% more than in 1957. (As from this year, the figures of industrial output are calculated in terms of 1957 prices; and there were reductions in that year in the prices of most products of heavy industry. Calculated on the old basis, i.e., 1952 prices, the figure for industrial output in 1958 would be 71,960 million yuan. —Editor). Heavy industry would still be at a relatively high rate of development this year. Energetic efforts would be made to increase the output of fuel, electricity and raw materials in order as fully as possible to meet the needs of expanding capital construction and the growth of the processing industries and the whole national economy.

The target for steel output in 1958 was set at 6,248,000 tons, 19.2% more than in 1957; electricity 22,450 million kilowatt-hours, 18% more than 1957; and coal 150.724 million tons, 17.2% more than 1957; timber output would go up by 9.4% in 1958 and cement output by 14.5%.

In the machine-building industry production would concentrate to a greater extent than before, on the needs of capital construction and technical improvements in agriculture. There would be a notable increase in the output of chemical fertiliser in 1958.

Branches of light industry would be greatly increased thanks to the fairly good harvests of 1957.

There was stress in the plan on the introduction of more new types and varieties of products, Po I-po said. The industrial ministries alone would this year begin trial production of 372 major new products. These included: high-pressure air-compressors and synthetic chambers for the nitrogenous fertiliser industry, complete sets of 50,000-kilowatt thermal power-generating equipment, complete sets of 72,500-kilowatt hydro-electric power-generating equipment, 1,513-cubic metre blast furnaces, 1,150-millimetre rolling mills, 54 horsepower caterpillar tractors, ocean-going cargo ships of over 13,000 tons dead-weight each, electronic computers, television transmitters and receivers and synthetic fibres. "When prototypes of these important new products are successfully manufactured," Vice-Premier Po I-po said, "it will mean a great step forward in the technical level of our industry."

Agriculture: the total output of agriculture and rural side-occupations in 1958 would reach an estimated value of 68,830 million yuan, 6.1%

more than the previous year. (As from this year, the figures of agricultural output are calculated in terms of 1957 prices; and there were increases in the prices of a number of farm products in the year. Calculated on the old basis, i.e., 1952 prices, the figure for agricultural output in 1958 would be 64,250 million yuan. —Editor). This rate of increase far surpassed the average in the First Five-Year Plan. The target for the food crops in 1958 was 196 million tons, 5.9% above 1957, and cotton 1.74 million tons, 6.7% above 1957. There would also be increases in the output of peanuts, rape seed and tobacco, in the acreage of afforested land and in the numbers of livestock—oxen, horses, donkeys, mules and pigs.

All these planned targets could be fulfilled and, "possibly, overfulfilled, provided there were no specially serious natural calamities," the Vice-Premier added. The guarantee was the unprecedented enthusiasm among the more than 500 million peasants for increasing production.

Turning to other fields of the national economy Vice-Premier Po I-po said the volume of commodities which could be supplied was in excess of purchasing power. Consequently, market stability and stable commodity prices would be assured and the commercial departments would be able to keep certain reserves of goods.

The educational system would be improved in accordance with the principle of combining brain work with physical labour; and work in culture, education and public health would be actively developed in accordance with the principle combining industry and thrift in the running of schools and cultural and health establishments, and relying upon the resources of the masses themselves.

The Vice-Premier said the draft 1958 national economic plan was fully reliable and might possibly be overfulfilled. It had been drawn up, and also provided for some reserves, in the light of the favourable conditions that had emerged out of the following situation: the successful rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle which had stimulated unprecedented enthusiasm for socialism among the great mass of the people and government workers. This enthusiasm would exert its influence over a long time to come. The current upsurge in agriculture was certain, in particular, to bring about a new upsurge in industry;—the tremendous achievements in the First Five-Year Plan which had resulted in the establishment of many new departments of industry that had never existed in China before and the rapid

growth in the country's productive capacity; —the improvements in the system of administration and in work in every field. The administrative improvements made it possible for the localities more actively to discover and utilise local potentialities for agricultural and industrial development, particularly as regards industrial enterprises which could serve agriculture, and also other productive undertakings. At the same time, by passing over to the local authorities responsibilities for many undertakings which these could manage perfectly well, the central authority would be able to concentrate to a still greater extent on key projects, technical transformation and the checking of results, so helping forward the national economy as a whole.

"In the new stage, we shall certainly expand capital construction and develop industry and agriculture and all other undertakings to the maximum possible degree, speedily, satisfactorily and at the lowest cost," Vice-Premier Po I-po said. This could be achieved "so long as we can make good use of every favourable factor and turn into concrete action in which the whole people participate the call issued by the Communist Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to catch up with or surpass Britain in the output of steel, iron and other important industrial products in 15 years or a little longer; and by bringing to bear all available positive factors, consistently carry out the policy of developing industry and agriculture simultaneously on the basis of priority to the growth of heavy industry and the policy of building the nation in the spirit of hard work and thrift."

The Vice-Premier also stressed the favourable international situation. He said, "The successful launching of the two artificial satellites by the Soviet Union and the Moscow Conference of Communist parties of over 60 countries marked a new turning-point in the world balance of political power. Since then, the international situation has turned more and more in favour of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union. Fraternal solidarity among the socialist countries has been further strengthened, including the solidarity between China and the Soviet Union." He pointed out that the overfulfilment of China's First Five-Year Plan was inseparable from the enormous assistance given by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries; and during the Second Five-Year Plan, China would continue to receive from them "generous help in many

spheres to enable us to advance more speedily to the great goal of socialism."

Vice-Premier Po I-po called for continued frugality and the elimination of waste as an important task in building the national economy. Very considerable achievements had been gained in this field during the increase-production-and-practice-economy campaigns since liberation, he said, but there were still immense possibilities for economy.

He added that the current nation-wide rectification campaign provided excellent opportunities for pressing forward with the economy drive and combating waste and extravagance. The practice of economy and elimination of waste must be regarded as an important subject for keen discussion, so as to bring about drastic corrective action during the campaign. He called on the leadership in all enterprises and organisations throughout the country to sweep away rightist conservative ideas in this regard. "We want to generate an immense wave of activity throughout the country to sweep away all waste," the Vice-Premier said.

Vice-Premier Po I-po appealed to all those engaged in economic activity to fully rely on the masses, bring their initiative and creativeness into full play and so go forward to fulfil and overfulfil the 1958 national economic plan.

India and Armenia

The second part of the article on India and Armenia by Melik Simonyan in the *Armenian Bulletin* is given below:

3. HOSPITABLE INDIA

What should be done? Adopt the attitude of an onlooker or take part in the liberation struggle of a nation that

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had hospitably opened its doors to the refugees? The documents which have been preserved to our days indicate that most Armenians were not troubled by this dilemma. In 1763 Bengal declared war on England. The foreign invaders met with the staunch resistance of the Bengali troops among which there were Armenians, officers and men. Grigor Arutyunan (Gorgi Khan) was an outstanding general in the Indian army. Under his leadership several defeats were inflicted on the English troops. In one of the battles Gorgi Khan lost his life. It is also a known fact that an Armenian named Margar was active in helping to organize the army Mir Kasim led against the English.

The majority of Armenian merchants in India, whose trade on the main depended on local markets, regarded the Europeans in general and the English in particular as their enemies. On the one hand fear of a powerful competitor was an important factor, on the other, the ever-present memories of Armenia's ordeals stimulated their hatred for all people who came with the sword into a foreign land for the purpose of killing and imposing their will.

But England won and put the Indian people into colonial irons for two hundred years.

The Armenian communities were steadily declining. In the middle of the 19th century only some buildings put up by them and the memorials on deserted grave-yards bore witness to the past existence of many thriving and densely populated townships. Armenian communities have survived only in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, but they no longer play the role they did in the past. One may point out that the Calcutta community was older than the city itself. It came into being on the banks of the Ganges before that city was founded.

4. AID FROM INDIA

The ties of the Indian Armenians with their mother country stood the test of time and of the distance that separated them. The recurring events, spelling death and destructions in all corners of Armenia's highland, constantly kept the refugees' minds alive to the necessity of overthrowing the Persian and Turkish yoke. Being outside the reach of Turkish janissaries and of the latter's Persian opposite numbers, they were often in a position to do, and they actually did, more than the people living under foreign yoke.

Those were days of hope. The slumbering began to think, the thinking called to arms. The second half of the 18th century was

marked by the re-birth of the Armenians' national consciousness. Many of them became convinced that it was necessary to wage a liberation struggle. Yet how was it to be done? How could the oppressed and disarmed Armenian people get back on their feet without outside aid? The Indian Armenians found the right answer to this question, which was later borne out by history: the enlightenment of the people and Russia's help. It is to the Indian Armenians that goes all the credit for publishing historical works about the formerly strong and independent Armenian state.

The Indian Armenians published lay books, they founded schools and printshops not only in India, but also in Armenia, Russia and Europe. An outstanding event of that period was the appearance in Madras in 1794 of the first Armenian monthly, *Azdarar* (News). A complete file of that publication is extant at present at the Armenian State Library. It was turned over in 1956 by the Calcutta Armenians to the writer Garegin Sevuntz who was visiting India. As he said later, in addition to this valuable acquisition he also brought from India priceless impressions of that great land and its splendid people.

Azdarar was a successful beginning. It was followed by other periodicals: *Shtemaran* (The Granary), *Azgacer* (The Patriot), *Azgacer Araratyan* (The Ararat Patriot), and others.

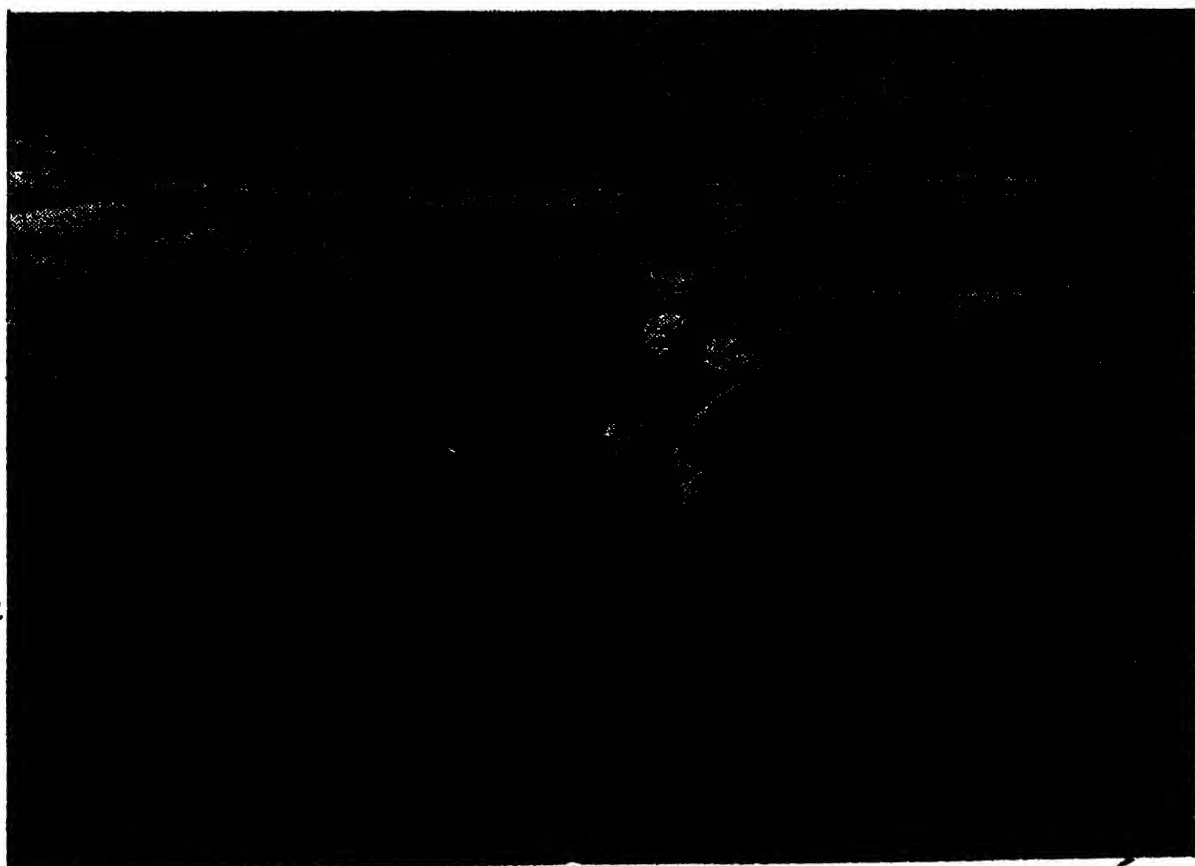
As said above, the Indian Armenians regarded enlightenment as a means of achieving the great aim—the liberation of their homeland. But that materialized much later, after the October revolution. It is not out of Armenia that caravans of migrants are moving now, but back into Armenia. Tens of thousands of people have returned to their native land. Hundreds of thousands of others are aspiring to return too. And the whole Armenian nation is enthusiastically pursuing its free, constructive endeavours.

But while it builds, it does not forget the past. It was as dark as the night sky shrouded by clouds. Very very seldom, in between the clouds, appeared a little star spelling bright memories. A very lonely little star indeed. But that is why it has all the gratitude of our hearts, a gratitude that would suffice for millions of stars.

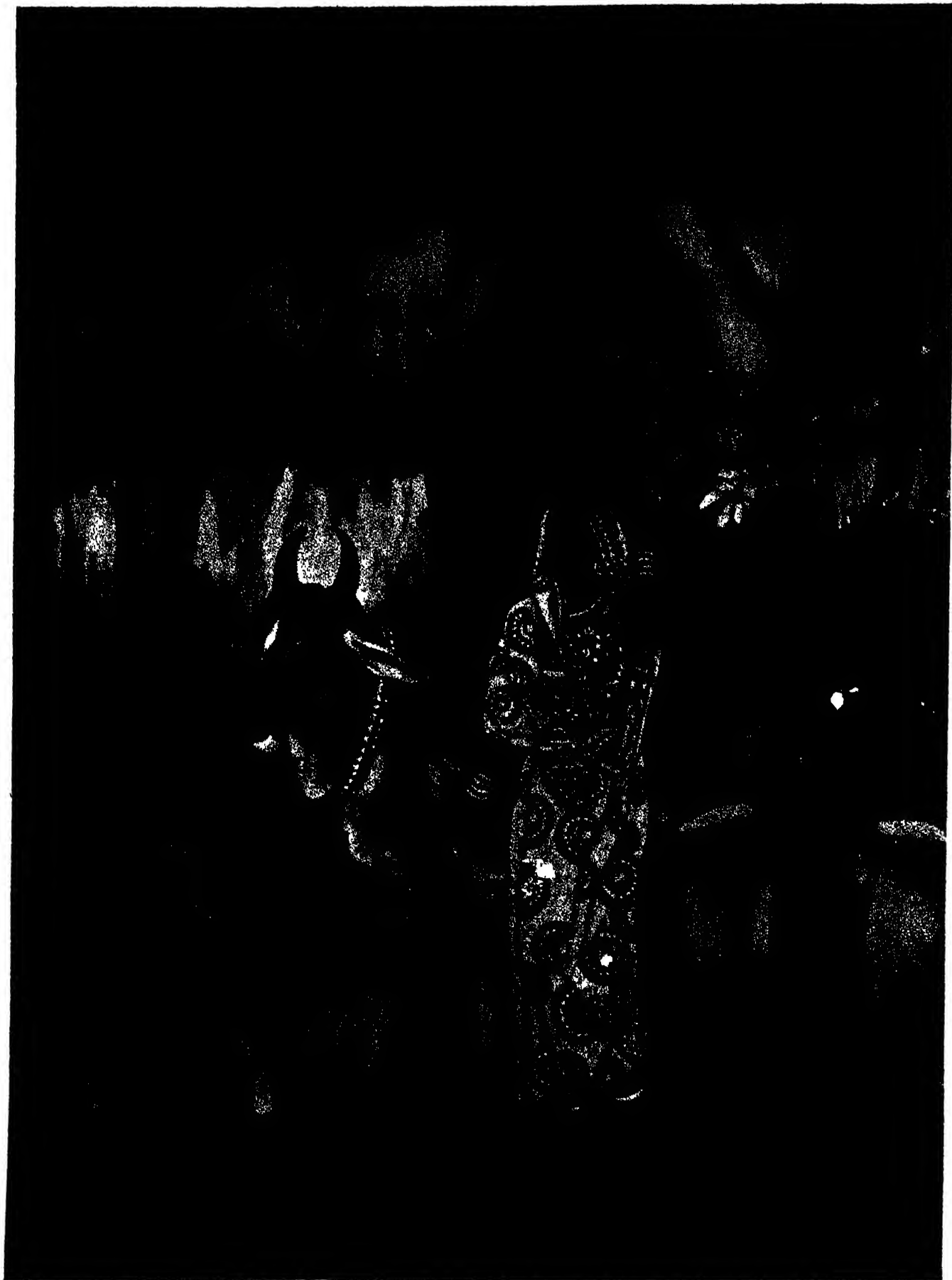
In Armenia's history that bright moment betokens of a distant name that is yet so close India.



Lachmanjhola
Photo: Ananda Mukherji



Hopes and fears
Photo: Amal Sen Gupta



THE MILKMAID

By Birendranath Chakravarty

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

THE WORLD AND OURSELVES

At the time of writing, the world, particularly the Arab world, is in turmoil. There was a period at the start when it seemed that the question of war and peace hung on a thread. The crisis not over by any means. But there is a glimmer of light, which may indicate a dawning of sanity in the counsels of the nations.

The situation was precipitated by the military *coup d'etat* in Baghdad. The U.S. President took action on the spur of the moment, and it seems to us that at that moment the soldier in the Chief Executive of the U.S., prevailed over the statesman in President Eisenhower.

We do not as yet know the full details of what led to this precipitate action, we are merely told that the only counsel that prevailed with the President was that of Secretary Dulles, whose ignorance about the East is becoming proverbial. We have given the full explanatory statement of Ambassador Lodge, before the Security Council of the U.N. elsewhere in these notes. It is too early to assess its logical sequences as yet, but in that also emotion seems to have predominated over reason—which is rather unusual for Senator Lodge. Perhaps, the unconfirmed news about the murder of Fadil Al Jamali, sometime spokesman for Iraq in the U.N., had disturbed his poise. This would not be at all extraordinary, as the killing of that highly polished intellectual and raconteur, if it has taken place, would undoubtedly be a political crime.

The killing of Nuri as said, is without

doubt a bitter blow to the Anglo-American Bloc in the Middle East. He was not only a "strong man," he was also, perhaps, the last of those legendary figures that staked all and suffered untold agonies, of body and soul, in their desperate fight for the freeing of the Arab race from Turkish domination, under the leadership of Emir Feisal (later King Feisal I of Iraq) and guidance of Lawrence. As such he knew all the cards that were in the hands of his rivals. After the death of his leader Feisal, the grand-father of the 23-year-old boy-king just killed, he was the virtual man of destiny of Iraq and it was because of him that Iraq became the key-stone in the Baghdad Pact.

We do not know whether Iraq will keep to the Pact. There are conflicting news about the matter and in any case the whole of the Middle Eastern situation is in a state of flux. But it is undoubtedly time that our very complacent powers-that-be took a more realistic view of our own position *re* internal and external security.

There are increasing signs that the internal situation here, which of late has badly deteriorated due to the stresses and strains of living costs and conditions having been heightened, has encouraged our neighbours in their designs on our territories. There does not seem to be any awareness of our great ones to this positive fact. The raids and incursions on our territory and the "March into Kashmir" staged by our loving neighbours all point to the fact that some nefarious plot is being hatched under our noses.

Appraisal of Second Five-Year Plan

In its Memorandum, "Appraisal and Prospects of Second Five-Year Plan," the Planning Commission has emphasized upon the crisis in the foreign exchange position of the country. Strain on resources, both internal and external, has been felt continuously since the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan. The balance of payments deficit over the two years from April 1956 to March 1958 was Rs. 821 crores. Although the various measures have been adopted to check these trends, the stresses and strains, the Memorandum observes, in the system are basically related to the development effort and are expected to continue throughout the Plan period. The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan assumes that for the successful fulfilment of the Plan, the following conditions are essential: namely, (1) a substantial increase in agricultural production; (2) a steady increase in domestic savings; (3) external assistance for meeting the foreign exchange gap on account of the Plan; (4) maintenance of a stable price level, fair both to producers and consumers; and (5) efficiency of administration and, in particular, the efficient utilisation of assets and resources created under the First and the Second Plan. These conditions are closely inter-connected and are even more vital today than what they were when the Second Plan was drawn up.

The Memorandum states that the financing scheme accepted at the time the Plan was drawn up showed a gap of Rs. 400 crores. Since then there have been other demands on the resources both of the Centre and of the States which have added to the strain, although this was not an unexpected development. The level of investment in the Private Sector has also been high in the initial years of the Second Plan and in consequence the acute stringency that developed in the money market reacted unfavourably on the loan operations of the Government. But behind the inadequacy of financial resources lies the major limiting factor to developmental effort, that is, the lag in food production. High domestic prices as well as the large import requirements are related in part to the insufficient response of food production to the pressure of demand. It

is to the extent that success in this regard can be secured that the rate of investment in the economy—and hence the expansion of employment opportunities—can be stepped up.

The Memorandum's remark that owing to the heavy investment in the Private Sector, there has been a strain on the domestic resources and as a result the loan operations of the Government were not so successful as was expected,—is not at all supported by facts. All the Plan bonds floated by the Union Government in recent years have been fully subscribed by the people. Even the loans floated by the State Governments have also been fully subscribed. The recent development loans floated by five States, namely, Bombay, Mysore, Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are fully subscribed. The loans amount to Rs. 24.50 crores in the aggregate. Therefore, there is no stringency in the domestic money market. Rather it is somewhat puzzling as how so much amount of public debt could be available in recent years notwithstanding the alleged heavy investments in the Private Sector. The recent taxation measures have not also been able to mop up surplus funds from the market. The present public borrowings by the Government sufficiently indicate that there is no stringency in the internal money market of India. There is enough money, only it lies in hoarded forms.

As regards the employment opportunities, the Memorandum observes that they do not appear to be expanding sufficiently to absorb the increases in the labour force. This is because the investment effort in the economy is still low relatively to needs. Steps are being taken to strengthen the employment potential of the Plan at particular points, as for example, the scheme recently approved for appointment of 60,000 teachers. But there is much difference between a scheme and its implementation and the intervening time lag creates further problems. The Planning Commission finds it difficult to make any estimate at this stage about the difference in output and employment so as to make adjustments in Plan outlays in the initial targets. This estimate depends upon a number of variable factors including the success of the food production drive, the levels of investment activity in the Private Sector, the

availability of imports sufficient to sustain a rising level of production.

The cost of the Plan has gone up considerably relatively to the original estimates of outlays. But the financial ceiling has not been raised to the corresponding extent. The aggregate cost remains fixed at Rs. 4,800 crores. The maintenance of this ceiling would mean a lowering of the physical targets. The problem before the Planning Commission at this stage is whether the balance of resources necessary to complete this financial outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores would be available. The requirements of the last two years of the Plan would be about Rs. 2,344 crores. A higher amount is not altogether ruled out in view of the persistent upward trend in the price level. As against this requirement, the present estimates show an availability of not more than Rs. 4,260 crores. This already postulates external assistance at a level of Rs. 300 crores a year and also a better response to the offers for public loans and of the small savings efforts. If the target of financial ceiling is to be maintained, then additional resources shall have to be raised to the extent of about Rs. 240 crores,—through additional taxation (Rs. 100 crores), loans and small savings (Rs. 60 crores) and economies in expenditure (Rs. 80 crores).

What is most disconcerting is the crisis in our foreign exchange position. During the last week of June India's foreign exchange reserves came down alarmingly to the level of Rs. 217 crores. In the second quarter of 1958, the draft on foreign exchange reserves was about Rs. 70.66 crores and in this amount there was included a sum of Rs. 21.33 crores received from the British Government as advance payment due on sterling pension annuities account. If this amount had not been received, India's foreign exchange reserves would have come down below Rs. 200 crores. Besides these foreign exchange reserves of Rs. 217 crores, India has a reserve of gold coin and bullion for Rs. 117.76 crores. For the purpose of currency reserve, the value of foreign securities and gold coin and bullion must not fall below Rs. 200 crores in the aggregate. Of this amount, the value of gold coin and bullion must not be less than Rs. 115 crores.

At present the aggregate external reserves of India stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 336 crores. The average monthly requirements of foreign exchange for external payments are about Rs. 24 crores. The outstanding commitments on account of capital goods on order under the Second Five-Year Plan amount to Rs. 880 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 220 crores will be available in the form of foreign aid. The balance amount of Rs. 560 crores will remain as outstanding commitments and will create a gap in our balance of payments. The position is apprehended to be further worsened during the coming year when the repayment of India's foreign loans will become due. India will be required to find Rs. 23 crores during 1958-59 being the first instalment towards the repayment of her external debt. The position calls for serious consideration and unless India is able to secure necessary foreign exchanges, the Plan would be in jeopardy.

In a recent talk made by Shri H. V. R. Iyengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, to the Bombay Progressive Group, the implications of India's foreign exchange crisis were held to be the inevitable result of a developing economy. Shri Iyengar says that the real problem in India is that in addition to the pressure exercised on our external reserves on account of the import of foodgrains, the external reserves of India have been called upon to sustain a massive development programme, meaning nothing less than the rapid introduction of high-level industrial technology in the country—the making of steel, of heavy machinery, including heavy electrical equipment of machine tools, of chemicals and the like. The following figures were quoted to give some idea of the impact of this programme on our balance of payments. During 1955-56 India's import bill was Rs. 751 crores; in 1956-57 it rose to Rs. 1077 crores, and in 1957-58 to Rs. 1174 crores. Shri Iyengar states that it would require an enormous accumulation of external reserves to enable India to finance a development programme of the magnitude that India has undertaken. Even such reserves as India did accumulate were the result of great rigours and the compulsory cut backs in consumption

that took place during the war. Given the basic facts of the Indian economy—a low per capita income, a very limited margin of saving and the rising pressure of population, there is no escape from the conclusion that large-scale industrial development would require, for some years to come, a good deal of external assistance. The Governor of the Reserve Bank points out that this is also historically the experience of countries which are now highly developed.

The history of economic development of Western countries indicates that one of the major influences in the industrial revolution of the United Kingdom was the immigration of foreign settlers who brought both capital and craftsmanship. After the industrial revolution, the United Kingdom exported capital on a large-scale. In the fifty years from 1825, half of this went to Continental Europe. In their turn, both France and Germany became exporters of capital and it is these countries and the United Kingdom which were responsible for a sustained flow of capital to the United States. Japan too became a great industrial power with the assistance of a massive inflow of capital, a good part of which came from the United Kingdom.

Shri Iyengar pins down his faith on the inflow of foreign capital to India for her economic recovery, besides increasing our exports and curtailing our imports. India's export possibilities have a limit beyond which they cannot be extended in the immediate short period. The long period view is essentially one that depends on the success of the economic Plans of India. As regards reduction in imports, there is a danger if the availability of consumer goods are cut drastically. That would shoot up the price level further. Since the commencement of the Second Five Year Plan, external assistance given to India or committed amounts to Rs. 832 crores. The Governor of the Reserve Bank hopes that in view of the changed attitude of the USA to the pressing needs of capital to India, this country can reasonably expect to receive more aids from the foreign countries and international institutions. India's own resources are totally inadequate to finance her Plans and the failure of the Indian Plan would be shattering blow not only

to Indian economy, but also to the world economy in general.

Trend and Progress of Banking in 1957

The latest Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, recently released by the Reserve Bank of India, refers to the corrective measures adopted by the Government of India and the Reserve Bank to bring about an improvement in the economic situation which in the earlier months of 1957 was marked by an intensification of the stresses and strains which had emerged in 1956. The Reserve Bank in this report points out that the heavy investment programme under the Plan and the growth in money incomes which was associated with it tended to raise aggregate demand in the economy at a greater rate than the increase in national output although the latter made a marked progress in agricultural and industrial production. This gap resulted in a rise in prices so much so that the index of wholesale prices (base: 1952-53=100) went up from 105.1 at the end of March 1957 to 113.1 early in August. The imbalance between the growth of demand and the supplies available, mainly those of the consumer goods, affected the economy in general resulting in an upward tendency in the price level. Foodgrains were the outstanding instance of such a strain which was reflected in an increase of 10 per cent in food prices between December 1956 and August 1957.

The impact of the steep rise in investment was acutely felt at another sensitive point in the economy—its external payments. The balance of payments deficit increased sharply from Rs. 82 crores in the first quarter of 1957 to about Rs. 150 crores in each of the two subsequent quarters, excluding transactions relating to repatriation of lend-lease silver. The increased import of foodgrains and the higher level of imports of capital goods and industrial raw materials were responsible for the mounting deficit in external payments. The situation was further worsened by the decline in exports in certain commodities. The heavier imports and the high level of private investment resulted in an expansion of bank credit to a record figure in the earlier part of the year 1957.

NOTES

The situation called for effective and urgent corrective measures. An all-out effort was made by the authorities in all sectors of national economy to keep the rising price level in check. On the fiscal side, the Union budget for 1957-58 imposed additional taxation to the extent of over Rs. 100 crores in a full year principally raising the rates of excise duties on a number of articles. The taxes on wealth and expenditure were designed to reduce the money income of the community. In the field of foreign trade, there were drastic cut and restriction in imports. To ease the food position, Government built up stocks of foodgrains both by importation and local procurement and released stocks of grain through an extensive network of fair price shops, while steps were taken by the Reserve Bank through selective controls to curtail the supply of credit to finance speculative stockpiling of foodgrains. Corrective measures were similarly initiated in the monetary sphere also. In addition to the selective credit control measures, the Bank followed a policy of restricting credit through an enforcement of higher lending rates and moral suasion. The effect of these measures was seen in the abatement towards the latter part of the year of some of the inflationary pressure.

Turning to the banking situation, the Report states that the exceptionally large deposit expansion was the most striking feature of the year. Net deposits of scheduled banks rose by Rs. 245 crores (23.3 per cent) as against Rs. 77 crores (7.9 per cent) in 1956. The more important of the factors responsible for the deposit increase were the placement by the U.S. authorities in India of funds representing the initial reimbursement by the Government of the cost of foodgrains imported into the country under Public Law 480 and the tight import restriction which might also have induced business concerns and other bodies to seek temporary investment of their reserves and other surplus funds in the form of time deposits. The long-term factors accounting for this deposit expansion might have been the further hardening of interest rates in the year on fixed and savings deposits which might have induced a switch from non-banking to banking accounts. Again, there is reason to be-

lieve that some portion of the money incomes generated in the last year must have gone into bank accounts, although belatedly. The branch expansion of banks, notably that of the State Bank of India, also contributed to the expansion of deposits.

The Report states that over the year, though the scheduled bank credit increased by Rs. 75 crores only as against the 1956 figure of Rs. 151 crores, the increase in the first half of the year was as much as Rs. 135 crores. This increase was, in fact, greater than in the corresponding period of the previous year and, though seasonal in character, was of significance in that the busy season demand of 1956-57 was itself super-imposed on a high-level of bank credit. Substantial as this increase was, the rise in credit against certain commodities like paddy and rice, wheat, gram and sugar was of particular concern. Speculative holding of some of these commodities financed by bank credit was tending to aggravate inflationary pressures and in order to stem them, the Reserve Bank took various credit control measures. A general restriction on the quantity of credit was sought through raising the cost of borrowing by banks from the Reserve Bank. Though this had a general restraining effect on banks' borrowings from the Reserve Bank, the underlying trend was still one of credit expansion indicating the need for further restrictive measures. Accordingly, the Reserve Bank insisted on reduction of the bank credit against foodgrains by October 1957. The banks succeeded in bringing about a substantial reduction in outstanding credit but not to the full extent desired.

The general measures of control and the use of moral suasion had primarily the object of bringing about a quantitative reduction of credit. Along with these, further use was made during the year of selective restriction on credit. As a combined result of these measures of credit control and a delayed onset of the busy season of 1957-58 accompanied by a sharp reduction in the volume of exports, the level of advances at the end of December 1957 at Rs. 820 crores was barely 10 per cent higher than at the end of 1956 as against an increase of a little over 25 per cent in the preceding year. The slower growth of advances relatively

to the deposit increase enabled banks to increase their investment portfolios, by as much as Rs. 89 crores.

The Indian banking system has an important role to play in relation to the working out of the economic plans in the country. In this connection the Report states that the present seems to provide an opportunity for banks to take appropriate measures to develop banking so as to keep pace with the growth of the economy. The most important among these is the paramount need for banks to continue to seek more avenues to expand their deposit base. This would require a more intensive effort to spread the banking habit and to attract further deposits in centres where bank branches are already established and a programme of branch expansion in areas where banking is comparatively under-developed or not at all developed. In 1957, a part of the rise in deposits was perhaps due to the higher rates of interest offered by most banks on savings and other time deposits. To attract deposits what is essential is a higher rate of interest. The rate of interest on all savings bank accounts should not be less than Rs. 3 per cent per year in view of the fact that the Bank rate today rules at 4 per cent. The Bank rate of course is not the ordinary rate of interest. It, however, signifies that a dearer money condition encourages the growth of national savings which India today needs most.

The Hungarian Outrage

The murder of the former Hungarian Prime Minister, Mr. Imre Nagy, the former Defence Minister, Mr. Paul Mabter and three other Hungarian revolutionary leaders by those who now constitute the Hungarian Government is one of those black acts that have stained the records of totalitarianism. The whole episode—beginning from the arrest to the execution of these brave men—is a story of a shameful betrayal by men in authority, unrelieved by any traces of reason, justice or humanism.

Paul Mabter had been arrested by the Russians when, in response to their invitation, he as a representative of a duly constituted government, attended a conference to discuss the question of the withdrawal of the Russian

troops from Hungary. The manner of Mr. Nagy's arrest was equally reprehensible and treacherous.

The execution of the Hungarian leaders has been such a piece of monstrosity that even the Communists have difficulty in supporting it directly. They—at least the Communists beyond China and the USSR—are, therefore, trying to dodge the issue by insisting that the trial and execution of Nagy were the internal affairs of Hungary. Such an argument only accentuates the utter injustice of the whole affair as well as the depth of the mental slavery of the people who call themselves Communists. The trials of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs in the USA, the abduction of Ting Ling by Chiang Kai-shek were certainly not matters which could by any stretch of imagination be regarded as of more international concern than the execution of the Hungarian leaders. But people with principle, integrity and courage everywhere had condemned those outrages the Communists being the loudest of all. Nobody then had thought that such condemnation was "interference in internal affairs." Even the governments thus condemned themselves did not consider those condemnations an interference.

Then how can they hold up the plea of "domestic jurisdiction" in the case of Hungary? The Communists thus betray peculiar lack of a sense of values: they would uphold the same type of behaviour on the part of a Communist-controlled government but would cry themselves hoarse in righteous indignation if it is practised by any non-Communist government. No matter, if history has indubitably demonstrated that the inner logic of a Communist government is in no way different from that of any other government (the periodical acts of "rehabilitation" of murdered Communists would otherwise be inexplicable).

Official Communists everywhere, including Mr. Gomulka, we are sorry to note, have put up a show of moral indignation at the fact that anti-Soviet and anti-Communist forces on the international level are taking advantage of the Hungarian executions to intensify their political campaign against the Soviet Union. But who is to blame if not the Communists themselves? Neither the Soviet Union nor the Communists

can expect moral support if they continue committing or supporting such evidently inhuman deeds as the execution of the Hungarian leaders.

The Yugoslav Pointer

Yugoslavia offers an example of the utter irrationality, to use an euphemism of contemporary Communist behaviour. The very people who betray such delicate sense of jurisdiction, when the barbarous executions in Hungary are condemned, do not feel any qualms to call upon Yugoslav people to come forward to overthrow their own government—which, notwithstanding current Communist propaganda to the contrary, is no less a workers' government than that of the USSR itself.

In the present campaign against Yugoslav independence, ideological lead is being provided by the Chinese Communist leaders. No impartial reader would, however, be convinced by the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao* editorial of May 5 or by Mr. Chen Po-ta's arguments in his article in the *Hongqi* (Red Flag), the new fortnightly theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party, which together provide the main Communist grounds against Yugoslavia. We referred to the arguments of the first article in the last issue. Now we propose to examine Mr. Chen's article.

In an otherwise clumsy article Mr. Chen, now regarded as one of China's leading experts on international affairs, raises one valuable point but does not answer it. His contention is that Yugoslavia is no longer a Socialist State. There is public ownership, no doubt, but public ownership alone, Mr. Chen correctly maintains, is not enough for socialism. "The question is," Mr. Chen Po-ta emphasizes, "who runs them, who leads?" Quite correct. Now who runs the State in Yugoslavia? Mr. Chen is silent on this point.

As Yugoslav or any other assertions would now be of no value to the Communists, let us turn to Soviet writers for an answer to this question. In an article entitled "The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" in the weekly *New Times* of Moscow (No. 37 of 1955, pp. 30-31), V. Zebnin writes: "State power (in Yugoslavia) is in the hands of two classes, the

workers and peasants, who exercise it through their elected representatives in the People's Committees and Skupshtinas." If the Communists do not yet repudiate Lenin's definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Yugoslavia can hardly be described as anything but a Socialist State. Should anyone consider Zebnin's article as an expression of individual opinion, we quote the following remarks of Y. Chepizhev in the authoritative Soviet monthly *International Affairs* of Moscow (No. 11 of 1955, pp. 94-102) where it is stated: "An examination of the social and State structure of Yugoslavia in its development, beginning with the appearance of the first organs of popular power—the National Liberation Committees—and also the facts of history show, throughout the existence of new Yugoslavia, power has been in the hands of the Yugoslav people." (Italics added)

The question is what changes have taken place in Yugoslav development to call for a revision of this characterization? None at all.

Mr. Chen Po-ta has made much of the fact of U.S. aid to Yugoslavia. On this point also we find a leading Soviet expert, Mr. D. Shevlyagin, writing in the *Moscow International Affairs* (No. 8 of 1955, pp. 15-25) as follows: "It must be noted that the USA was forced in Yugoslavia's case to deviate considerably from the methods of rendering 'aid' which it applies to other countries." He added: "It (Yugoslavia) prevented the seizure by the American capital of economic positions in the country and the setting up of foreign concessions, which could have been conducive to the restoration of capitalism."

Mr. Chen has tried to capitalise upon stray remarks of a section of the American press highlighting certain Yugoslav deviations from the Soviet model to denounce Yugoslavia, but he has conveniently overlooked the considered views of the Socialist Soviet press on the character of the Yugoslav State. This is the character of Communist objectivity!

We do not write this to uphold Yugoslavia or denounce any other State but to expose, if it is at all possible in these days of blind, partisan propaganda, the utter unreality of the Com-

munist charges against Yugoslavia. The denouncement has come not because Yugoslavia has deviated from the socialist path, but rather because being Socialist, Yugoslavia does not submit to the Soviet power bloc to which China, for various historical and political (the least is ideological) reasons, temporarily belongs. Indian Communists by allowing themselves to be led by the meandering foreign policy of the Soviet Government are making themselves a laughing-stock of thoughtful persons. In their Amritsar thesis, the CPI stated that it would tolerate opposition parties when in power. In the case of Yugoslavia, we find that the Moscow-oriented Communists are not willing to tolerate even other Communists who, despite their Communist practice, might differ from the former on some questions. The CPI's reaction to the shift in the Russian attitude to Yugoslavia does not lend much weight to its assertions of sincerity and truthfulness.

Miseries of War

What war means—particularly to the defeated nation—is provided by the plight of Germans in various European countries. No doubt the present miseries of these Germans are largely attributable to the mischievous policies of aggression followed by the Nazi leaders. But the suffering is nonetheless for that. Post-war situation has seen many Germans placed within the boundaries of more than one non-German States. A good many of them have been allowed to come to Germany but, on account of a host of complicated reasons, it has not yet been able for all the Germans, who would like to come back to their homeland, to return. Thus nearly 100,000 Germans who have applied for repatriation to Germany cannot come immediately as Poland cannot allow all of them to leave in this hour of her labour shortage. A Soviet-German agreement has enabled nearly 20,000 Germans to come back. But a further 65,000 Germans are there in the Soviet Union who, despite their eagerness, cannot return to Germany. Negotiations are in progress between the West German Government and the Rumanian Government over the repatriation of 8,500 Germans.

Ferment in the Middle East

The developments in Iraq today are so sudden and sweeping that the world has been taken aback. Since 1950, events in this region have been in a State of flux and are bewildering in nature so much so that nothing definite can be predicted about the future of the States in this area. It is, however, too early to make any definite assessment about the implications of the revolution in Iraq. The initial success of the Revolution and the fall of the former Government constitute a great blow to the Baghdad Pact. Iraq was perhaps the first member of the Arab League to break away from it when she joined the mutual assistance treaty with Turkey in 1955. That treaty eventually turned out to be what is known today as the Baghdad Pact, the participating members being Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and the United Kingdom. The Baghdad Pact was regarded as a stronghold of the Anglo-American block and it provided a security and assurance to the control of the Medteriranean by the British.

The coup in Iraq may not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Rather it may be regarded as a precursor to larger events that are sooner or later destined to happen in the countries of the Middle East. That event is the rise of nationalism unfettered by any sort of foreign string of enslavement. The Baghdad Pact was designed to act as a girdle that would encircle Russia in the event of a future war. The revolution in Iraq has shattered that line of encirclement.

India is opposed to the Baghdad Pact ever since its inception and she may feel relieved that the main link in the Pact is broken today. Britain and the USA have extensive oil interests in Iraq and it is yet to be seen how the oil companies are allowed to function. Iran and Pakistan today stand isolated having been cut off from the main countries of the Middle East politically. The pressure of events may call for a revision of their policy of external relations. The State of Israel also stands the risk of being sandwiched between Arab Powers. The landing in Lebanon by the U.S. forces will have far-reaching repercussions in international politics and it may lead to world conflagration if the

Anglo-American Powers do not take a saner view of the situation.

The Eisenhower doctrine has been rendered illogical in so far as there is no Communist intervention or infiltration. But the result will be that the position of the Anglo-American bloc will be much weakened and for the protection of the Mediterranean bases they will have to dig down deep in Turkey and Iran. Britain and the USA cannot afford to allow themselves to be driven out from this vital and strategic area of the world. Without positions in the Middle East, the entire vantage position will pass on to Soviet Russia and that would mean that half of the future war is won by Russia today. The developments are, therefore, much intriguing. Although India may have reason to be elated with the defection in the Baghdad Pact, she will have reason for concern over her northern frontiers. With the absence of countervailing forces, India's northern frontier will stand vulnerable against the combined might of Russia and China. The existence of British and American positions in the Middle East will have a neutralising effect on the northern frontiers of India.

Lebanon

The situation in Lebanon seems to be far more complex than it has been shown by our press. We attach below two extracts from the editorials of the *New York Times* of June 6 and July 6 respectively and a description of the personalities involved in the Lebanon affair from the *Time* of July 7.

"On a visit to troubled Lebanon last month U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was presented with a cake which bore the inscription: 'United Nations Save Lebanon.' Mr. Hammarskjöld remarked, 'Only Lebanon can save Lebanon.'

"The Secretary-General's sentiment reflected the changing perspective in which the seven-week-old Lebanese civil war was being viewed. The disturbances inside the tiny Arab republic were ostensibly touched off by the widely-held suspicion that pro-Western President Camille Chamoun intended to amend the constitution in order to get a second term. The opposition demonstrated in Beirut, the capital,

last May. At this juncture street gangs, invoking the name of the United Arab Republic's Gamal Abdel Nasser, took over; rioting developed; then fighting. Radio Cairo opened a bitter propaganda barrage against the Chamoun Government and its Western friends. In the weeks since, Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" has called hourly for the Lebanese people to overthrow the regime.

"Lebanon went before the Security Council and denounced Nasser for 'massive, unprovoked and illegal intervention.' The West was alarmed and Secretary of State Dulles indicated that the U.S. might give Lebanon military assistance if requested by Beirut. The U.N. sent a 100-man military observation team into Lebanon to survey the situation.

"Last week Mr. Hammarskjöld, reporting on his first-hand survey of Lebanon, said, 'The phrase 'massive infiltration' [is] not warranted at present.' On Friday the U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon sent its first report to the Security Council. The report said the U.N. observers had not been able to gain access to many of the rebel-held border areas where infiltration would be most likely to take place. But like Mr. Hammarskjöld, the observation team was clearly skeptical about the claims of 'massive infiltration'. The report said:

"It has not been possible to establish from where [the rebel] arms were acquired. Nor was it possible to establish if any of the armed men observed had infiltrated from outside; there is little doubt, however, that the vast majority [of rebels] was in any case composed of Lebanese.

"Beirut was dismayed by the U.N. findings and the Chamoun Government repeated its earlier charges that 3,000 Egyptians, Syrians and Palestinian Arabs, armed by Nasser, had infiltrated Lebanon and joined the rebels."

"Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in his quest for leadership in the Middle East, has used as a lever the powerful force of 'Pan-Arabism.' He has proclaimed—and all Arab states have repeated the refrain—that 'all Arabs are brothers.'

"Last week, however, the front of 'Arab brotherhood' was breached when Lebanon appealed to the United Nations for protection against interference in its internal affairs by

Nasser's United Arab Republic. This is the background:

"Last month Lebanon's pro-Western President Camille Chamoun made plan to amend the Constitution so that he would win a second six-year term which the Constitution now expressly forbids. The parliamentary Opposition was aroused. Pro-Nasser elements in the country moved swiftly to exploit the situation. They staged riots and raised armed rebellion in scattered parts of the country. Since then, more than 300 people have been killed. Although Nasser was in Moscow at the time on a state visit, Radio Cairo inflamed the situation by calling upon the Lebanese to crush Chamoun and unite Lebanon with the U.A.R. Armed bands were reported to have crossed into Lebanon from the U.A.R.'s Syrian province.

"The week before last Lebanon openly accused Nasser of inciting the insurrection and filed charges against the U.A.R. with the U.N. Security Council. But Lebanon decided to hold the charges in abeyance pending an effort to resolve the dispute in a meeting of the eight-nation Arab League, whose membership includes Lebanon and the U.A.R."

"Tiny Lebanon (pop. 1,500,000) is roughly half Christian, half Moslem, but that is not the half of it. In this ancient land of differing races and religions, personal and tribal loyalties count for more than other allegiances. Among the key personalities:

"President Camille Chamoun, 58, one of the world's handsomest chiefs of state, rounds out his six-year term in September and still has not rejected the idea of another. Trim, silver-haired, he took his law degree at the French Jesuit St. Joseph's University in Beirut, married a wife who is half English, half Lebanese and a Presbyterian. Chamoun himself, as tradition dictates for a Lebanese president, is a Roman Catholic of the Maronite sect. Elected as an ardent nationalist on a reform ticket, he stuck to Lebanon's customary neutral foreign policy until the Suez crisis, then plumped for the West and followed through by becoming the first Arab leader in the Middle East to pledge his country to the Eisenhower Doctrine.

"Kamal Jumblatt, 39, a hereditary chief of Druse mountain tribesmen and ex-Cabinet

minister, formed his own socialist party in 1949; later backed the movement that installed Chamoun in office. A somewhat intellectual and moody mountaineer who studied in Paris and took to visiting an Indian ashram after his first parting with Chamoun, he now controls the south central area of Lebanon for the opposition. Chamoun's ultimate insult, he claims, was to deny him his ancestral parliamentary seat in last year's elections. As leader of a heretical Moslem sect, he is no friend to Islamic pan-Arabism, insists: 'This situation has nothing to do with Nasser. It is an internal Lebanese matter'.

"General Fuad Shehab, 56, patrician arthritic, French-trained professional soldier, has headed Lebanon's 8,000-man army since 1945. A Maronite Christian, he is a collateral of the famous Emirs Mansur, Yusuf and Bashir who ruled Lebanon under the Ottoman Turks. Eighty per cent of his officers, 60 per cent of his men are Christian. Six years ago, when Chamoun's predecessor tried to stay in office during an unpopular second term, Shehab refused him the army's assistance and reluctantly served as acting president until Chamoun's election. Ostentatiously unwilling to order his troops to fight except when attacked, ever ready to parley affably with rebel leaders, and to see that they are kept well supplied with food and water, Shehab would probably be acceptable to rebel leaders as a compromise successor to Chamoun. His conduct suggests that a draft would be all right with him.

"Ex-Premier Saeb Salam, 53, is a volatile, roly-poly Sunni Moslem who wants to be Premier again. Educated at the famed American University in Beirut, president of the Middle East Airlines, he was invited by Chamoun to become Premier in 1953, and like several other ex-Premiers now in the opposition, was generally accounted pro-Western. Partly from embitterment at Chamoun (he was counted out of a Parliamentary seat at last year's election too) and partly from political opportunism, he now sings Nasser's tune louder than any of the other rebels. He has about 800 troops.

"Patriarch Paul Meouchi, 64, was made head of the Maronites, Lebanon's largest religious group, by Pope Pius in 1955. Genial,

spade-bearded, Meouchi was pastor for 14 years in New Bedford, Mass., and in Los Angeles, and proudly recalls that as a U.S. citizen at the time, 'I voted for Roosevelt in 1932.' Believing that the church cannot survive if it clashes with dynamic Arab nationalism, Meouchi says: 'Either we live with the Moslem Arabs in brotherhood, love and peace or else we must depart and vanish.' To win back Lebanon's place as 'mediator' between the Arabs and the West, says Patriarch Meouchi, President Chamoun must go."

Ambassador Lodge's Statement

Below is the full text of the statement made by U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, on July 16, before the U.N. Security Council. We give it *in extenso* because of its gravity:

United Nations, N.Y., July 15—"In stationing protective troops in Lebanon at Lebanon's request, 'the United States is acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter regards as an inherent right—the right of all nations to work together to preserve their independence,' U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge said today.

"Lodge also reported that 'with the outbreak of the revolt in Iraq the infiltration of arms and personnel into Lebanon from the United Arab Republic, in an effort to subvert the legally constituted government, have suddenly become much more alarming.'

"Lodge told the council that the U.S. troops, disembarked at the request of the Lebanese Government will be withdrawn, 'as soon as the U.N. itself can take over.'

"Lodge stated in full:

"Mr. President,

"The Council meets today to confront difficulties as serious as any in its history.

"The territorial integrity of Lebanon is increasingly threatened by insurrection, stimulated and assisted from outside.

"Plots against the Kingdom of Jordan, which have become evident over the past months, are another sign of serious instability in the relations between nations in the Middle East.

"And now comes the overthrow—in an

exceptionally brutal and revolting manner—of the legally-established Government of Iraq. I have just heard this morning, Mr. President, before coming over here, of the murder of our esteemed and popular colleague here in the United Nations from Iraq—Mr. Fadil Al Jamali. Only a few weeks ago he was here with us. We heard his voice; we rejoiced in his humour; we were heartened by his fellowship. Now we learn that he was not only murdered; but that his body was actually dragged through the streets of Baghdad. Decent people throughout the world, wherever they may be, will recoil at this monstrosity.

"In all these circumstances, the President of Lebanon has asked, with the unanimous authorization of the Lebanese Government, for the help of friendly governments so as to preserve Lebanon's integrity and independence.

"The United States has responded positively and affirmatively to this request in the light of the need for immediate action. And we wish the Security Council to be hereby officially advised of this fact.

"In addition, the United States Government has under active consideration economic assistance to help Lebanon revive its economy.

"Our purpose in coming to the assistance of Lebanon is perfectly clear. As President Eisenhower explained this morning, our forces are not there to engage in hostilities of any kind—much less to fight a war. Their presence is designed for the sole purpose of helping the Government of Lebanon, at its request, in its efforts to stabilize the situation, brought on by the threats from outside, until such time as the United Nations can take the steps necessary to protect the independence and political integrity of Lebanon. They will also afford security to the several thousand Americans who reside in that country. And that, Mr. President, is the total scope and objective of the United States assistance.

"Now I need scarcely say that we are the first to admit that the dispatch of United States forces to Lebanon is not an ideal way to solve present problems and they will be withdrawn as soon as the United Nations can take over.

"In fact, the United States Government hopes that the United Nations itself will soon

be able to assume these responsibilities. We intend to consult with the Secretary-General and with other delegations urgently on a resolution to achieve these objectives. Until then, the presence of United States troops in Lebanon will be a constructive contribution to the objectives the Security Council had in mind when it passed the June 11 resolution dealing with this problem.

"Let me now review the recent history of this situation.

"A little over a month ago the Government of Lebanon presented a complaint to the Security Council involving 'a situation arising from the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the internal affairs of Lebanon' the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

"At that time, various members of the Council drew special attention to Article 2(4) of the Charter which enjoins all members 'to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.' This was one of the fundamental considerations behind the resolution which was adopted by the Council on June 11 which called for the urgent dispatch of an observation group to proceed to Lebanon so as to ensure that there was no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese borders.

"The United Nations observation group has thus far been able to achieve limited success. We hope that it will pursue its work in the most effective and energetic manner possible. Our forces are being instructed to co-operate with it and to establish liaison immediately upon arrival. This United Nations group has helped to reduce interference from across the border.

"We learn now, however, that with the outbreak of the revolt in Iraq the infiltration of arms and personnel into Lebanon from the United Arab Republic in an effort to subvert the legally-constituted government has suddenly become much more alarming. This development, coupled with persistent efforts over the past months to subvert the Government of Jordan, must be a cause of grave concern to us

all. They place in jeopardy both the independence of Lebanon and that of any Middle Eastern state which seeks to maintain its national integrity free from outside influence and pressures. It is too early, Mr. President, to tell what the outcome of the revolt in Iraq may be. But one thing is clear: the events in both Lebanon and Iraq present grave threats to the integrity of free and independent countries. They demonstrate the ruthlessness of aggressive purposes which tiny Lebanon cannot combat without support from friendly nations.

"Observing the course of events in Lebanon and in Iraq, one is constrained to conclude that there are powers at work in the Middle East seeking, in total disregard for national sovereignty and independence, to substitute force or the threat of force for law. If these powers are left unchecked, free to pursue their lawless course, the people of the Middle East will have been denied the solemn guarantees written into the United Nations Charter, and mankind's age-long quest for peace will have been checked and the world will have been plunged into anarchy.

"Now we confront here a situation involving outside involvement in an internal revolt against the authorities of the legitimate Government of Lebanon. Under these conditions a request from the Government of Lebanon to another member of the United Nations to come to its assistance is entirely consistent with the provisions and purposes of the United Nations Charter. In this situation, therefore, we are proceeding in accordance with the traditional rules of international law, none of which in any way inhibit action of the character which the United States is undertaking in Lebanon. The United States is acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter regards as an inherent right—the right of all nations to work together to preserve their independence. The Council should take note that United States forces went to Lebanon at the specific request of the duly-constituted Government of Lebanon. Let me also emphasize again what I have said before that these forces will remain there only until the United Nations itself is able to assume the necessary responsibilities to ensure the continued independence of Lebanon.

"Now, Mr. President, there is one further fact which must be recognized. If the United Nations is to succeed in its efforts to maintain international peace and security, it should support the efforts of a legitimate and democratically elected government to protect itself from aggression from without, even if that aggression is indirect. The United Nations must be particularly alert in protecting the security of small states from interference by those whose resources and power are larger. This is a principle which has been supported here in this very hall in the past and which should be supported today regardless of who the offender may be.

"Lebanon is a charter member of the United Nations and has loyally contributed to the work over the past decade. It would be unthinkable now to permit the lawfully constituted Government of Lebanon to fall prey to outside forces which seek to substitute a government which would serve their purposes in defiance of the principles of the Charter.

"There can be no hope for peace in the world unless the United Nations shows this dedication to the Charter's basic principles. All nations, large and small alike, are entitled to have their political independence and territorial integrity respected and maintained. If we vacillate with regard to this proposition, we will open the flood-gates to direct and indirect aggression all over the world.

"The overthrow of another state by subversion and the fomenting of internal strife is more difficult for the world to combat than is direct military aggression because the fomenting of internal strife is harder to see with your eyes.

"But this is not the first time that the United Nations has faced such a problem.

"The United Nations faced such a problem successfully in Greece in 1946 when a Soviet-sponsored insurrection threatened to overwhelm the Greek Government.

"The United Nations did so unsuccessfully in 1948 when the Communist coup was perpetrated in Czechoslovakia.

"The United Nations sought to provide means for dealing with such aggressive developments in the future when in 1949 and in 1950 it adopted the 'essentials of peace' and 'the peace through deeds' resolutions of the Gene-

ral Assembly. If the Council will forgive a personal note, I particularly recall the 'peace through deeds' resolution because I actively worked to obtain its adoption the first time that I was a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations in 1950. At that time I said:

"The eight-power resolution not only reaffirms that whatever the weapons used, any aggression is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security in the world; it also freshens, modernizes, brings up to date, and makes more complete our concept of aggression by specifically including the latest form of aggression, to wit: fomenting civil strife."

"Let me now quote some of the provisions of this resolution which was adopted here in the General Assembly in 1950:

"Condemning the intervention of a state in the internal affairs of another state for the purpose of changing its legally established government by the threat or use of force;

"1. Solemnly reaffirms that, 'whatever the weapons used, any aggression, whether committed openly, or by fomenting civil strife in the interest of a foreign power, or otherwise,' is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security throughout the world;

"2. Determines that for the realization of lasting peace and security it is indispensable;

"(1) That prompt united action be taken to meet aggression wherever it arises."

"This, I submit, applies very definitely to the situation which confronts us today."

The Cyprus Plan

Referring to the new British Plan for Cyprus the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:

"Britain has announced a new plan for Cyprus. It proposes a programme of partnership for a period of seven years in which Greece, Turkey and Britain will participate in the administration of the Mediterranean island. There will be two houses of representatives, one for Greek Cypriots and the other for Turkish Cypriots: they will, while looking after the interests of the two communities, seek to co-ordinate inter-community affairs. Premier Macmillan announcing the Plan said it indicated British willingness to 'share Cypriots sovereignty' with the Greek and Turkish

Governments, an idea in itself repugnant to democracy and freedom. Defence and internal security will, as before, remain the exclusive privilege of the British Colonial office; as for foreign affairs, what participation can a colony hope for here? Even the other two partners will have no say in this subject. A condition is also attached to this offer of partnership: Britain will retain the military bases 'for discharge of its international obligations.' This is the essence of the new deal that is sought to be foisted on the troublesome problem.

"Mr. Macmillan made a show of being keen on solving the Cyprus issue and said the Plan would appeal to everyone; Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said he had good hope all concerned would accept it; Cyprus Governor Sir Hugh Foot said it was a 'good' plan, showing the right road that Cypriots must travel. But everyone concerned has rejected it in unambiguous terms. The Greek Government said no; Foreign Minister Averoff called it impractical and fundamentally unacceptable. The Turkish Government said no; it seeks specific mention of partition in any future programme for Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios, who speaks for the 400,000 Cypriots of Greek origin, said no; the main provisions of the plan, he said, would destroy the unity of the Cypriot people and imply the constitutional sanction of the division of Cypriots in two. The representative of the Turkish Cypriots has also said no; he prefers to back Ankara in full with the blood-curdling cry of Partition or Chaos.

"What are the implications of this universal rejection of the British plan? Violence between Cypriots and British and between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots may well be one result. It is clear that the compromise worked out in London—the offer of partnership to Turkey and Greece—has no basis on reality; it is a good example of British expediency and patchwork. While it seeks to put the basic demand for self-determination in cold storage for seven years, it parades a pretended sweet reasonableness intended to mollify the two NATO partners. As Archbishop Makarios so rightly said, the plan will widen the gulf between the two Cypriot communities and make it impossible for the people to live in harmony and freedom."

Violence has broken out, since the *Bombay Chronicle* commented as above. We do not know what the final consequence of this attempt will be, as affairs in the eastern Mediterranean are complicated beyond measure, but it will most certainly not enhance the cause of peace and amity.

The Situation in Vietnam

The Vietnamese scene continues to be as uncertain as ever. The country remains divided into two artificial parts despite an international agreement reached by the leading powers promising reunification of the country by July, 1956. Two more years have passed since that deadline and the prospects of unification are not in the least brighter. The reunification has been actively opposed by the Government of the United States of America through the agency of the Government of Mr. Diem in the South. The Americans openly acknowledge their interest in keeping the country divided—of course the usual ghost of Communism is there always to be utilised on necessity. The South Vietnam Government also made no bones of its real attitude to the problem of reunification of the country: it is against any steps being taken for holding all-Vietnam elections unless the same are held on its own terms. Meanwhile the Government has continued to import arms and military personnel in violation of the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. The seventh interim report of the International Commission for supervision and control in Vietnam (composed of the representatives of India, Poland and Canada) states *inter alia*: "Many instances of arrival of military personnel and war materials in South Vietnam were reported by the Commission's teams and were stated by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam to be in transit. Some of the arrivals took place without advance notification. In some instances, during the period under report (August, 1956 to April, 1957), the Commission was not notified of the exit, if any, of these war materials and military personnel and it was not in a position to say whether or not they left the country."

The small Asian country has thus become a victim of Big Power politics. As would be natural in such circumstances, the common

people on either side of the seventeenth parallel that divides the country are the worst sufferers —politically, economically, socially and emotionally. The tragedy of the people is expressed in these pithy lines:

“Chung is a boy of the North
 Trung is a boy of the South
 Both have the same dark eyes
 Both the same laughing mouth.

“They wear the same Vietnamese clothes
 And speak the same Vietnamese tongue
 But a river flows between
 And Trung may not speak to Chung.”
 —(Len Fox)

Is it too much to hope that the statesmen who consider themselves capable of curing the ills of the world would redeem their pledge in Vietnam by agreeing upon a formula of joint elections through which the unfortunate country can get back its territorial and national unity?

Pakistan's Neighbourliness

Together with the “peaceful march” across the Kashmir cease-fire line, and the shooting on the white-flag-carrying Indian policemen, in which seven unarmed policemen were killed, we have the following piece of interesting news to illustrate the working of the minds of those who are in charge of Pakistan. No further comments are, we believe, at all necessary:

“Pakistani troops have entered a Khasi village in the Jaintia Hills under Dawki Police Station violating Indian territory, it is officially learnt here.

“On Sunday last Pakistani forces moved into a betel-nut grove in Bakurtilla within Dawki Police Station in India and constructed bunkers and a tarpaulin shed, it was stated.

“The Assam Government have lodged a strong protest with the Government of East Pakistan against this encroachment by Pakistani forces in Indian territory. The protest also drew attention to ‘aggressive preparations’ of Pakistani troops by advancing firing position.

“The Government of Pakistan was requested by the Assam Government to withdraw Pakistani forces immediately from the Indian territory, fill up trenches and bunkers and remove the tarpaulin shed. A report has also been received that Pakistan armed forces have been heavily reinforced in the whole sector opposite Dawki and innumerable bunkers and trenches have been dug at Sonatilla, Synrembasti, Dhamali, Barla, Ambertila and Tamabil.”

Prices, People and the Government

Is it possible to conceive a Welfare State without there being any law enabling the Government to check undue rise in the prices of the daily necessities of the people? Well, India offers an illustration of such a State.

During a discussion in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on June 25, the Chief Minister Dr. Roy flatly admitted that prices of essential commodities had abnormally increased during the preceding week but, as the *Statesman* reports, “pleaded that there was no law by which this could be checked.” He added that the Central Government possessed some powers of control under the Essential Commodities Act but had until then refused to authorise the State Government to take any effective step to check prices.

While this may appear bewildering to the uninitiated, such a situation is nothing extraordinary in India where everything is dear except the people themselves. The apathy of the government to the people's miseries is expressed not only in the absence of any provision in law to control undue rise in prices, or the Central Government's refusal to accord necessary authority to the State Government, but also in Dr. Roy's brazen declaration that India was not Russia. Frankly, we are at a loss to understand what he wanted to mean by this remark. Apparently he wanted to distinguish between Russia and India by the presence of laws to control prices in the former and the absence of the same in the latter. He explained that his reference to Russia was to make it clear that “here our system is different and that we do not control all the methods of procurement, distribution and storage except what we can do under the Essential Commodities Act.”

We should have thought it unwise to draw such a parallel between Russia and India—particularly when the Government here is chary even to use the provisions of existing law in defence of the interests of the people. The Soviet society in the USSR has a number of grave shortcomings, but abolition of hoarding and speculation is certainly not one of them. A government or a person who singles out this aspect of Soviet life as a target of attack stands self-condemned.

Public Opinion in India

The ten-day-long strike of the Port and Dock workers involving about 120,000 workers was one of the biggest of its kind witnessed in India. While its total cost is not yet known, there is little doubt that the cost would be tremendous. The strike led to the paralysis of activity on a large scale in vital segments of national life. There have been accusations and counter-accusations about the responsibility for this strike, but the public had never any chance to know the factors behind the dispute.

Calling attention to this sad state of public information in India, the weekly *Vigil* wrote in an editorial during the first day of the strike of the Port workers:

"Everybody deplores the situation but there is no real public opinion on the issue or issues because the public know little about them. This is typical of the Indian scene, where employer-employee disputes are concerned. Not that there is any dearth of agitation and demonstrations. On the other hand, there is a superabundance of them. But the inwardness of any dispute is rarely brought home to the general public except to the section directly involved. The public are made aware of the unrest but not informed about its causes except very vaguely. The result is that the public's feeling of unease is often acute but in the absence of factual knowledge there is no formation of what can be truly called public opinion. Thus the problem of communication between different sectors of the public about each other's vital needs remains unsolved. What is done or attempted is manipulation of feeling rather than formation of opinion. What passes for opinion in the newspapers on a big dispute

is mostly sentimentality in the guise of criticism whose lack of a point of view is sought to be redeemed by an air of impartiality that is largely bogus. The usual pattern takes the form of making a theme of one or two obvious points—which lend themselves to easy comment but which need not be germane to the basic issues in dispute—whereby to hang a lecture, generally to both sides, urging patience and sympathy, condemning violence and repression, and so on."

Industry in Vidharbha

Our Government seems to be oblivious to the fact that the Five-Year Plans, First, Second, Third, Fourth and so forth, are all likely to end in a fiasco unless an attempt is made to keep the existing industries, etc., alive, and to check the growing tide of irresponsibility. The following news-item from the *Hitavada* is illustrative of the way things are going:

"Close on the heels of the closure of the *bidi* factories which rendered about 3 lakhs of workers idle, the Textile Mills Association today announced that eleven mills in Vidharbha and Mahakoshal regions, which include the Empress and Model Mills, affecting 31,000 textile workers in all would be closed down from 11th August, 1958. A month's notice was issued to the workers today.

"Apart from the question of excise, there was the need for immediate measures to reduce the ever-increasing manufacturing and labour costs, said Chairman R. V. Deshmukh addressing a press conference. 'They have reached the limit of their capacity to hold on and have, therefore, been left with no option except to close down,' he added.

"The textile mills are confined to Burhanpur, Rajnandagaon, Akola, Hinganghat, Pulgaon, Badnera, Achalpur and Nagpur, which produce each month 9,000 bales of 1,500 yards each.

"Mr. Deshmukh gave fifteen factors responsible for the acute malaise suffered by the Mills and they are:

"1. Steep rise in manufacturing and labour costs.

"2. Abnormally high and discriminatory excise duties.

"3. Substantial fall in the demand for cloth and poor offtake and the consequent locking up of finances.

"4. Intensive competition from purely spinning mills in respect of sale of yarn.

"5. Absence of adequate purchasing power.

"6. Steep fall in cloth and yarn prices (ex-mill).

"7. Consistent rise in consumer price index number following abnormal rise in food prices and the resultant increase in dearness allowance.

"8. High wage cost owing to employment of surplus labour and labour resistance to introduction of reasonable rationalisation and other efficient methods of production.

"9. High incidence of sporadic strikes.

"10. Poor labour productivity.

"11. High overhead costs due to idle machinery resulting from widely varying absenteeism of workers.

"12. Increase in prices of raw materials, mill stores, machinery, coal, etc., and power cost.

"13. High incidence of sales tax.

"14. Dislocation of normal channels of distribution for the mills products.

"15. Working of the mills under strained resources and losses."

Labour and Intransigence

The following piece of news is quite illustrative of the attitude of organised labour, with regard to service to their fellowmen:

"Postal services in Lucknow were dislocated as 700 Postal employees abstained from work for the second day by submitting sick leave applications.

"This novel method of strike was stated to have been adopted by the employees to protest against the shifting of the Dead Letter Office and the Wireless Section to a new building which according to the employees was 'unhygienic.'

"The Postmaster-General, Mr. Shanti Swarup, also forwarded all the medical certifi-

cates submitted by the absentee postal employees to the Civil Surgeon and directed them to appear before the Civil Surgeon but according to the Postmaster General no employee had so far appeared before the Civil Surgeon."

Labour and Employment

The *Bombay Chronicle* gives a report of a speech by Srimati Sinha at Bombay on June 26th. We give an extract to show that the Government is slowly becoming aware of the attitude of organised labour.

What is needed, we feel, is some measure to awake a sense of duty and responsibility in the minds of the workers. No mere warning is of any use to semi-literate and illiterate workers who are guided in the main by totally irresponsible men;

"Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha, Union Deputy Finance Minister, said here today that unemployment in the country was a formidable problem.

"It needed concerted action in many directions.

"It would be misleading to entertain the hope that full employment could be secured by the end of the Second Plan, she said.

"She was speaking to the members of the Commerce Graduates' Association at Resham Bhavan Hall this evening on 'the Unemployment situation in the country and discipline in industrial production.'

"She said that in the context of Indian conditions, the task in the field of creation of employment opportunities was three-fold.

"First there was the question of providing employment to the unemployed in the urban and the rural areas.

"Secondly, provision had to be made for the normal increase in the labour forces which were estimated to be about two million persons a year.

"And thirdly, under-employment in agricultural and household occupations in rural and urban areas had to be mitigated by increasing opportunities.

"She said: There has been a deterioration in industrial relations and in labour discipline

over the last few months. Strikes of the dock workers and of the civic workers in Bombay (which have now happily ended), the sudden spurt of sickness amongst postal employees in Lucknow and later in Delhi and the strike at Jamshedpur are all manifestations of an unhealthy outlook.

"In terms of statistics, in the first quarter of 1957 days lost through industrial disputes were 9.6 lakhs; in the first quarter of 1958 they had risen to 15.3 lakhs. The number of disputes started during the period also rose from 297 last year to 338 this year. The showing of the second quarter is not likely to be any better.

"These are disturbing trends. No country and least of all an under-developed country which is in the mid-st of a crucial stage of developmental effort can afford sporadic stoppages of work.

"The cost of such stoppages in terms of lost production are sizeable. The dislocation caused has a 'multiplier' effect which adversely affects incomes & employment over a much wider area."

Banaras Hindu University

The disclosures in the Report of the Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee have come as a rude shock to the whole of the country. There is, absolutely speaking, no scope for any doubt about the findings of the committee. While it would be improper to hold that Banaras is the only afflicted University in India, it would be equally improper to minimize the gravity of the particular shortcomings of Banaras, as certain interested quarters have sought to do. The Report is also an indirect reflection on the Government of the day—both at the Centre and the State whose representatives on the University court obviously had not lived up to expectation. Otherwise we would certainly have been spared of the story of the Professor, who misused railway students' concession tickets to carry a bunch of *bar-jatris* (persons accompanying the bridegroom to the bride's place), getting Rashtrapati's award.

The depth to which the University administration had become rotten is indeed immeasurable, so it seems. The administration was unwilling or incapable of dealing with any branches of moral and civil code. It remained a silent spectator of moral crimes as well as of effrontery committed by teachers and students. A professor refused to vacate his official residence on retirement. Nay, he paid only half the rent he had previously been paying. Nothing was done against him. In another case a gentleman had remained a "student" of the law classes for over fifteen years. Still the authorities did make no effort to find the reason for his taking such an inordinately long time to get a degree which took only three years for an ordinary student. No respectable institution would have tolerated a student for fifteen years in the same class. When it had to, it would signify the utter rottenness either of the University or of the student. In either case the situation would call for radical treatment.

We have deliberately chosen these two examples from the findings of the Report because these in a way, epitomise the general level of morality and efficiency in the University administration. No one would expect from such an administration any serious concern for the betterment of education. Therefore, we do not dilate upon that fact which must be obvious to all.

We append below some of the findings of the Committee as summarised by the *Statesman* of Calcutta:

New Delhi, June 14.—"An ordinance issued by the President this morning to take over the administration of the Banaras Hindu University was accompanied by the publication of the report of the inquiry committee whose 'disturbing' findings have led to today's drastic step.

"Although the general tenor of the findings are known, a perusal of the 44-page, unanimous report reveals an even more alarming state of affairs than was reported earlier.

"According to the committee, the university is in a 'bad predicament,' has lost its all-India character, and has become a 'hot-bed of intrigue, nepotism, corruption and even crime.'

"In drawing attention to the evils that corrode the university life, the committee has des-

cribed as the 'real menace' the pernicious activity of rival groups of teacher-politicians, especially that of the dominant 'Eastern U.P. group.'

"Other evils spotlighted by the committee include the unsatisfactory selection of teachers, the concentration of power in the hands of principals and its consequent misuse by them, the undue pressure for the admission of a large number of students, and unfair examination practices.

"While dealing with widespread indiscipline among students and lawlessness at the university campus, the committee has repeatedly pointed out that these are 'actively guided' by certain teachers and political parties.

"The committee has found that students not only 'visit houses of disrepute' but that some of them are actually 'associated' with these establishments, while certain teachers are said to have committed offences involving moral turpitude.

"In this connexion the committee has regretfully recorded that it could not disbelieve the copious evidence to support the charges and imputations of immorality in the university, and has pointed out that a case of 'unnatural offence involving a professor' is now before a court of law.

"To remedy this scandalous state of affairs the Ordinance provides that henceforth the administration of the university will be carried on by an Executive Council to be nominated by the President in his capacity as the Visitor of the university. The statutes framed by the council can be changed or cancelled by the Visitor.

"The University Court, which so far was the 'supreme governing body of the university,' will in future have a purely advisory function. It will also be reconstituted without any election.

"An important provision of the Ordinance is that a screening committee, headed by a High Court judge, will soon be appointed to examine the cases of those teachers and administrators of the university whose continuance in service is considered 'detrimental' to its interests.

"A selection committee will be appointed to assist the Executive Council in the appointment of professors, readers, lecturers and others from now on.

"The two provisions have to be viewed in the light of the committee's finding that, due largely to pressure groups, merit has ceased to be a basis of recruitment and 'only particular types of persons from certain geographical areas have any chance to be appointed as teachers.'

"In this connexion the committee points out that many teachers employed in this unsatisfactory manner are related. Interestingly enough a list of related teachers has been appended to the report.

"There are a number of other recommendations—ranging from restrictions on the number of students to the reform of various university authorities—which will be implemented when the present Ordinance is replaced by a regular enactment in the next session of Parliament.

"Headed by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the committee consisted of Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India, Dr. P. Subbaroyan, M.P., Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, M.P., and Mr. N. J. Wadia, former Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University."

Administration of Education

The maladministration of education is by no means a Banaras peculiarity. Only the forms are different in other places. The danger is greatly enhanced by bureaucracy. In West Bengal, education is in a sorry plight in many respects. The complexity of the problems admittedly does not render them easy of solution. But some of the more irritating deficiencies can easily be obviated. Take for example, the question of the transfer and availability of teachers in the Government colleges. This is a problem which should not ordinarily tax much imagination and patience. But unfortunately the men in charge of affairs have proved themselves incapable of even this minimum of efficiency. Some of the sub-divisional government (and sponsored) colleges of West Bengal have been particularly hit by the unusually frequent

transfers of teachers and the equally unusual delay in filling up the vacancies caused by such transfers. It is difficult to find any rhyme or reason for the transfer of teachers at an interval of only two and three months. The principals are seldom consulted in these matters; neither are the students' interests and representations heeded. Recently the weekly *Barasat Barta* (Barasat News) editorially commented upon the grave inconvenience of the local students for want of teachers over a long period. Will the Minister concerned care to look into the matter and ask for his Secretary-cum-Director why there should be so much enthusiasm for transfers and equally morbid tendency to keep the vacancies unfilled for long periods? In these matters finance is never a question: it is the lack of proper organisational ability to provide which the officers are paid handsome salaries. The tax-payers may reasonably want to know what steps, if any, have been or are taken against these people who cannot perform even their minimum duty.

The Ford Foundation

The latest annual (1957) report of the Ford Foundation of the United States of America is an account of magnanimity, hope, inspiration and assistance for the advancement of human welfare and knowledge. One is struck with the immense range of the fields of research for which the Foundation bore the responsibility. The Foundation assisted research in the behavioural sciences, education in the U.S.A., the humanities and the arts, public affairs, urban and regional problems, economic development and administration, mental health and youth development, problems of the aging and international studies in various branches. To the harassed Indian scholar, who has very little scope for study and research and a still restricted source of information, all this appears unreal and impossible. Such institutional assistance may as well be a partial explanation of the great heights reached by American scholarship in almost all fields of science and sociology.

The Farakka Barrage

Interest in the barrage has again been revived after the lapse of nearly three years. The extreme desirability of the project and its technical feasibility were confirmed long ago when in 1952 the Man Singh Committee appointed by the Government of India declared in no uncertain terms that the Ganga Barrage scheme was the only scheme which would ensure permanent headwater supplies required for the conservation of the river (Ganga) in an efficient condition. (For a detailed discussion on some aspects of the Project, see "Notes" in *The Modern Review* for January, 1953, pp. 6-8). The execution of the project, so vital for the future of the eastern part of India, has been delayed (no one seems to know for how many years more), only through the lack of policy at the appropriate level of administration in our country. The international implications, though much spoken of, are not known even by the men at the highest echelon. These as far as indications go, can by no means be insoluble provided the necessary will and determination are there.

Judicial Enquiry

The *Hitavada* writes with reference to the Madras Government's orders for an enquiry into the police firing on striking dock workers during the third week of June:

"The Madras Government has appointed the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, to hold an inquiry into the police firing on dock workers who are now on strike. We cast no reflection on the Chief Presidency Magistrate when we say that a judicial enquiry by a High Court Judge would have been more appropriate. It has been the practice, in all cases of police firing, to appoint a High Court Judge to hold an enquiry. But we wonder why the Madras Government departed from this practice in the present case."

We are entirely in agreement with the remarks of the *Hitavada*.

RISE OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

THE rise of a new civilization in India is a great historical event. Like any other great civilization, this new civilization has also passed through various stages of evolution, of which the most important were Indus civilization in pre-historic times, Dravidian civilization in the South and Aryan civilization in the north in ancient times. In the ninth century, these Dravidian and Aryan civilizations merged into a new or Hindu civilization. Under the Moslem rule in the Middle Ages and under the early part of British Rule in the modern times, Hindu civilization declined. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hindu civilization has, however, been developing into a new civilization which may very appropriately be called Indian civilization or the expression of the life and labor of all the people of India irrespective of their race, caste, or creed.

1. NATURE AND FUNCTION

Society is a continuous process of growth, and, as a living process, adapts itself to changing physical and social environments and creates new values, develops new cultural patterns, and thus differs from its past in some essential points. After centuries of stagnation and static life, Indian Society has begun to revive and regenerate itself and to adopt new values, ideals, aspirations, and aims which form the distinctive features and essential conditions for its survival and progress. The first question which arises in connection with this new civilization is its nature, or those features which distinguish it from the earlier civilizations, as well as the special functions which it has to perform in the social, political, and economic development of the country.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

This new civilization may very appropriately be called the Indian civilization in contrast to the Hindu civilization, which, al-

though indigenous and forms its foundation, has failed to become national or Indian for several reasons: First, it has been a class civilization and has restricted its cultural privileges only to high-caste Hindus and has excluded from its fold various aboriginal races which have remained outside of its scope; second, it has also excluded a vast number of the Hindu population (the lower castes, out-castes, and untouchables) from the highest cultural achievements in religion, ethics, art, and philosophy; third, Hindu civilization has been based on the Hindu religion, which is not acceptable to the adherents of other religious groups, such as the Moslems and the Christians, who form a considerable part of India's population. Finally, it is only this new civilization that can conform to the ideal of independent India as a democratic and secular State, which was established by the new Constitution on January 26, 1950.

There are more positive and cogent reasons for calling this civilization new and Indian:

First, the whole geography of India, including its territory, soils, topography, and climate, forms its physical background; the entire population of India, including the aboriginal races, forms its ethnic or demographic basis; and all the cultural wealth of India including foreign contributions, forms its social foundation. Moreover, it is a civilization which aims at the intellectual, moral, and spiritual advancement of the whole population, irrespective of race, caste, or creed.

Second, it is based upon the positive background of the social, political, and industrial activities of the people rather than upon the mystic background of mythology, and it is avowedly concerned with the life here rather than with the life hereafter. Both

* Civilization of India means that of all the people of India irrespective of their different religions.

Hindu and Moslem civilizations are based most advanced countries whose civilization upon revealed religions that have no doubt have been reorganized on the new economic basis. Almost everywhere in the world given them initial advantage, moral and spiritual, in the early days of their careers. But agrarian communities have been conquered this very foundation of their customs, beliefs, and subjugated by nomadic and piratic tribes laws, and institutions on religion has made that established themselves as ruling classes them conservative and almost incapable of over the rural population. Even today some adapting themselves to the changing conditions agricultural countries are liable to domination of the world. and subordination by industrial countries,

Third, this new civilization, while taking which are always on the lookout for steady its rise from the synthesis of the older civilizations, proposes as one of its principal tenets markets for the sale of finished products and to apply the achievements of art, philosophy, science, and technology, to the solution of its for the purchase of raw materials and food-stuffs.

A rural civilization is in fact weak and lacks efficiency, cohesion, compactness, solidarity, and unity, which are characteristic features of an industrial civilization. Industrial life calls for greater energy and effort, awakens new desires and aims, stimulates initiative and enterprise, quickens intellect and activity, and assures prosperity and progress. It must be remembered that with the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture, and the extension of urban amenities to rural life, the line of demarcation between the rural and urban conditions and between agricultural and industrial civilizations has become narrower. The very principle of self-protection, self-expression, and self-government require India to adopt a national policy of industrial economy and of industrial civilization.

Finally, it is only such a strong, bold, and great idealism that has as its goal the creating of a new civilization which can awaken, inspire, and energize India's rapidly growing intellectual classes as well as her still illiterate and inert masses into vigorous social, political, and economic activities and unite them into one social whole in the face of the rising tide of communalism, provincialism, and separatism. India has all the necessary requisites, such as physical backgrounds, ethnical qualities, and cultural heritages, to develop this new civilization into a great material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual force for the benefit of her own people as well as of the world at large.

This new civilization will be industrial rather than agrarian. As that of an overpopulated country, agriculture will remain India's predominant industry, especially for the production of food and raw material. But agriculture itself will be industrialized or come under the influence of science, technology and business principles. Agriculture developed in the process of economic evolution and marked a forward step in the progress of civilization, but it was only an intermediary stage and has been followed by the industrial stage in the with other classes; opens to them the vast

human heritage of intellectual, moral, and spiritual achievements, not only of India alone but of the whole world. The sentiments, morals, customs, beliefs, ideals, inspirations, laws, and institutions arising from actions and interactions among themselves and between them and their natural and social environments form the sum-total of this new civilization.

The rise of this new civilization does not mean the elimination or suppression of Hindu cultural achievements or of foreign contributions to India. The object of this new civilization is not to destroy but to fulfil. Hindu civilization has established some of the greatest moral and spiritual truths, which are of eternal value not only to India alone but also to the whole world. When purged of superstitions and prejudices and of antiquated and obsolete customs and manners and integrated into improved modern social, political, and economic institutions, as represented by the actual life of India's teeming millions, those truths will increase in value all the more. Some of the highest moral and spiritual truths have also been achieved by Islam and Christianity, and their contributions to India are very great. All these achievements and contributions form the moral and spiritual foundation of this new civilization.

SOCIAL NECESSITY

It is not only the impact of the West or the fusion of some Moslem and Western cultural traits that has given rise to this new civilization, but an urgent need to co-ordinate and integrate different and conflicting cultural ideals for the common good of the whole population, has helped in the process. In spite of her immense territories, vast natural resources, large population, and rich cultural wealth, India is a most backward country in her social, political, and economic development. She had no government of her own until very recently, over four-fifths of her population are still illiterate, most of her social institutions are obsolete and antiquated, and by far the majority of her people live constantly in starvation and ill health. The solution of this problem of misery and degradation will require tremendous energy and incessant toil. The co-ordi-

nation and consolidation of the mental, moral, and spiritual forces of her entire population, regardless of race, caste, or creed, and the application of all the achievements of modern art, technology, science, and philosophy to the reconstruction of her social, political, and industrial institutions, will be possible only when different groups of the Indian population have a common goal, a common ideal, and a common civilization.

The need for these arises because the Hindu civilization cannot become common or comprehensive for India's whole population, about one-eighth of whom are non-Hindus. In spite of its extraordinary power of absorption, toleration, and assimilation, Hinduism is a non-proselytizing religion, and cannot expect to bring a considerable number of India's non-Hindu population into its fold. Nor can the Moslems be expected to give up their religion. But both the Hindus and Moslems can easily combine their social, political, and economic activities for the common good of the people in general, and also utilize all the best elements of Western civilization, some of which have already become part and parcel of national life within the past two centuries. It is only under the auspices of a new civilization that Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and tribal groups can meet upon a common platform and combine their social, political and economic activities, irrespective of race, caste, or creed, for the good of the nation as a whole.

This new civilization also offers an opportunity to relegate religion to the private and sacred domain of individual conscience and group conviction instead of making it a national institution. The separation of the Church and the State has been accomplished in all the European countries and a similar thing is happening in some of the progressive Moslem countries. Even in India, the State was separated from the Church under British rule and the new constitution has accepted this principle. Moreover, the new civilization also facilitates the integration of the best features of the existing civilizations and the elimination of those institutions which have been found by experience to be social evils, such as the caste system among the Hindus, the *purdah*

system among the Moslems, and materialism among the Western peoples.

Finally, the very idea of its newness has a psychological effect. Human energy in India is now being activated to inspire her people to move forward to achieve something for themselves and for humanity. Nothing can better inspire the younger generations of India into new activities than the ideals of realizing new values in life and of up-building a new civilization. Moreover, the whole emphasis of this new civilization is to turn the social mind toward the future, toward the evaluation and idealization of aims and activities, and toward the achievements of higher values in life. The "golden age" is not in the past but in the future. It has not been achieved—it is in the process of being achieved. The romance of life is not in thinking of past achievements or glories, but in achieving new values of life. Success in life depends on the continuous evolution of new aspirations, ideals, and aims and upon ceaseless efforts for their achievement. It is the continuous creation of new social values and the determined endeavour for their realization that can assure this new civilization its uninterrupted progress.

INDIA AT A CROSSROAD

India is at a crossroad in her cultural development. After centuries of foreign domination, she has just achieved her national independence and it is time for her to develop a comprehensive policy and a working program for the social, political, and economic improvement of the entire population. She is now face to face with a two-fold problem: First, the political and economic reconstruction of the country, of which the most outstanding are the democratic government and the industrial economy, and which are largely the concern of the Government of India; and, second, the moral and spiritual reorganization of the Indian society, of which the most important is social democracy, and which is mostly the concern of the people. It is idealism, devotion, and determination of India, both the Government and the people, on which depends the future of this new civilization.

The reconstruction of the Indian Government has long occupied the minds of the Congress leaders who laid its foundation on the *swaraj* (self-government) plank of their platform in the Congress Session of Calcutta in 1906. Similarly, the reconstruction of the national economy has long been studied and recommended by Indian economists and has been approved by the Congress leaders, who appointed the Committee of National Planning in 1938. The Government of India has taken both immediate and long-range steps for the reconstruction of national government and national economy.

The immediate problems of the Government of the Indian Union are: First, the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees from both West Pakistan and the East Pakistan who have entered the territories of the Indian Union and redemption of the Hindus from East Pakistan; second, the development of new parties on political principles and the dissolution of those founded on the basis of communal interests; third, the integration of princely states into the Indian Union and the establishment of responsible government in the newly-created states; and finally, the redistribution of provincial boundaries on the basis of language and culture. All these problems have come under the consideration of the government and effective measures have already been taken.

The long-range problems of the Government of the Indian Union are more complex and relate to a variety of subjects, such as, first, the improvement of the national health by the attention of the physical needs of the people, the supply of adequate food, and conscious control of population growth; second, the eradication of illiteracy (over seven-eighths of the people being unable to read and write) and the development of advanced and technical educational facilities; third, reconstruction of India's agrarian economy into the industrial economy and the development of hydro-electricity for irrigation and power, modernization of agriculture and industrialization of manufacture and other industries as well as provision for employment and economic security to all men and women of India; and fourth, building the foundation of India's political life on a true

democratic basis with a guarantee of fundamental rights to every citizen and the establishment of equality of opportunity, including the abolishing of caste and untouchability, all of which have been provided for by the new Constitution.

The reconstruction of India's new civilization in its moral, spiritual, and aesthetic aspects falls largely on the people of India. Long before the rise of the political movement even in the early years of the nineteenth century it was the Indian people who perceived the significance of the impact of the West and started India's renaissance and other social movements and paved the way for the rise of this new civilization. It is the people again, both individually and collectively, who can build up the spiritual, ethical, and aesthetic aspects of this new civilization.

An important problem before India today is the evaluation and selection of those cultural ideals that are socially beneficial, the creation of new social values and new social ideals, and the conscious and purposive direction of social life for their achievement. The synthesis of different cultural ideals and traits is not a new thing in India. The early Aryan or Vedic culture might have been more or less pure, but after the advent of Buddhism, Aryan and non-Aryan cultures undertook a synthetic process and merged into what is called today Hindu civilization; but it took over two and a half centuries to establish itself. The time has come again in India for a new synthesis of different cultural traits and ideals. What is needed is not the indiscriminate conglomeration of different cultures, but the critical analysis of all the cultural traits, both old and new, and the realization of new values and new ideals in resulting selective synthesis.

The progressive growth of this new civilization depends upon discriminate and determining ability of the Indian leaders to organize the intellectual, moral, and spiritual resources of the rising generations into useful social, political, economic, religious, and ethical values. While provisions should be made for the abundant life with its fuller and richer expression of the impulses, sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, activities, ideals, and aims of each person,

there must also be created opportunities for co-ordinating and integrating the individuals, groups, and national activities for the continued realization of justice, equality, and fraternity, and for the satisfaction of the longings of the human soul for moral and spiritual development and for the continued progress of the whole society.

The new civilization in India has taken its rise at a critical moment in the world's history. Western civilization, which obtains in most of the advanced countries in Europe and America, and exerts a great influence in Asia, has become vitiated by the overgrowth of materialism, imperialism, and colonialism, and in some countries has been followed by some of its worst evils, such as racialism, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. Moreover, the very material success of some Western countries has brought about commercial rivalry and power politics, which plunged Europe and other countries into two World Wars within a generation (and no sooner has the second World War been won than there has arisen talk of a third World War). Western civilization is thus passing through a very critical moment of its life and the whole humanity is calling for moral and spiritual regeneration.

No country is in a better position than India to reconstruct a moral and spiritual civilization. It is not meant that India has at hand a ready-made moral and spiritual civilization which she can give to the world. In fact, the recent communal riots and disturbances have indicated that under stress and trials, human nature can reach as low depths of depravity in India as in any other country. All that is claimed is that, like her vast natural resources that have remained unutilized for productive purposes,[†] there also lie dormant enormous moral and spiritual forces which once gave rise to several religious and ethical systems and made possible the appearance of Gautama, the Buddha, some 25 centuries ago, and of Gandhi, the Mahatma, very recently, and which can be utilized by India for upbuilding a moral and spiritual civilization for the benefit of her own people as well as of mankind in general.

[†] See R. K. Das: *Production in India and Industrial Efficiency of India*.

2. FAVORABLE BACKGROUNDS

Cultural contact is the most important force of social evolution. Great civilizations, whether ancient or modern, are the outcomes of the fusions of many cultural traits. Diversity in culture brings about competition, conflict, adaptation, and adjustment, and sets in motion the processes of assimilation, amalgamation, integration, and co-ordination, and gives rise to a new and greater civilization. The fusion of some cultural traits of Moslem and Western civilizations with Hindu civilization and the Renaissance and other social movements, created great possibilities for the rise of a new civilization, and India has offered very favorable background for its development. In the immediate background of this new cultural evolution, there are three factors: (1) Geographical unity; (2) ethnic similarity, and (3) cultural diversity.

GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY

In spite of its territorial vastness, India is a geographical unit. While the natural barriers at the frontiers separate her from the rest of the world, and thus afford the growth of a distinct and particular culture, geographical unity within the country assures the development of uniformity in cultural patterns. Each of the three geographical regions is more or less uniform in physical features. The mountainous character of the Himalayas, the smoothness of the Indo-Gangetic plains, and the upland nature of the Deccan plateau are features peculiar to themselves. Moreover, the Himalayas supply almost all the rivers of northern India and have great influence upon its soils and climate. Although the Aravalli Hills separate the North from the South, the plains and plateaus of both intermingle with one another so naturally and imperceptibly that they easily form a geographical unit. While topographical variations and climatic fluctuations may have an influence on the development of mental traits and cultural ideals, the supply of mineral, vegetable, and animal resources indicate the possibility of her industrial greatness and national prosperity. An in-

vader might have had some difficulty in entering India from the outside, but once in India, he would have found it rather easy to march from Peshawar to Chittagong; and once across the Aravalli, the whole of the Peninsular India would fall an easy prey. The political and social history of India is not a mere accident, but largely a result of India's geographical unity, which accounts to a large extent for the fundamental unity in folkways, mores, customs, laws, institutions, arts, science, and philosophy.

ETHNIC SIMILARITY

Reference has already been made to the origins of the Indian people from various races. In the midst of these diversities, there exists, however, some homogeneity among the inhabitants of India: First, geographical factors including climate and food, either directly or through the development of uniformity in internal glands, have brought about some modifications in racial features tending toward homogeneity; second, in spite of the caste system, which is both racial and social in origin, intermixture of blood has been the most important factor in racial homogeneity. The practice of giving daughters in marriage to higher castes and taking wives from the lower castes helped in the blood-mixture of many social groups. The religious systems of Buddhism, Sikhism, Vaishnavism, Brahmo-Samaj, Arya-Samaj, and Christianity attempting to abolish the caste system have also encouraged mixed marriages. Moreover, sex attraction always plays its part in the development of a mixed population. Finally, the admixture of races has also developed racial characteristics among different classes of the Indian people, which, although different among themselves, distinguish them from the rest of the human race.

"Beneath the manifold diversity" says Sir Herbert Risley, "of physical and social type, language, custom, and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality which we cannot resolve into its component elements."

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

So far as the cultural background is concerned, India offered a unique opportunity for the fusion of Hellenistic, Islamic, and Western cultural contributions into Hindu civilization. Like the latter, Moslem and Western civilizations have also developed through the ages and have resulted from the sentiments, customs, thoughts, activities, ideals, aims, laws, and institutions of large bodies of humanity. The greatness of this new civilization in India lies in the embodiment of the living experiences of a variety of racial and cultural groups. What is equally significant is the fact that these divergent cultures have been brought to India by Greek invasion in ancient times, by Moslem rule in the Middle Ages and by British rule in modern times.

As noted before, the most important cultural achievement in India is the Hindu civilization. It is the civilization which has been achieved by various groups of people through prolonged experiences during many ages. The Indo-Aryan culture, which mingled with the Dravidian and other indigenous cultures even in pre-historic times, subsequently absorbed several other cultural elements, such as those of the Greeks, Persians, Scythians, and Turks in ancient and medieval times. Islam itself is likewise a cultural synthesis. Although originating in Arabia, it has absorbed several Semitic and non-Semitic civilizations, *e.g.*, those of Egypt, Sumeria, Babylonia, Syria, including Judea and Phoenicia, and Persia. Moslem civilization has made great contributions to India, as its impact gave rise to some new social values in the Middle ages. Western civilization is an admixture of those of Greece and Rome as well as of the cultures of Western European countries, especially of Italy, France, Britain, Germany and the United States including Canada. As noted before, most of the institutions of modern India as well as the social values and attitudes, have resulted from the impact of the West upon India; thus Western civilization has made great contributions to India.

India has accordingly achieved vast resources of cultural traits not only from her indigenous Hindu civilization but also from

Islamic and Western civilizations. While the co-ordination and integration of these diverse and somewhat divergent cultural traits into one organic whole form the foundation of this new civilization, its progressive development depends upon a number of factors: (1) Evaluation and selection of the best traits of these cultures; (2) elimination of obsolete and antiquated traits which are obstacles to its progress; (3) adaptation of some elements to new and changing social conditions; and (4) adjustment and assimilation of new cultural values into existing cultural systems.

3. PROCESSES OF DEVELOPMENT

The development of this new civilization has been brought about by several social processes, such as assimilation and amalgamation, integration and co-ordination, and evaluation and idealization. These processes, though neither exhaustive nor exclusive, might be said to have played an important part in the cultural history of India. Some of these have already been described but they require recapitulation and elucidation.

ASSIMILATION AND AMALGAMATION

The most important processes of cultural fusion are assimilation by which one group of cultural traits is incorporated into another through the adaptation into its traditions, sentiments, thoughts, and institutions, and amalgamation by which two or more racial groups are blended into one through inter-marriage or otherwise. While amalgamation is merely a physiological process and may be helpful to assimilation, the latter is a psychological process and is essential to cultural fusion.

The cultural history of India has been traced back to what is called the Indus Civilization of some 3,000 years B.C. Although it reached a very high stage of development, as indicated from facts brought to light in its recent discovery, the Indus culture seemed to have disappeared without leaving many cultural traits. The Bhils and the Ghonds, and other very old tribal groups, have still remained in the rudimentary cultural stage. It was not until the arrival and settlement of the Dravidians

in the South, and of the Aryans in the North, that the foundation of Hindu civilization was laid. While the Dravidians were the earlier inhabitants and began to build their culture in the extreme southern part of India earlier than the Aryans, the latter brought a dynamic element to Indian civilization. Even before their arrival in India, the Indo-Aryans had made considerable progress in cultural attainment in social, religious, and political institutions and especially in the art of warfare. With their superior culture, especially fighting power, they not only conquered Northern India but also imposed their culture even upon the Dravidian people, and the early impression of their dominating cultural ideals was so great that Hindu civilization has since continuously followed the Aryan cultural patterns in ideas, thoughts, customs, laws, and institutions.

Buddhism was a great unifying force of the peoples and cultures of India for about 1,000 years. When Indo-Aryan culture spread eastward to the frontier of Bengal, it came in close contact with the various non-Aryan cultures. It was Buddhism which combined the Aryan with the Dravidian cultures and brought most of the races of India into one cultural ideal, especially when Asoka became the Emperor of India and made Buddhism the State religion. The attempt of the Buddhists to popularize the culture was, however, mostly frustrated by the Brahmins, who overthrew Buddhism and established neo-Hinduism or Brahminism, and incorporated, in a new system, most of the cultural achievements of the Buddhists.

The success of the Indo-Aryan culture in assimilating other cultures lay in its spirit of toleration. The pervading thought of the Indo-Aryan culture is that a unifying spiritual reality underlies this visible world, and the true philosophy of life consists in the search after this unity in the midst of all diversities. This dominant conception of Hindu civilization has developed a tolerant spirit. While attempting to preserve their own cultural ideals, the Indo-Aryans respected other cultures. This spirit of toleration helped them to absorb all the indigenous cultural ideals and also to assimilate all the subsequent cultures brought by the invaders and conquerors up to the 10th century A.D. Thus the cultural achievements of different races

and tribes of the early periods, whether Greeks, Persians, Scythians, or Turks, were assimilated into the great mass of Hindu cultural achievements under what is called neo-Hinduism or Hinduism.

Amalgamation of racial groups began very early in the Vedic period, inasmuch as the early Aryans did not hesitate to take their wives from the lower castes. But it was a commoner practice during the Buddhistic period when the caste system was condemned. The greatest period of racial amalgamation was, however, during the ninth and tenth centuries, when Rajput peoples were formed by the blending of the Aryans, Dravidians, and foreigners of Central India. This process of amalgamation has been a great help to Hinduizing many foreign tribes and lower castes. Although these processes of assimilation and amalgamation are going on among the Hindus even today, the initiative in this matter has been taken by the proselytizing religions—Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism.

INTEGRATION AND CO-ORDINATION

Integration and co-ordination are still another type of social processes for cultural synthesis. They adjust cultural traits either into one organic whole or bring them together into a working order, preserving their individual characters. Integration and co-ordination are not new processes in India, but were utilized in establishing neo-Hinduism, inasmuch as Aryan and Dravidian cultures and many indigenous cultural traits were incorporated into Hindu culture without much modification. But it was the advent of Islam that made it necessary to adjust cultural differences through the process of integration and co-ordination. Moslem civilization, in fact, brought into India an altogether new cultural ideal, with its absolute and uncompromising monotheism. There soon grew, however, a tendency to integrate and co-ordinate some of the Moslem and Hindu cultural elements. In spite of cultural differences, by far the majority of the social, political, and industrial activities of Hindus and Moslems are concurrent and complementary rather than divergent and contradictory. In fact, agreement and concord among the religious groups of India are commoner than disagreement and discord.

The integration and co-ordination of some of the cultural ideas of Hindus and Moslems were facilitated by several factors: (1) The common racial origins of the Hindus and a great majority of the Moslems; it has been estimated that from 80 to 85 per cent of the Indian Moslems are racially the same as the Hindus; (2) the policy adopted by some of the Moslem emperors, especially by Akbar, to give the Hindus the same rights in the State as the Moslems; (3) the marriage by Moghul emperors of Hindu princesses, some of the Moghul rulers being born of Hindu mothers; (4) the adoption by the Moslems of some of the Hindu institutions; and (5) attempts made by some religious teachers, for example Kabir, to unite the Hindus and the Moslems under one religion.

Government also played an important part in the process of cultural integration and co-ordination. Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., Chandragupta II in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., Mohammed Shah Taghlock in the 14th century, and Akbar in the 17th century brought a large part, or practically the whole, of India under one government and helped in cultural consolidation and unification. Moreover, British rule was of great help in the co-ordination of indigenous cultural traits in India through the establishment of uniform administration all over the country.

EVALUATION AND IDEALIZATION

The most important processes in the development of this new civilization are, however, evaluation and idealization. Although cultural fusion is its basis, the new civilization aims at much more than a mere synthesis of old cultures. In fact, this new civilization has several objectives: First, the elimination of those elements from the old cultures that are antiquated, obsolete, and detrimental to the growth of modern society; second, the adaptation of old cultural ideals to new environment; third, the creation of new social values in conformity with progress in art, philosophy, science, and technology; and fourth, organization of social processes for realizing these new values, aspirations, aims, and ideals in actual life.

All these processes require evaluation, selection, and idealization with a view to creat-

ing new social attitudes and values involving reconstruction of social organization for its further progress through the process of adaptation to physical and social environment. A dynamic and living community undergoes constant processes of elimination and reorientation. While protecting itself against stagnation, degeneration, subordination, and subjugation, it creates its mores, customs, laws, and institutions, incorporates in its body politic new social values in art, philosophy, science, and technology, develops its own dynamic personality, and contributes to the continued progress of society.

The process of evaluation implies, however, first, the existence of social consciousness, which is not identical with but closely related to national life, and second, some conception of a standard or ideal. The development of national consciousness and national unity is one of the greatest achievements of modern India. The chief factors in their growth were the superiority complex of the British, both racial and political, which created a gulf between the Indians and the British; British imperial policy of "divide and rule" pursued up to the inauguration of independent government on August 15, 1947; and the non-violence and non-co-operation movement of the Indian National Congress for the achievement of national independence.

Several international factors have also stirred national feeling and helped in the growth of national consciousness: (1) The Russo-Japanese War in 1905-06, proving the vulnerability of European power and imperialism; (2) the discriminating policy adopted by the Colonies against the Indians, especially in South Africa, awakening nation-wide resentment; (3) the World War of 1914-18 and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, in which India was, respectively, participant and independent signatory; (4) the inauguration of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization in 1919, in which India took an active part regarding many international questions; (5) the World War of 1939-45 and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 in which India took an important part; (6) the enactment of the Immigration and Naturalization Act by the United States in July, 1946, granting the people of India the same rights and privileges as those of other nations to become American citizens and thus

enhancing the national dignity of the Indian people; and (7) achieving national independence and establishing a democratic sovereign republic by which India has become a rising political and economic power.

As a result of these Renaissance and social movements as well as of various internal and external historical events, there have been growing up in India a new social consciousness and a new national will, which have been expressing themselves in the demand for, and organization of, compulsory elementary education, abolition of caste and untouchability, universal adult suffrage, social justice and equality, industrialization of production, reconstruction of rural life, technical and vocational training, national economic planning, and research and investigation, all of which are among the essential elements in the development of this new civilization. Some of these have been incorporated in the new Constitution.

The last, but not the least important process of developing this new civilization is the idealization or creation of new social values either by restating some old and neglected virtues or visualizing some new virtues for the achievement of which all the national energies should be directed and all the social activities organized. As a matter of fact, the essence of this new civilization lies in the continual idealization of new and evolving social values and in the continued attempts for their realization. There are two basic problems with which this new civilization is especially concerned:

First, a basic doctrine of this new civilization is the conception of the common man as the center of all social activities as developed in the West. Unlike Greek, Roman, Hindu, and other ancient civilizations, Western civilization, as developed during the past two centuries, has realized the importance of the common man in social progress, has preached the doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and has advocated the establishment of equal rights and privileges for all people. Nowhere is there a greater need for the appearance of the common man in the center of social activities than in India, where the great majority of her people are diseased, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and illiterate, and where they are penalized by rigorous social custom, such as, caste and untouchability,

child marriage, enforced widowhood, and the *purdah* system. As a creative social process, the new Indian civilization should not only eradicate these evils and obstacles but also satisfy the needs and desires of the masses, the aspirations and ambitions of the classes, and the aims and ideals of the whole nation for the continued realization by the people of the principles of justice, equality, and brotherhood in the process of social evolution.

Second, the primary objective of this new civilization is the establishment of social democracy, which has been dreamed of by poets and philosophers, philanthropists and reformers, and seers and prophets and has been vaguely conceived by various social movements. Social democracy must, however, be preceded by political democracy or equality of men before the law. This was a dominating motive underlying the French Revolution and is now a phase of industrial democracy for the equitable distribution of wealth. Social democracy has, however, a greater and deeper connotation than that of mere equalization of national income or political right, inasmuch as it depends upon the moral and spiritual development of men and women not only in the exercise of rights and the discharge of duties, but also in mutual respect and service. It is the ethical and spiritual development of society on which the true social democracy can be based and it is only in the attempt at realizing the noblest ideals that the individual may attain his highest expression and society proceed toward the higher stages of progress.

4. PRINCIPLES OF RECONSTRUCTION

The foundation of this new civilization has, been laid upon Hindu civilization as affected by the contributions made by Hellenistic, Islamic, and Western civilizations as well as upon the rise of new aims, aspirations, ideals and values. Although a beginning has been made, this new civilization requires thorough and careful reconstruction so that it may really contribute to the moral and spiritual elevation of Indian people in particular as well as to humanity in general. Such reconstruction involves several principles, which may be classified under the following headings: (1) The individual and

society; (2) Development of personality; (3) Organization of the group; and (4) Progressive social order.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The starting point in social reconstruction is the development of the individual or the organization of the conscious elements of a person into a social entity. An individual is a psycho-physical unit. Under the law of heredity, he resembles his fellow beings in most respects and under the law of variation he differs, both physically and psychologically, even from his immediate progenitors in some respects. It is the development of the entire individual, including both his similarities and dissimilarities, which assures the continuity of the social process on the one hand and offers the possibility of variation, innovation, and progress on the other.

The individual is the conscious organism and motive force in all social processes. His impulses, instincts, sentiments, beliefs, thoughts, activities, aims, and ideals arising from the interactions between himself and his physical and social environments are the basic elements out of which grow folkways, customs, laws, and institutions, forming the social content and cultural heritage. But the individual himself is the product of society, is nurtured and reared in a social group and owes his growth not only to those elements in which he resembles others, but also to those in which he differs from them in social behaviour. He is at the same time a generator of new social forces, an innovator of new behaviour patterns, a creator of new social values, and a contributor to social progress.

An outstanding problem in India today is that of developing personality or personal character, especially among the younger members of the population, because this is the basis of intelligent citizenship for her newly established democratic republic. The problem has assumed both complexity and immensity for several reasons—the vastness of her population, her social, political, and economic backwardness, the illiteracy and ignorance of her masses in which her young people are brought up, the presence of various racial and religious groups, and the suddenness with which India has

emerged from colonial imperialism into a democratic republic. India has, however, a valuable background in the training of character-building. The very foundation of Hindu education was conceived to be an adjustment of the individual to his physical and social environments and elaborate provisions were made especially for the education of the Brahmin.

The essential conditions for the development of this personality are, first, a sound physique including good health and freedom from congenital diseases and defects; second, functional education, or an education with certain objectives in view, such as adaptation to social traditions and general learning, and training in citizenship and a profession; third, social security, or income both in employment and retirement and during sickness and unemployment; fourth, intelligent citizenship and active participation in local, provincial, and national governments; and finally, a personal religion, or the adjustment of one's social behaviour patterns to his moral and spiritual ideals. In short, the foundation of personality is the integrity of character, and its ideal is a moral and spiritual outlook towards life.

In a dynamic society personality is, however, an ever-growing process "from the cradle to the grave." But the best period for its development is childhood through adolescence. An important institution for character-building or the growth of personality is the English public school system, which, though largely catering to the upper and higher middle classes, can be democratized. Gandhi's basic education requires further revision to suit modern life. What is needed is the development of an educational system from the nursery to the university with special reference to character-building. Since play-grounds are often better places than school rooms to accomplish this, provision should be made for the supply of those games and plays which are especially suitable for the purpose.

Attempts should also be made to adapt the Indian people to modern cultural trends. The importance of reconstruction of national character, with which the growth of personality is closely connected, cannot be minimized, especially at a time when agrarian civilization is rapidly changing into industrial civilization. The retarded development of India in her

political, economic, and social life under foreign domination and colonial imperialism has made it an urgent necessity for her to expedite the character-building processes as part of the program of national reconstruction.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP

Between the individual and society stands the group or a number of persons accidentally gathered or consciously organized, either temporarily or permanently, but working collectively rather than individually. A group represents, however, not the persons composing it, but their psychological behaviour arising from actions and reactions of their inner selves as well as between them and their environments and differing from the mental make-up of each person composing the group.

The group is the connecting link between the individual and society. It is, in fact, the group with which the individual comes in direct contact. Society is a larger entity and influences the individual mostly through various groups. Social forces naturally express themselves around some human interests (economic, political, ethical, or aesthetic, to name them only in broad features) and lead to various activities by the group itself or by society as a whole. All the group activities which are socially beneficial and which result in permanent good for society, first focus public attention and then gradually lead to the evolution of new values, aims, and ideals, some of which may ultimately be realized by society.

The group is a most important factor in social evolution: First, it is the group that forms the first nucleus for the development of an individual's concepts, ideals, or aims before they take definite shape; second, it is through the sympathetic and critical attitude of the group that the individual can develop his own personality and acquire a conception of society itself; third, many of the social values, *e.g.*, mechanical inventions, are often experimented with by the group before their effectiveness can be ascertained and they can be socially adopted; finally, it is the group again that is responsible for the adoption of the ideals and values of an individual for a community, nation, or society

as a whole. In fact, group activities play a very important role in the evolution of society.

An important need of India today is the expediting of her group activities for such purposes as the organization of her labor forces into trade unions for collective bargaining and the carrying on of the Renaissance and other social movements as those of religion, reform, education, politics, and industry, which have been the first steps in the rise of this new civilization and now need continuous efforts for further development. Other needs are the encouragement of the progress of science, philosophy, art, and technology and the creation of new intellectual, moral, and spiritual values, which are the highest objectives of social progress.

PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ORDER

Like the individual, society is also an entity and consists of the experiences of individuals living therein. Although implying a group of individuals in association or cultural relation, society means not merely the admixture of individuals, but their collective life involving their beliefs, habits, mores, customs, laws, and institutions, which arise through the interaction and interplay of the inner selves of individuals as they are affected by association and are held together by some fundamental principles, moral and spiritual, into one unit, and are transmitted as a cultural heritage from generation to generation.

The progress of society depends upon its power to reorganize itself in relation both to its internal and external functions. In the process of evolution man gains mastery over himself and his environment and makes progress in art, science, technology, and philosophy. His social functions multiply, both in variety and complexity, and give rise to a variety of social institutions arising both from internal growth and adjustment to the outside world. As a progressive social order, this new civilization requires constant reorientation and reorganization.

The first and foremost need of India today is the establishment of a solid and permanent foundation for her new civilization on moral and spiritual values, as these alone are abiding and

permanent. It is these values that made it possible for Hindu civilization to survive all the vicissitudes through the centuries and that will sustain this new civilization in the centuries to come. Such values have already been achieved by India in her concepts of the ultimate reality of the universe, first, in terms of an eternal spiritual Being, and second, in terms of an eternal moral Principle. These concepts are complementary to each other and add dignity and self-confidence to man and make life worth-living even in the midst of misery and poverty. This new civilization must make these moral and spiritual values the ideals and objectives of life for all the Indian peoples.

India is also in urgent need of reconstructing the superstructure or the body politic of her new civilization on a three-fold basis. The first is the vigorous and rapid implementation of essential provisions of the new Constitution—those of fundamental rights, free compulsory education, abolition of untouchability, protection of minorities, and establishment of *panchayat* or self-government in every village—in order to develop intelligent citizenship among the people. The second is the development of her agrarian economy into an industrial economy or the application of science and technology as well as business principles to productive processes in order to make the Indian people efficient workers in national and world economy. The third is the regeneration of Indian society from age-long inertia and stratification into a living and dynamic organization by rationalizing her social traditions, awakening her moral and spiritual ideals, disseminating modern learning, equalizing opportunity, and providing creative recreation, in order to give the Indian people a chance for the fullest self-expression.

Attempts should be made to organize society on a new basis, so that not only the classes but also the masses can “live, breathe, and have their being” and the rights and privileges of humanity become accessible to the whole population, irrespective of race, caste, and creed. This new civilization is, in fact, the civilization of the people to be achieved by their collective life and to consist of the sentiments, beliefs, activities, aims, and ideals as well as the achievements by the whole population

in industry, politics, ethics, aesthetics, and religion. It is the consolidation and co-ordination of the material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual achievements of the entire population into one component whole which constitutes the sum-total of this new civilization.

5. ESSENTIALS OF NEW CIVILIZATION

The essential elements of this new civilization and this progressive social order on which it is based, should be the following: (1) nationality, (2) individuality, (3) rationality, (4) industrialism, (5) democracy, (6) toleration, (7) progress. These elements are neither exhaustive nor exclusive but are only tentative as together they form an essential condition and the working basis of this new civilization.

The first element of this new civilization is *nationality*, as distinct from nationalism, whether political or economical, that is, a territorial group occupying a geographical area and having a common government for achieving common ends in certain vital aspects of life, which is its basis rather than race or religion. That race cannot be the basis of civilization is evident from the fact that there is no such thing as pure race in any part of the world, and least of all in India. Nor is religion a surer basis of civilization as the same civilization may have several religions and the same religion may be found among several civilizations. Religion has already become a private affair of individuals or groups rather than a national affair of the whole population. Moreover, the very fact that religion, which forms the basis of Hindu and Muslim civilizations, is a cause of social stagnation and a source of communal conflict, shows the necessity of changing the very basis of civilization. What is much more important is the fact that nationality in the sense of the State has several important functions to perform in modern civilization. Some of the collective activities of society, for example, may best be undertaken by Government, which has become the organ of modern society for performing collective social functions in addition to the ordinary routine work of preserving peace and order. The lack of national sentiment is no mean cause of India's subjugation by foreign powers in spite of its

greatness in area and population. It is on the basis of nationality that a new and progressive society can be built.

The second requirement of this new civilization is *individuality*, which depends upon the unity, cohesion and co-ordination of the divergent and diversified social, political, industrial, ethical and aesthetic ideals, thoughts and activities, expressed by Hindu and Muslim civilizations and contributed by Western civilization, into one common whole by one or more common links, with a view to making this new civilization a strong and solid entity and to give it a new personality. There are several factors which have brought about this national solidarity in India, such as, geographical unity, racial similarity and unitary government. Moreover, in spite of apparent diversity, there is a common culture, which is found from one end of the country to the other and which underlies all the divergent social activities of the people. This underlying cultural unity has recently been renovated by various social movements, such as those of religion, reform, education, industry and government, as noted before. The most important factor in the development of national unity is the struggle for national independence, which has led the people to make a common demand almost all over India, especially under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Underlying all the communal conflicts and provincial rivalries there are, in fact, certain common ideals and aims which are the most important forces for unifying the peoples of modern India.

The third element of this new civilization is that of *rationality*, i.e., an objective or scientific attitude towards life, which is an essential condition of social progress. Cultural development began in the dim and hoary past when few peoples were conscious of their culture, i.e., mores, customs, laws and institutions. Even today man lives more by sentiment than by reason, and ideals, aims and habits are formed unconsciously. But with the rise of self-consciousness and the mastery of nature and himself, man has been developing reasoning power and becoming more and more conscious of his activities. Many of the social processes and activities have thus become more and more self-conscious and self-directive, and are being

consciously planned. Moreover, most of the social policies are now based on the reports of commissions, committees and enquiries, on which are based social actions in a desired direction; and the achievements in technology, art, science and philosophy are being gradually applied to the realization of social ends. In brief, modern civilization has become more and more objective or scientific.

A most important problem in India today is the application of science to its social processes, which implies the secularization of human knowledge. The control of human thinking by religion, customs and dogmas has been a great hindrance to the progress of society. A great achievement of the European Renaissance is the secularization of thought, which, though secular in Greece and Rome, became mostly theological with the rise of the Catholic Church during the Dark Ages. The lack of a scientific attitude towards life is responsible for the prevalence of most of the social evils in India, such as child marriage, enforced widowhood, the *purdah* system, caste and untouchability, as well as many superstitions and mystic cults or religious practices all over India, debasing the whole fabric of Hindu civilization. The secularization of knowledge in India and the application of science, technology and art, including discoveries and inventions, to social processes is an essential step towards India's social progress.

The fourth element of this new civilization is *industrialism*. Although not without some defects, such as the concentration of the ownership of the productive system in the hands of the few and the rise of slums in many industrial towns, which are, however, only historical and accidental rather than intrinsic and fundamental, industrialism has developed through the gradual mastery of man over natural and social forces in the process of industrial evolution and is the most efficient system of production in modern times. Its essential feature is the continued application of the latest discoveries and invention of science, both social and natural, to productive systems, such as manufacturing, mining, forestry, fishing, agriculture and even household.

Industrialism, however, means the rise of modern industrial towns and the growth of urban life in contrast to rural life. In fact, the growth of industrialism has brought changes in the social, political and industrial conditions of modern society and in the moral and spiritual outlook of the peoples towards life, thus giving rise to an industrial or urban as compared with a rural civilization. Like industry itself, industrial civilization has also evolved through the general process of social evolution and is much more dynamic and progressive than rural civilization, inasmuch as it offers better opportunities for the expression of the mental faculties and moral forces of the people.

Industrialism, has, however, become an imperative necessity to India both for national economy and national defence. This is an age of international economy and no nation can maintain its economic integrity and independence without adopting the most efficient system of production. Moreover, an industrial nation is much better organized and more powerful than an agricultural nation in self-defence. As a matter of fact, nowhere is there a greater need for the urbanization of rural life than in India. In the true sense of the word, rural life, in which farmland and homesteads are combined into one, does not exist in India. A rural community in India is organized into a village, which is a miniature town containing all its defects but few of its benefits, inasmuch as an Indian village lacks both planning and sanitation. Houses are built haphazard and too close to one another and are without provisions for roads and lanes and for proper ventilation, conservancy and water supply. These organic defects of the village are augmented by disease and poverty, illiteracy and ignorance, as well as by the decline in arts and crafts and agricultural productivity.

Nothing can better regenerate rural life in India than industrialization, which alone can increase the volume of industrial employment and relieve the pressure of population on the land, apply modern science and technology and business principles to agriculture and make it more productive, and turn the subsistence into the commercial farming and self-sufficing village economy, into national and international economy. Commercial agriculture will naturally

be followed by increasing facilities for transportation, marketing and banking, as well as by the rise of rural industries, such as the manufacture of farm implements and the conservation of agricultural products in rural districts. When to these most important changes are added the re-establishment of the village *panchayat*, which has already begun in certain provinces, as well as the introduction of municipal, sanitary and educational institutions and welfare and recreational centres, rural life in India will gradually assume an urban character.

The fifth essential element in the new civilization is *democracy*, which, in spite of such defects as the lack of unity and solidarity for quick action, is the best form of government which has developed in the process of social evolution. The growing individuality and the rising self-consciousness and sense of dignity among the people are incompatible with dictatorship, which, through threat and terrorism may fool "some people some time, some people all the time, but not all the people all the time." The essential points of a democracy are adult suffrage, majority rule, representative government and even referendum and recall, all of which help in the growth of stronger personality and a more rational social policy. The importance of democracy has increased all the more in modern times. Modern government is not concerned merely with the preservation of peace and order, although they may be still its prime functions, but with almost all the aspects of social, political and economic life requiring collective action; and it is only natural that Government should consult the people on any vital question which concerns them directly and enact legislation through their representatives. Moreover, democracy creates intelligent citizenship as all men and women come into direct contact with the State, take active interest in political affairs, whether local, provincial or national, and utilize their suffrage in selecting their own representatives.

Democracy in the sense of a republic had also flourished in India in ancient times, but was gradually submerged into great empires. What is more significant is the fact that the village in India has been republican from its very beginning. Although some of its power was absorbed by the State under the Empire in the

Middle Ages, it retained most of its fundamental features even under the Muslim rule, especially under the Moghuls. It lost, however, most of its power under British rule, but it has again been revived and some of the provincial governments are rebuilding the *panchayat* system. The defect of the village republic was the lack of its representation in the Central Government. What is needed is the consolidation and federation of the village republics into central organization through the process of representation from the village to the district and from the district to the province which also has been built by the state.

The sixth element of this new civilization is *toleration* or respect for the differences, both racial and cultural, among others. Equality or the granting of the same rights and privileges to others as one would expect to receive for himself, is the foundation of universal brotherhood or the feeling of spiritual relationship between man and man. Hindu civilization has always been noted for its tolerant spirit and respect for the creed and religion of other people. "Live and let live" has been the guiding principle of Hindu civilization and Hindus have always welcomed the immigrants of other races, such as the Jews, early Christians and Parsees into their shores. Nowhere is this spirit of toleration needed in a greater degree than in India, where different racial and religious groups reside side by side and where it is needed not only for avoiding cultural conflict, but also for consolidating and co-ordinating divergent interests into one national whole for the progress of society in general. Moreover, it is the only sound and solid basis of establishing international relationship, which is now being built only by political exigency or economic interest, and which inevitably leads to international conflict, as indicated by the frequent wars. Mutual toleration is the only means of upbuilding international brotherhood.

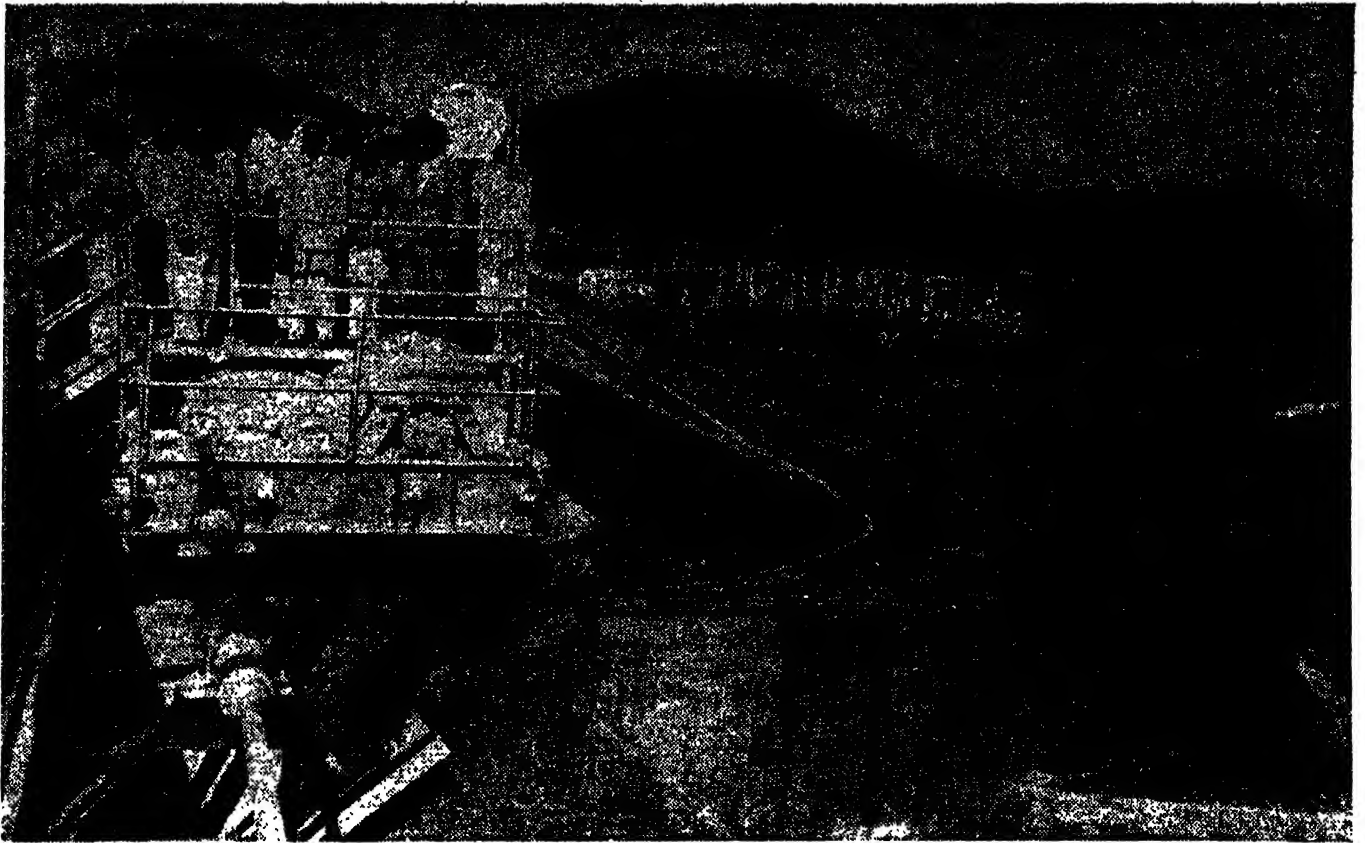
The seventh, or the last but not the least important, element in this new civilization is *social progress* or the evolution of society

through the continued achievement of higher social values, ideals and aims. The avowed object of all rational activities is social amelioration or the achievement of some desired standard of social values. The concept of progress makes modern society different from the older ones; while the latter looked backward, and depended for their guidance upon some standard or precept established by revealed religion or traditional moral code, the former looks forward to the realization of some ethical order which has been determined to be good by experience and deliberation. It is the concept of realizing some social values in the future and of organizing social life accordingly, which forms the special feature of this new civilization.

Both science on which it is founded and religion at which it aims make this new civilization dynamic and progressive. The idea of progress also implies that through greater mastery of physical environment and human nature, society may adapt itself to the changing conditions, supply the increasing needs of the people and above all achieve higher social values, ideals and aims. Moreover, a progressive civilization must continually strive after greater capacity for survival, higher efficiency for production and better harmony among individuals and groups for the continuation of its collective life.

Some of the criteria for the evaluation of social progress are health, wealth, education, freedom, and morality. Social progress must indicate, first, the improvement of racial stock and general health as indicated by increasing longevity and freedom from diseases; second, increasing social wealth and national dividend and specially increasing social security and more equitable distribution of wealth; third, increasing desire among all classes of people for knowledge as indicated by greater pursuit of intellectual life; fourth, increasing opportunities for self-expression, specially on the part of the people; and finally, increasing desire on the part of the people for self-less service to their fellow-beings.





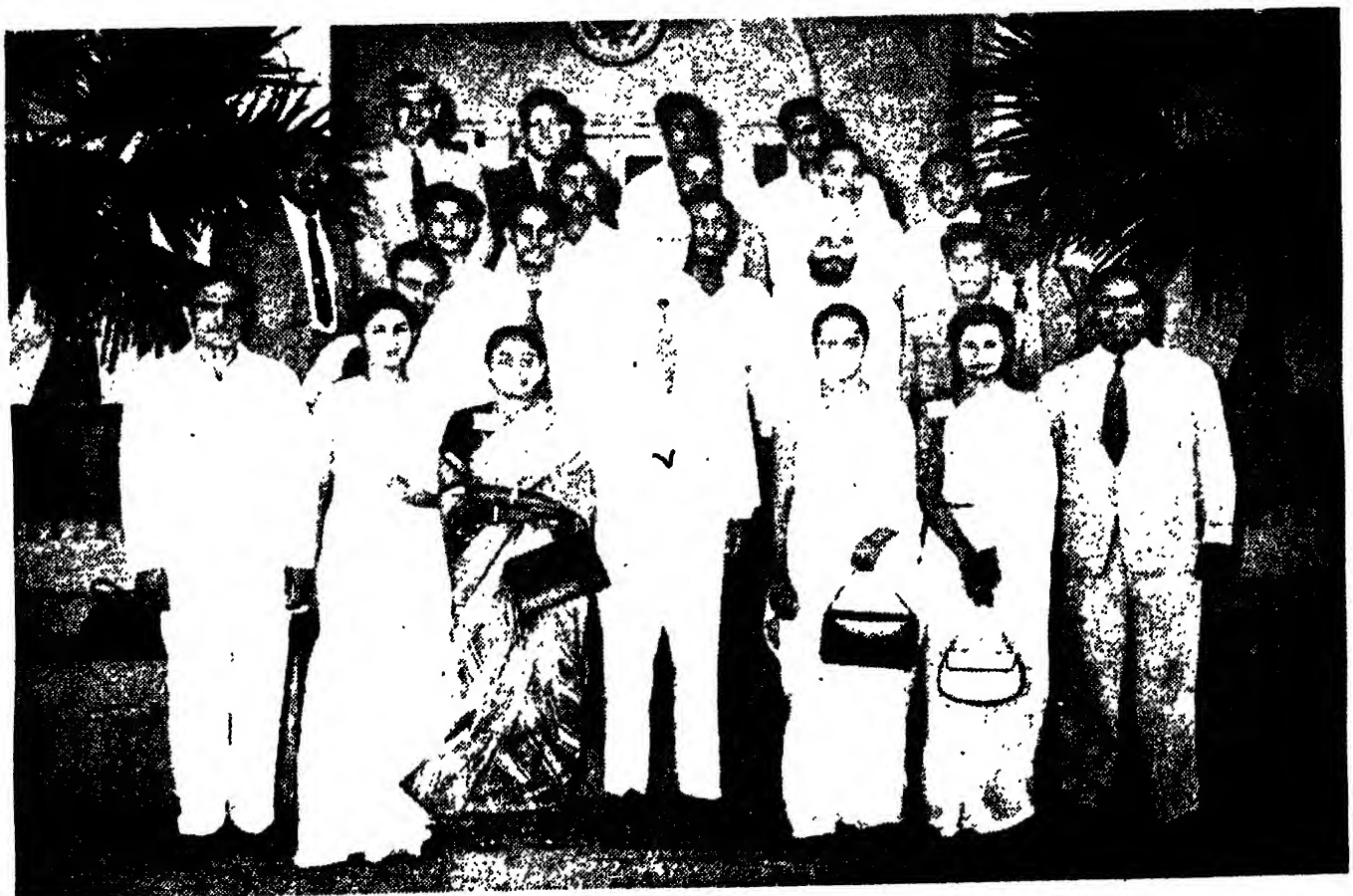
Mr. Chivu Stoica, Prime Minister of the Rumanian People's Republic, inspecting the Maithon Dam



Mr. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand, being shown a chart regarding the milk supply scheme by the Dairy Advisor. On the right of the distinguished visitor are the Union Ministers Sri D. P. Karmarkar and Sri A. P. Jain



Finishing touches being given by a village artist to the mural which won the first prize in the exhibition organised in connection with the Seminar on Arts and Aesthetics in Rural Areas (Community Development Project)



with the U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker at the American

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XVI) Fundamental Rights: Right to Property (Continued)

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I

IN our two preceding articles¹ in this series we have dealt with certain aspects of Article 31 of our Constitution as it had been amended by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. In this article we propose to deal with some other aspects of the same Article.

II

Now the first point we propose to take up for consideration in this article in connexion with Article 31 of the Constitution is the concept of "a public purpose" in it. As we have seen before,² the new Clause (2) of Article 31 lays down, among other things:

"No property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose."

The corresponding provision in the original Clause (2) of the Article was:

"No property, movable or immovable including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law," etc.

What was *perhaps* implicit in the original Clause (2) of the Article has been made explicit in its new Clause (2) by the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act, 1955. We have used the word 'perhaps' intentionally as we find that there was some difference of opinion amongst the Judges of our Supreme Court on the question of interpretation of the 'public purposes' provision in the original Clause (2), in connexion with the case known as *The State of Bihar V. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga and Others*³ (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Darbhangha* case). The majority⁴ of the Judges of the Supreme Court held⁵ in this case:

"The existence of a public purpose as a pre-requisite to the exercise of the power of compulsory acquisition is an essential and integral part of the provisions of Article 31(2)" (of the Constitution).

Mahajan J., however, said⁶:

"The existence of a 'public purpose' is undoubtedly an implied condition of the exercise of compulsory powers of acquisition by the State, but the language of Article 31(2) does not expressly make it a condition precedent to acquisition. It assumes that compulsory acquisition can be for a 'public purpose' only, which is thus inherent in such acquisition."

And Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. stated⁷:

"Under the Constitution, when property is requisitioned or acquired, it may be for a Union purpose, or a State purpose, or for any other public purpose . . . The acquisition of property can only be for a public purpose . . . It is *summed*⁸ rightly, that the existence of a public purpose is part and parcel of the law (as contemplated by the original Clause (2) of Article 31) and is inherent in it. The existence of public purpose is not a provision or condition imposed by Article 31(2) as a limitation on the exercise of the power of acquisition. The condition prescribed is only as regards compensation."

This difference of opinion among the Judges of the Supreme Court was probably due to the peculiar wording of the original Clause (2) of Article 31. However, as shown above, there is no difficulty now. The new Clause (2) of the Article is very clear on the point and no property can now be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned except for a public purpose.

Now the question is: What is "a public purpose within the meaning of our Constitution"? Fortunately, there are some judicial

1. See *The Modern Review* for January and April, 1958.

2. See *ibid.*

3. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Parts IX and X, November and December, 1952, pp. 889-1019.

4. Consisting of Patanjali Sastri C.J., Mukherjea and Das JJ.—See *ibid.*, p. 891.

5. In May, 1952.—*Ibid.*, pp. 891, 902 and 980-90.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 934-35.

7. See *ibid.*, pp. 1007-1013.

8. The italic is ours.

pronouncements on this point. Thus we find⁹ in the judgment of Mahajan J. in the *Darbhanga* case in connexion with the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950:

"Mr. Das¹⁰ contended, and in my opinion rightly, that jurisdiction to acquire private property by legislation can only be exercised for a public purpose. It may be the purpose of the (Indian) Union, or the purpose of the State or any other public purpose. Private property cannot be acquired for a private purpose . . ."

Further, His Lordship observed¹¹ in effect that the requirements of a public purpose would be fulfilled if any property was acquired by legislation for the "purposes of the State" or for the "purposes of the public" and "if the intention was to benefit the community at large." And with regard to the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950, itself, His Lordship first referred to the Preamble to the Constitution of India and to Article 39 thereof and then remarked¹²:

"Now it is obvious that (the) concentration of big blocks of land in the hands of a few individuals is contrary to the principle on which the Constitution of India is based. The purpose of the acquisition contemplated by the impugned Act (*i.e.*, the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950) therefore is to do away with the concentration of big blocks of land and means of production in the hands of a few individuals and to so distribute the ownership and control of the material resources which come in the hands of the State as to subserve the common good as best as possible. In other words, shortly put, the purpose behind the Act is to bring about a reform in the land distribution system of Bihar for the general benefit of the community as advised . . . The purpose of the statute certainly is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of India . . . It is difficult to hold in the present-day conditions of the world that measures adopted for the welfare of the community and sought to be achieved by process of legislation so far as the carrying out of the policy of

nationalization of land is concerned can fall on the ground of want of public purpose. The phrase 'public purpose' has to be construed according to the spirit of the times in which particular legislation is enacted and so construed, the acquisition of the estates has to be held to have been made for a public purpose."

Again, in the course of his judgment in *Raja Suriya Pal Singh V. The State of U.P. and Another (and Other Cases)*¹³—to be briefly referred to hereinafter as the *Suriya Pal Singh* case—, Mahajan J. stated¹⁴

"The expression 'public purpose' is not capable of a precise definition and has not a rigid meaning. It can only be defined by a process of judicial inclusion and exclusion. In other words, the definition of the expression is elastic and takes its colour from the statute in which it occurs, the concept varying with the time and state of society and its needs. The point to be determined in each case is whether the acquisition is in the general interest of the community as distinguished from the private interest of an individual."

And with reference to the Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950,¹⁵ in connexion with which the *Suriya Pal Singh* case arose, His Lordship observed¹⁶:

"The High Court (of Allahabad) took the view that (the) acquisition of property under compulsory powers for securing an aim declared in the Constitution to be a matter of State policy is an acquisition for a public purpose . . . In my opinion, legislation, which aims at elevating the status of tenants by conferring upon them the *bhumidari* rights to which status the big zamindars have also been levelled down cannot be said as wanting in public purposes in a democratic State. It aims at destroying the inferiority complex in a large number of citizens of the State and giving them

9. *Ibid*, p. 937.

10. Obviously Mr. P. R. Das, Counsel for the respondents in the *Darbhanga* case.—*Ibid*, p. 893.

11. *Ibid*, p. 940.

12. *Ibid*, pp. 941-42.

13. In May, 1952.—*Ibid*, pp. 1056-1090: Civil Appellate Jurisdiction. Cases Nos. 283 to 295 of 1951.

14. *Ibid*, p. 1073.

15. Also referred to as the U.P. Act 1 of 1951. It appears that the relevant Bill had been introduced into the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly in 1950 and was finally passed by it on 10th January, 1951. It was then passed by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council. Thereafter it received the assent of the President of India on 24th January 1951. It "came into force on or about the 25th (of) January 1951."—For further details; see *ibid*, pp. 1058-1059 and 1082-1083.

16. See *ibid*, pp. 1074-1076.

a status of equality with their former lords and prevents the accumulation of big tracts of land in the hands of a few individuals which is contrary to the expressed intentions of the Constitution . . . Dr. Ambedkar¹⁷ is right in saying that in the concept of public purpose there is a negative element in that no private interest can be created in the property acquired compulsorily; in other words, (the) property of A cannot be acquired to be given to B for his own private purposes and that there is a positive element in the concept that the property taken must be for public benefit. Both these concepts are present in the acquisition of the zamindari estates. Zamindari is not being taken for the private benefit of any particular individual or individuals, but are being acquired by the State in the general interests of the community. Property acquired will be vested either in the State or in the body corporate, the *gaon samaj*, which has to function under the supervision of the State . . . There is no question in these circumstances of taking (the) property of A and giving it to B. All that the Act achieves is the equality of the status of the different persons holding lands in the State. . . . For the reason given above I hold that the impugned Act (i.e., the Uttar Pradesh Act referred to above) is not void by reason of the circumstance that it does not postulate a public purpose."

Das J. of our Supreme Court appears to have agreed *in essence* with the views of Mahajan J., both with regard to the implication of the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution and with regard to the constitutionality of the acquisition of zamindari and other intermediate interests in respect of land. Thus we find him observing¹⁸ in the course of his judgment in the *Darbhanga* case:

"The concept of 'public purpose' has been rapidly changing in all countries of the world. . . . From what I have stated so far it follows that whatever furthers the general interests of the community as opposed to the particular interest of the individual must be regarded as a public purpose. With the onward march of civilization our notions as to the scope of the

general interest of the community are fast changing and widening with the result that our old and narrower notions as to the sanctity of the private interest of the individual can no longer stem the forward flowing tide of time and must necessarily give way to the broader notions of the general interest of the community. The emphasis is unmistakably shifting from the individual to the community. This modern trend in the social and political philosophy is well reflected and given expression to in our Constitution. Our Constitution, as I understand it, has not ignored the individual but has endeavoured to harmonise the individual interest with the paramount interest of the community . . . It is . . . clear that a fresh outlook which places the general interest of the community above the interest of the individual pervades our Constitution. Indeed, what sounded like idealistic slogans only in the recent past are now enshrined in the glorious preamble to our Constitution proclaiming the solemn resolve of the people of this country to secure to all citizens, justice, social, economic and political, and equality of status and of opportunity. What were regarded only yesterday, so to say, as fantastic formulae have now been accepted as directive principles of State policy prominently set out in Part IV of the Constitution. (Reference is made here to Articles 38 and 39 of the Constitution) . . . The words 'public purposes' used in Article 23(2) indicate that the Constitution uses those words in a very large sense. In the never-ending race the law must keep pace with the realities of the social and political evolution of the country as reflected in the Constitution. If, therefore, the State is to give effect to these avowed purposes of our Constitution we must regard as a public purpose all that will be calculated to promote the welfare of the people as envisaged in these directive principles of State policy whatever else that expression may mean. In the light of this new outlook what, I ask, is the purpose of the State in adopting measures for the acquisition of the zamindari and the interests of the intermediaries? Surely, it is to subserve the common good by bringing the land, which feeds and sustains the community and also produces wealth by its forest, mineral and other resources, under State owner-

17. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Counsel for some of the appellants in the *Suriya Pal Singh* case.

18. See *ibid*, pp. 908-09.

ship or control. This State ownership or control over land is a necessary preliminary step towards the implementation of the directive principles of State policy and it cannot but be a public purpose . . . To put a narrow construction on the expression 'public purpose' will, to my mind, be to defeat the general purpose of our Constitution and the particular and immediate purpose of the recent amendments (thereto). We must not read a measure implementing our mid-twentieth century Constitution through spectacles tinted with early nineteenth century notions as to the sanctity or inviolability of individual rights. I, therefore, agree with the High Court (of Patna) that the impugned Act¹⁹ was enacted for a public purpose."

The sum and substance of what Das J. stated with regard to the implication of the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution is really as follows²⁰:

"No hard and fast definition can be laid down as to what is a 'public purpose' as the concept has been rapidly changing in all countries, but it is clear that it is the presence of the element of general interest of the community in an object or an aim that transforms such object or aim into a public purpose, and whatever furthers the general interest of the community as opposed to the particular interest of the individual must be regarded as a public purpose."

It should be evident from what has been shown above that it is rather difficult to define the term "public purpose" in our Constitution and that there is an element of vagueness and uncertainty about it. Perhaps, this is unavoidable. A similar difficulty has also been felt in the United States of America. Thus we find in the judgment of the United States Supreme Court in *Green V. Frazier*²¹:

"What is a public purpose has given rise to no little judicial consideration. Courts, as a rule, have attempted no judicial definition of a 'public' as distinguished from a 'private' pur-

pose, but have left each case to be determined by its own peculiar circumstances."

A more or less similar difficulty has been felt in the United States in connexion with the term "public use" in the following provision in the Fifth Amendment to its Constitution:

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

Now the question is: What is, or constitutes, a public use?

Commenting on the provision in the American Constitution quoted above, Judge Cooley has stated²²:

"Every species of property which the public needs may require and which government cannot lawfully appropriate under any other right, is subject to be seized and appropriated under the right of eminent domain . . . generally, it may be said, legal and equitable rights of every description are liable to be thus appropriated²³. . . The right to appropriate private property to public uses lies dormant in the State, until legislative action is had, pointing out the occasions, the modes, conditions, and agencies for its appropriations. Private property can only be taken pursuant to law. . . . The definition given of the right of eminent domain implies that the purpose for which it may be exercised must not be a mere private purpose; and it is conceded on all hands that the legislature has no power, in any case, to take the property of one individual and pass it over to another without reference to some use to which it is to be applied for the public benefit²⁴. 'The right of eminent domain', it has been said, 'does not imply a right in the sovereign power to take the property of one citizen and transfer it to another, even for a full compensation, where the public interest will be in no way promoted by such transfer.' It seems not to be allowable, therefore, to authorize private roads to be laid

19. I.e., the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950.—See *ibid*, p. 964.

20. See *ibid*, p. 892.

21. 253 U.S. 233 (1920).—Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 1140-1145; also Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, p. 319.

22. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, pp. 756-75.

23. "From this statement, however, must be excepted, money, or that which in ordinary use passes as such, and which the government may reach by taxation."—See *ibid*, p. 759.

24. "The constitutional prohibition against taking private property for public use (without just compensation), operates by implication to prohibit the taking of property for private use."—*Ibid*., p. 764n.

out across the lands of unwilling parties by an exercise of this right. . . . Nor could it be of importance that the public would receive incidental benefits, such as usually spring from the improvement of lands or the establishment of prosperous private enterprises; the *public use* implies a possession, occupation, and enjoyment of the land by the public at large, or by public agencies. . . . We find ourselves, somewhat at sea, however, when we undertake to define, in the light of the judicial decisions, what constitutes a public use."²⁵

Without going so far as Judge Cooley has done, Professor Willis has also admitted that there is a divergence of judicial opinion in the United States as to what is, or is not, a public use. Thus we find him writing²⁶:

"What is a public use? On this question there have been two viewpoints. One may be called the older viewpoint and the other the newer viewpoint. . . . According to the older viewpoint, in order to have a public use, there must be a use by the public. This is perhaps still the majority viewpoint, and it is supported by a great number of cases . . . there is a public use where . . . land is taken for railway purposes, or where land is taken for a highway used by the public. . . . According to the newer viewpoint there is a public use if the thing taken is useful to the public. This makes public use for eminent domain practically synonymous with public purpose for taxation. . . . Under this rule it is not necessary for the benefit to be for the whole community, but it must be for a considerable number. The fact that the benefit also inures to a private individual is no objection. Under this viewpoint it has been held that there is a sufficient public use . . . where land has been taken for airports and parks; . . . where land has been acquired for a pleasure highway; . . . where property is taken for private schools; where land is taken for a light-house; where a water supply is acquired for a

city. . . . In these cases there is not necessarily a general use by the public, but there is a general benefit to the public. . . . Of course, where the taking will benefit a private person alone, there is not a public use even in this newer sense. . . . The newer viewpoint that public use means any taking which is useful to the public probably will become the prevailing viewpoint, and it has much to commend it."

Professor Willoughby appears to have a definite view as to what constitutes a public use. "A public use," says he²⁷, "is one in which the interest of the public is directly and primarily concerned. It may happen, and, indeed, it very frequently happens, that, in the exercise of the State's powers, whether of eminent domain, taxation or police regulation, particular individuals or classes of individuals are benefited. If, however, the action is to be sustained, its aim must be shown to be not merely that this specific result will be reached as a final end, but that the public has itself an interest in securing this benefit to the individuals concerned." But are we free from all difficulties? What *exactly* is meant by the expression "the interest of the public"? And is the term "public" itself always, or in all circumstances, capable of a precise definition? We submit that it is not. We may imagine a situation in which the public and the private interest may get inextricably mixed up. A certain amount of indefiniteness or uncertainty is, therefore, unavoidably associated with such indefinable expressions as "public purpose" or "public use"*. However, what Mahajan and

27. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 1740-41.

25. Judge Cooley has added, however: "The reason of the case and the settled practice of free governments must be our guides in determining what is or is not to be regarded a public use."—See *ibid.*, pp. 768-69.

26. Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936; pp. 817-20. Also see the foot-note after the next one.

* We may note here what a recent official American publication has said by way of explaining "what constitutes a taking for a public use." "To constitute," it says, "a public use within the law of eminent domain, it is not essential that an entire community should directly participate in or enjoy an improvement, and, in ascertaining whether a use is public, not only present demands of the public but those which may be fairly anticipated in the future may be considered. Moreover, it is also not necessary that property should be absolutely taken, in the narrowest sense of the word, to bring the case within the protection of this constitutional provision, but there may be such serious interruption to the common and necessary use of property as will be equivalent to a taking."—*The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Inter-*

Das JJ. have stated with reference to the concept of "public purpose" in our Constitution may serve as a guide to us for all practical purposes.

III

The next point we propose to deal with in connexion with Article 31 of our Constitution is whether the question of "public purpose" in it is a justiciable issue. We submit that it is as it should be, except where this is constitutionally forbidden. If any person feels that his property has been compulsorily acquired or requisitioned for a purpose which he does not consider to be public, he can certainly approach the judiciary under Articles 226 and 32 of the Constitution for the vindication of his fundamental right to property. He can even proceed straight to the Supreme Court of India for this purpose under Article 32 of the Constitution. As the Supreme Court has declared²⁸ in the course of its judgment in *Romesh Thappar V. The State of Madras*, "Article 32 provides a 'guaranteed' remedy for the enforcement" of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution, "and this remedial right" has itself been "made a fundamental right by being included in Part III" (of the Constitution). The Supreme Court has thus been "constituted the protector and guarantor of fundamental rights, and it cannot consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of such rights."²⁹ Although, therefore, the quantum of compensation payable under Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is, as we have seen before,³⁰ no longer justiciable, yet the question whether any property has been compulsorily acquired or requisitioned for a public purpose is, it is submitted, a justiciable issue under it. This is also the view of some of our Supreme Court Judges even in connexion with the original Clause (2) of Article 31. Thus we find in the judgment of Chandrasekhara Aiyar J. in the *Darbhanga* case³¹:

"The acquisition of property can only be for a public purpose. . . . Whether there is any public purpose at all, or whether the purpose stated is such a purpose, is open, in my opinion, to judicial scrutiny or review."

And we also find in the judgment³² of Mahajan J. in the same case:

"The existence of a 'public purpose' is undoubtedly an implied condition of the exercise of compulsory powers of acquisition by the State. . . . Therefore, the material point for determination is whether the acquisition of the estates (under the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950) is for any public purpose and if it be not so, the law can certainly be held to be unconstitutional . . . jurisdiction to acquire private property by legislation can only be exercised for a public purpose."

Further, we find in the judgments³³ of Sastri C. J. and Das J. in the same case:

"Article 31(2) must be understood as also providing that legislation authorising expropriation of private property should be *lawful*³⁴ only if it was required for a public purpose and provision was made for (the) payment of compensation. Indeed if this were not so, there would be nothing in the Constitution to prevent acquisition for a non-public or private purpose and without payment of compensation—an absurd result Article 31(2) must, therefore, be taken to provide for both the limitations in express terms."³⁵—(Patanjali Sastri C. J.)

"I am . . . clearly of opinion that the existence of a public purpose as a pre-requisite to the exercise of the power of compulsory acquisition (of property) is an essential and integral part of the 'provisions' of Clause (2) (of Article 31). If the requirement of a public purpose were not a provision of Article 31(2), then it will obviously lead us to the untenable conclusion that Parliament will be free under its residuary powers under Article 248³⁵ and entry 97 of List 1 of the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) to make a law for acquiring

pretation, Corwin, Government Printing Office; Washington, 1953, p. 1064.

28. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1; Part VI, August, 1950; pp. 596-97.

29. See *ibid.*

30. See our article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1958.

31. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Parts IX and X, November and December, 1952; p. 1013.

32. See *ibid.*, pp. 934-37.

33. See *ibid.*, p. 902 and pp. 988-90.

34. The italic is ours.

35. Of the Constitution of India.

private property without any public purpose at all and to the still more absurd result that while Parliament will have to provide for compensation under Article 31(2) in a law made by it for (the) acquisition of property for a public purpose, it will not have to make any provision for compensation in a law made for (the) acquisition of property to be made without a public purpose. Such could never have been the intention of the framers of our Constitution.”—(Das J.)

A logical corollary to what Patanjali Sastri C. J. and Das J. stated is that no property could be compulsorily acquired or taken possession of under the original Clause (2) of Article 31 except for a public purpose and that whether any property had been so acquired or taken possession of or not, was a justiciable issue. We may also refer, in this connexion, to another matter. The West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, passed on October 1st, 1948, primarily for the settlement of immigrants who had migrated into West Bengal on account of communal disturbances in East Bengal, provided “for the acquisition and development of land for public purposes including the purpose aforesaid.” Now Section 8 of this Act laid down, among other things:

“A declaration under Section 6 (of the Act) shall be conclusive evidence that the land in respect of which the declaration is made is needed for a public purpose and, after making such declaration, the Provincial Government may acquire the land,” etc.

Now we find in the judgment of our Supreme Court in *The State of West Bengal V. Mrs. Bela Banerjee and Others*, with regard to this provision³⁶:

“The Attorney-General, appearing for the appellant, *rightly* conceded that inasmuch as Article 31(2) made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition *the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively* and the provision in Section 8 relating to the conclusiveness of the declaration of Government as to the nature of the purpose of the acquisition must be held unconstitutional.”³⁷

Thus the Supreme Court held in the case referred to above, that the provision of Section 8 of the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act, 1948, making a mere declaration of the Government conclusive as to the public nature of the purpose of the acquisition (of property) was *ultra vires* the Constitution and void; and that since Article 31(2) of the Constitution of India made the existence of a public purpose a necessary condition of acquisition (of property), the existence of such a purpose as a fact must be established objectively. Here would come in the court of law for adjudication, if and when necessary.

If what we have shown above was the constitutional position with regard to the justiciability of the question of public purpose in a law providing for the acquisition, or taking of the possession, of property under the original Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution, then *a fortiori* this is the position now under the new Clause (2) of the Article. That is to say, the question of public purpose in Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is, as we have stated before, ordinarily a justiciable issue. And this means that determination or declaration by the Legislature—and certainly far less by the Executive Government—of what constitutes a public purpose in the context of Clause (2) of Article 31 is not final or conclusive, but is subject to revision by the competent court of law, except where, as stated before, this is constitutionally prohibited.

In the course of one of his Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the University of Calcutta in July, 1955, Mr. Justice Douglas of the United States Supreme Court stated³⁸:

“In India, as in America, the question whether the taking is for a public purpose is a justiciable question.”

Now, so far as India is concerned, there is no difficulty. We agree with him and we have tried above to establish this. But so far as the United States of America is concerned, there is a difficulty. It is true that before 1946 what Mr. Justice Douglas has stated was

36. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part V; May, 1954, pp. 558-65.

37. The italics in this quotation are ours.

38. See William O. Douglas; *From Marshall to Mukherjee, Studies in American and Indian Constitutional Law*; Eastern Law House, Calcutta; 1956; p. 222.

the constitutional position in the United States. Thus we find in Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* (1903)³⁹:

"The question what is a public use is always one of law. Deference will be paid to the legislative judgment, as expressed in enactments providing for an appropriation of property, but it will not be conclusive."

The obvious implication of this statement is that ultimately the question is a judicial one. And we also find in Willis's *Constitutional Law of the United States* (1936)⁴⁰:

"The power (of eminent domain) can be exercised only pursuant to legislative authority and according to the conditions prescribed by the legislature. *Whether there is a public use, or there has been a taking, or what is just compensation are judicial questions.*"⁴¹

This was the constitutional position before 1946. We find, however, in a recent⁴² official American publication⁴³:

"While acknowledging that agreement was virtually non-existent as to 'what are public uses for which the right of compulsory taking may be employed,' the (Supreme) Court, until 1946, continued to reiterate (that) 'the nature of the uses, whether public or private, is ultimately a judicial question.' But because of proclaimed willingness to defer to local authorities, especially 'the highest court of the State', in resolving such an issue, the (Supreme) Court, as early as 1908, was obliged to admit that, notwithstanding its retention of the power of judicial review, 'no case is recalled where this Court has condemned as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment a taking upheld by the State court as a taking for public uses.' In 1946, however, . . . a majority of the Justices (of the Supreme Court), in a decision involving the Federal Government, declared⁴⁴

that 'it is the function of . . . (the legislative branch) to decide what type of taking is for a public use' The necessity and expediency of the taking are legislative questions to be determined by such agency and in such mode as the State⁴⁵ may designate."⁴⁶

The official American work from which we have quoted the above extract was published in 1953 and contains "annotations of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to June 30, 1952." As the extract quoted above will indicate, this authoritative publication does not support the view of Mr. Justice Douglas so far as the justiciability now of the question of "public use" in the American Constitution is concerned. We do not know if the United States Supreme Court has in the mean while reversed its decision of 1946. There is no indication of that either in what Mr. Justice Douglas has stated. In view of this and also in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we find it difficult to agree with Mr. Justice Douglas so far as the justiciability today of the question of "public use" in the United States is concerned. However, whatever may be the constitutional position in the United States today in regard to the justiciability of the question of "public use" in the Fifth Amendment to its Constitution, there is no difficulty, normally speaking, so far as our Constitution is concerned. That is to say, the question of "public purpose" in Clause (2) of Article 31 of the Constitution is ultimately a justiciable issue, except where, as we shall see later on, it is expressly forbidden by the Constitution. As stated before, this is as it should be.

In our next article we propose to conclude our discussion of Article 31 and then to deal with Article 31A and 31B of our Constitution.

39. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 774-75.

40. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 829-30.

41. The italics in this quotation are ours.

42. 1953.

43. *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*. Corwin; United States Government Printing Office, Washington; 1953; pp. 1063-1064.

44. *United States ex rel. T.V.A. V. Welch*;

827; U.S. 546 (1946). See *ibid*; p. 1064; also Dowling; *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950; pp. 812-13.

45. Obviously, the term "State" here means the State Legislature.

46. "It is no longer open to question that the State legislature may confer upon a municipality the authority to determine such necessity for itself."—See the official publication (p. 1064, footnote) referred to in foot-note 43 above.



INDO-PAKISTANI CONFLICT MAY LEAD TO THIRD WORLD WAR

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

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WHEN we keep in mind that small unfriendly incidents in international relations lead to enmity between States, which in turn brings about local conflicts which develop into wars of great magnitude and world war, one may get an impression that the present Indo-Pakistani incidents—border issues,—if not stopped, may lead to Indo-Pakistani War and a World War. I give this warning, not as an alarmist but as an advocate for World Peace.

The root of Indo-Pakistani conflicts lies in partition of India which was brought about through Churchill-Jinnah secret agreements and also due to deliberate programme of the British to weaken a free India. At the same time the Pan-Islamists of Pakistan and India who wanted to detach the whole of Bengal and the Punjab within the orbit of Pakistan have been working to enlarge Pakistani territories at the expense of India. Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders who once swore that they would never agree to partition agreed to partition, hoping this generous action would heal Hindu-Moslem ill-feelings and India and Pakistan will live as peaceful neighbors, co-operating on all larger issues, furthering the cause of Peace and Freedom. But this supposed generous act has been the greatest mistake which has encouraged Pakistan to pursue international policies which might isolate India in world politics and to secure outside military and financial aid to carry out its ultimate aim of annexing further Indian territories and promoting revolts within the borders of India.

Because India was too generous, at the expenses of Indian national territorial integrity, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. At that time India was militarily much stronger than Pakistan and Indian army could have driven the invaders to sea, but Mr. Nehru again showed his generosity to Pakistan by ordering Indian

Army not to cross Pakistani border, and presenting the case of Pakistani invasion of Indian soil to the United Nations, the international diplomatic organization which has ignored the real issue of Pakistan's aggression and has been working for forcing a plebiscite in Kashmir, which if ever accepted by India would mean destruction of the very foundation of a secular State in India.

While Pakistan has been pressing against India in the United Nations, she has made alliances with various nations—Pakistan is a member of SEATO, composed of the United States, Australia, Britain, Philippines, Siam. She is also a member of the Baghdad Pact composed of Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan supported by the United States of America. By these alliances Pakistan expects support from the NATO Powers. Needless to say that Pakistan has some very important understanding with the United States which may have secured rights to use Pakistani territory for air base and in return has equipped Pakistani army with the most up-to-date equipments, specially jet-planes. Many Pakistani raids into Kashmir have been perpetrated, even after the establishment of cease-fire line between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Indian Kashmir. These raids did not develop into open warfare due to two facts, forbearance of India and also Pakistan's belief that India would concede to international pressure and make a settlement of Kashmir issue in Pakistan's favor.

Today Pakistan finds that she cannot annex Kashmir by international consent, thus she has begun creating incidents in Assam border by East Pakistani raiders supported by military police and in some cases regular military force. It is well-known that Pakistan has given the inducement to East Pakistanis that by raiding and eventually by force they will

be able to annex Kachar for the land-hungry, poverty-stricken peasants of East Bengal. Raiding activities in Assam would also divert the attention of the people from the mis-rule and corruption of East Pakistani government.

Pakistani politicians know that the people of West Pakistan are dissatisfied with the political, economic and social condition and they have been, therefore, preaching a holy war against India as a remedy. Recently they have begun to blame India for Pakistan's lack of agricultural production, by spreading propaganda that India has cut off water supply from the Punjab rivers, causing the distress. Pakistani armed parties have killed peaceful Indian citizens in various Punjab towns. In short a kind of undeclared war by Pakistan on India has been going on for several years. But recently Pakistan by acquiring superior air-power from the United States feels confident that she might be able to occupy Indian territories and then would be able to secure intervention from the United Nations in her favor.

The little hostile incidents are slowly developing towards a conflict. Mr. Nehru in his recent press conference pleaded for peaceful settlement of Assam disputes by high-level discussion. Mr. Nehru's attitude was something like a helpless boy before a threatening bully wishing to hurt the defenseless one. Such an appeal would fall on deaf ears and even encourage hostilities. But Hon. Krishna Menon, the Defense Minister of India, has struck a new and significant note when he declared in New Delhi on June 5, 1958, *"that India's patience and forbearance in the face of frequent violation of her frontiers by Pakistan should not be taken as a sign of weakness. If hostile acts continued, whether it be in Assam, Ferozepore or Hussainiwala, India would take necessary action to safeguard her sovereignty . . . India was not frightened by the fact that its military equipment was not up-to-date."* He added, *"Our main equipment is human equipment—soldier, sailor and airman."* . . . While India would not go for others' territories, it has an obligation of protecting its sovereignty. India would have no defense problems as long as Pakistan, the Soviet Union,

China and Burma were friendly to India. . . ."

Above views declared by the Defense Minister of India are significant and may be regarded as warning to Pakistan. It is to be hoped that statesmen of the world, specially the United States, may not ignore it. In this connection it may be pointed out that although India was offered Russian planes with less cost, for various reasons the offer was not accepted but she has spent hundreds of millions of dollars worth of planes from England which are inferior to American-made and American-supplied planes possessed by Pakistan.

In case of an all-out conflict between Pakistan and India, it may be that in spite of Pakistan's possessing superior equipment, Indian forces might overpower Pakistanis, as was the case when overwhelmingly superior Egyptian forces equipped with Russian jets and tanks were crushed by smaller and inferior Israeli forces. In that case Pakistan's friends will try to save Pakistan through intervention of the United Nations, as the case with Egypt, in her struggle with France, Britain and Israel. But India may suffer defeats initially. In that case China and Russia would not sit idle and India will look for superior arms from these countries to defend the country. This will be the beginning of a Third World War.

Is there any possibility of averting such a calamity? Let this be fully understood by world statesmen that India will not surrender her rightful claims on Kashmir, river-waters and Assam, even if she might be under great pressure diplomatically. Of all the countries, Great Britain and the United States have the greatest responsibility to check Pakistan, through solemn advice, from worsening the present situation. It is my impression that Pakistani leaders who are running the country think that by using military pressure on India they would gain their objective. Any military pressure on India by Pakistan might lead to the Third World War, which would help the cause of Communist World Revolution.

New York City,

June 15, 1958.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

An Outline History—I

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

In the study of any contemporary political society a discussion of the party system ranks high in precedence. In the context of India's expanding international contacts though it is only proper that wider discussions should be held about other countries. Unfortunately Indian literature on contemporary Chinese scene is very meagre. A discussion of the party system in China is thus very likely to prove greatly interesting.

China is world's largest republic and the Communist Party is the most influential political organization there.¹ An historical study of the growth of Chinese Communist Party is thus essential for the proper understanding of contemporary Chinese policies and development. Such a study is again necessary from other points of view also. The Chinese Communist Party is not only China's biggest political party but also the world's biggest Communist Party having had a membership of 10,734,384 in September, 1956². More, if it is recalled that membership of a Communist Party requires much more than mere ideological or political agreement with the Party³, it may not

be far wrong to say that the Chinese Communist Party is also the world's largest political party.

The Chinese Constitution also underlines the predominant role of the Communist Party.

"In the course of the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China," reads the Preamble to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, "the people of our country forged a broad people's democratic united front, composed of all democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, and popular organizations, and led by the Communist Party of China. This people's democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilizing and rallying the whole people in common struggle to fulfil the fundamental task of the State during the transition and to oppose enemies within and without."

The Communist Party, by virtue of its leadership of the people's democratic united front, is thus envisaged in the constitution as the initiator, of all the developmental plans of the state and the guide of the people in their efforts to achieve national prosperity⁴. Herein

1. Referring to China, Professor Linebarger writes: "No other society comparable in size, duration and extent has ever existed; the Chinese Empire, from the beginning of the Ch'in (221 B.C.) to the end of the Manchus (A.D. 1911); remains the greatest social edifice mankind has yet brought forth" (*China of Chiang Kai-shek*, Boston, 1943—page 2). The Communist rule in China, notes Prof. Richard L. Walker, covers 600 million people "more than have ever been controlled by one Government in the history of the world" (*China under Communism*, Yale 1955—page 2); see also Robert C. North: *Moscow and the Chinese Communists*, Stanford, 1953—page 2; James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, London, 1955—page 100.

2. Teng Hsiao-ping: *Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China* delivered before the eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on September 16, 1956—Peking, 1956—p. 91; Liu Shao-chi: *The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth National Congress of the Party* (henceforth cited as the *Political Report* . . .), Peking, 1956—p. 85. The *Report* was also published as a supplement to the fortnightly *People's China*, No. 19, 1956.

3. Article 1 of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party adopted at the Eighth National Congress in September, 1956: for example, lays down that "Membership of the Party is open to any

Chinese citizen who works and does not exploit the labour of others; accept the programme and the Constitution of the Party; joins and works in one of the party organizations; carries out the party's decision; and pays membership dues as required." Italics added. For text of the Constitution see the *Current Background*, published by the American Consulate-General, Hongkong No. 417, October 10, 1956—Pp. 33-75 (odd numbered pages); see also *Documents of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Vol. I; Peking, 1956.

4. Except this casual reference in the Preamble, there is no mention of the Communist Party anywhere else in the Chinese Constitution, adopted Sept. 20, 1954. Judged by accepted notions of the relation of a Preamble to the Constitution (for which see Prof. D. N. Banerjee's article in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, September 1954 Pp. 189-198) the position of the Communist Party in China's constitutional set up may not appear to have any great significance. Leaving aside the fact that general standards of constitutional evaluation may not provide a sufficient guide to an appraisal of the Chinese constitutional practice (Liu Shao-Chi in his report presenting the draft constitution for approval of the Chinese Parliament specifically warned: "From a bourgeois viewpoint it is impossible to understand the political system of our country" (the pre-eminent position of the Communist Party of China can hardly fail to be noticed even by casual observers

lies the importance of a study of the growth and current practice of Communism in China.

FOUNDATION OF THE PARTY

The precursor to organized communism in China was the Marxist Study Group organized by two professors of the Peking University—Li Ta-Chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu—in the spring of 1918, only a few months after the Russian Revolution.⁵ Mao Tse-tung was one of the members of this group. Prof. Chen's revolutionary writings had great influence with the progressive intellectuals of that time. The May Fourth Movement⁶ greatly spurred the people's interests in revolutionary thinking and organization and a section of the Chinese intellectuals turned to Marxism for a way out of China's political and economic degeneration. The international communist movement, as represented by the third International or the

of Chinese developments. Suffice it to recall that the constitution (of the Republic) itself was based on a draft prepared by the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung, who again was also the Chairman of the Committee for Drafting the Constitution appointed by the Central Government in 1953. To dispel any possible confusion on the key position of the Party in China, Liu Shao-Chi in his report on the constitution clearly stated: "The Communist Party of China is the core of the leadership in our country"—see Liu Shao-Chi—*Report on the Draft Constitution of the Peoples Republic of China*, delivered before the First Session of the First National People's Congress of China, on Sept. 15, 1954—Peking 1954 Pp. 39; 63. The fact of the absence of a formal provision in the Chinese Constitution according to the Communist Party a status in the model of the Soviet Constitution (Article 126 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.) makes no real difference in the relative position of the Communist Party under the two constitutions. See also the present writer's article in the weekly *Vigil*, Calcutta, March 16-30; 1957.

5. Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, Harvard University Press, 1952—p. 16. The best account yet available in English of the early growth of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in China is given in Prof. Schwartz's book Pp. 7-27; see also Robert C. North—*op. cit.*—p. 53.

6. So called from the date (the 4th of May; 1919) when the movement started. It was a nationalist movement against the Japanese aggression in Shantung. In official Chinese Communist pronouncements great stress is laid on this movement. As a matter of fact the movement in its development far surpassed its original nationalist outlook; it marked the era of Chinese renaissance. See Mao Tse-tung: "The May 4 Movement" in the *Selected Works*—Vol-III Pp. 9-11.

Comintern as it is better known, also evinced a keen interest in China almost simultaneously; and in the spring of 1920 sent two delegates—Gregory Voitinsky and an overseas Chinese named Yang Ming-Chai—to help organise the Chinese Communist movement.⁷ Immediately upon his arrival in China Voitinsky organized a group of leftists and founded the nucleus of the Chinese Communist Party.⁸ On its model many more groups were organized in various towns of China.

The Communist Party of China was formally established on July 1, 1921⁹ when the First Congress of the party opened in Shanghai attended by twelve delegates, including Mao Tse-tung, representing in all fifty-seven¹⁰ Communists. The assorted ideologies of the delegates, it has been stated embraced "biblical socialism, social democracy, anarchism and various shades of Communism."¹¹ It was no wonder then that there was sharp controversy among the delegates on almost all points in the agenda which included, discussions on (a) the "current political situation," (b) the basis task of the Party; (c) the Party constitution and (d) election of leaders.¹²

7. Edward Hallett Carr: *The Bolshevik Revolution* Vol. Three London, 1953—P. 507; North *op. cit.*, p. 54.

8. North—*op. cit.*; pp. 54-55.

9. Hu Chiao-mu: *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, Peking 1951—p. 5; Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank: *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*; London 1952—pp. 30; 51-52; Schwartz—*op. cit.*; Pp. 28-38; North: *op. cit.*; pp. 56-60; William Z. Foster: *History of the Three Internationals*; New York 1955: pp. 300-308; Hugh Seton-Watson: *From Lenin to Malenkov: A History of World Communism*; New York; 1954—pp. 136-142; Carr *op. cit.*; —Vol. 3 pp. 517-18; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congresses of CCP" in the *Jen Min Jih Pao* (*People's Daily*), Peking, Sept. 15, 1956 reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, Sept. 25, 1956.

10. *People's China*; Peking, Sept. 16, 1956—page 17.

11. Kisselev—"A History of Communism in China," *The China Illustrated Review*, January 28, 1928; p. 11 quoted in North *op. cit.*; p. 22.

12. P'ei T'ung—"A summary of the First Seven National Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party," the *Hsueh Hsi* (Study), the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of China; Peking; September, 1956 reproduced in the *Current Background*, Hongkong, No. 410, Sept. 25, 1956.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE FIRST CONGRESS

The First Congress decided that the fundamental task of the Party was to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It adopted a Constitution for the Party after an agreement had been reached that the organizational pattern of the Bolshevik Party of Russia should be the organizational model. Considering the numerical weakness of the Party, the appointment of a Central Committee was not deemed necessary; instead a Central Bureau was created to maintain contact with the Communist nuclei in the various parts of China.¹³

The Congress however agreed on the need to urge workers to participate in the bourgeois—democratic revolution.

Though a representative from the Communist International (Maring or Mahlin), was present at the Congress,¹⁴ the question of the Party joining the International was not raised at all.¹⁵

The First Congress does not appear to have issued any declaration or manifesto.¹⁶ The First Manifesto of the Party was issued on June 10, 1922 a few days before the convocation of the Second Congress. The Manifesto analysed the course of the Chinese revolution up to that and indicated the Party's qualified support to the Kuomintang in the "struggle for the overthrow of the military and for the organization of a real democratic government." It also laid down the immediate demands of the Party.¹⁷

SECOND CONGRESS

The Second Congress of the Party was held in June-July, 1922 in Shanghai attended by twelve delegates representing 123 members¹⁸. A number of topics was discussed and the Congress approved four documents: (1) a political

Resolution; (2) a Resolution on organisation; (3) a Resolution on Women's Movement and (4) the Manifesto of the Second National Congress.

The Manifesto of the Second Congress said that the Communist Party was the Party of the proletariat and its aim was to struggle for (the establishment of) the dictatorship of workers and peasants, the abolition of private property, and the gradual attainment of a Communist society. It laid down a seven-point programme and declared the Party's adherence to the Communist International¹⁹.

The Chief defect of the Second Congress lay in its failure to pay any "attention to the agrarian problem of the Peasantry—the most fundamental problem in democratic revolution"²⁰ and its failure to stress the necessity of proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution.²¹

In August 1922 a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party convened under the initiative of Maring, the representative from the International, decided to ask Party members to enter the Kuomintang after Dr. Sun Yat-Sen had once rejected a Communist offer for mutual alliance.²²

THIRD CONGRESS

The Third Congress of the Party was held in June 1923 in Canton and was attended by thirty members (27 of them being accredited delegates)²³, representing 432 Party members. The agenda of the Congress included discussions on (a) the formation of a United Front with the Kuomintang in the national liberation struggle against the Peking Government, which was being backed by the imperialist powers; and (b) the Programme of the Party. There was a major dispute among the delegates on the question of co-operation with the Kuomin-

13. Chen Pan-tsu—"Reminiscences of the First Congress of the Communist Party of China," *Communist International*; October 1936—p. 1364 quoted in Robert C. North: *Moscow and Chinese Communists*—p. 59.

14. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank *op. cit.*; —p. 30; P'ei T'ung—*op. cit.*

15. Schwartz—*Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*—p. 34.

16. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank—*op. cit.*; —p. 51.

17. For text of the First Manifesto see *Ibid* Pp. 54-63.

18. *People's China*; Sept. 16, 1955.

19. Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, *op. cit.*; —p. 64; North *op. cit.*; Pp. 63-64; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung—*op. cit.*; Hu Chiao-mu—*op. cit.* —p. 7. P'ei T'ung: "A Brief sketch of the First Five Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party," *Hsueh Hsi*, Peking; Sept. 1952 reproduced in the *Current Background*; No. 410 Pp. 29-30.

20. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung—*op. cit.*

21. Hu Chiao-mu—*op. cit.*; Pp. 6-7; *People's China*; September 16 1955—p. 18.

22. North *op. cit.*—p. 64.

23. *People's China*, Sept. 16, 1955—p. 18.

tang—the Party Secretary Ch'en Tu-Ksiu favouring all out co-operation ("Capitulation") while another group headed by Chang Kuo-tao opposing the very proposition of any co-operation with the Kuomintang. The Congress eventually agreed to adopt a policy of a "revolutionary united front" with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party retaining its organizational and political independence. No records were apparently available on the discussions of the Party Programme or its contents.²⁴

It was at the Third Congress that Mao Tse-tung was first elected to the Central Committee of the Party.

24. P'ei T'ung: A Brief Review of the First Five Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party," *Hsueh Hsi*, Peking, Sept. 1, 1952 reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, p. 31.

The historic Sun-Joffe Declaration²⁵ was signed on January 26, 1923 signaling "the advent of that fraternalisation between the KMT²⁶ and the KCT²⁷ which is of paramount importance in the history of Chinese Communism²⁸. The reorganized Kuomintang held its First Congress in Canton in January 1924 in which it was decided to admit the Communists into the Kuomintang²⁹.

(To be Continued)

25. For text see A. K. Wu: *China and the Soviet Union*, London 1950, Pp. 312-313, Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank *op. cit.* Pp. 70-71.

26. Abbreviation for the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party).

27. Abbreviation for the Kung Ch'an-tung (the Communist Party).

28. A. K. Wu—*op. cit.*—p. 313.

29. For the text of the First National Programme adopted by the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 see the *China Handbook* 1937-1943, *Chungking*, 1943—Pp. 57-58.

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THE THIRD SOVIET ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITE

By V. LEVANTOVSKY

THE third Soviet sputnik was launched on May 15, 1958.

What has the new Soviet sputnik in common with the artificial Earth Satellite launched earlier in the USSR and the United States and how does it differ from them?

Just as in the case of the two first Soviet satellites, the plane of the orbit of the third sputnik is inclined at an angle of 65° to the plane of the equator. To place a sputnik in an orbit, forming such a big angle with the plane of the equator requires a much greater initial speed than in case of an orbit crossing the equator at a smaller angle. On the other hand, this affords a number of advantages and is of much greater interest to science since in this case the sputnik flies over almost the entire surface of the Earth (except the polar regions.)

The planes of the orbits of the three American artificial satellites form angles of 33°-35° with the plane of the equator, which makes it possible to observe them and receive their radio-signals only in a relatively narrow range

of geographical latitudes. Visual and photographing tracking are very difficult owing to the small size of the American satellites. But the new Soviet sputnik, and the last stage of the carrier-rocket from which it separated will be well seen everywhere with the naked eye thanks to their big size.

The apogee of the orbit of Sputnik No. 3 is higher than that of the previous sputniks and is 1,880 km. from the Earth. The sputnik makes one revolution around the Earth in 106 minutes, or more than 13 revolutions daily.

The most striking feature of the new satellite is its weight, 1,327 kg. It is almost 16 times greater than the weight of the first Soviet sputnik, almost one hundred times bigger than the weight of the American Explorer-1 and Explorer-2 and more than 900 times bigger than the Vanguard. It should be borne in mind that this figure, 1,327 kg., does not include the weight of the last stage of the carrier-rocket which was also put in orbit.

Moreover, the weight of both the first and

the third American satellites with which we compared the third Soviet sputnik included the weight of the carrier-rocket. Thus, this time a big mass, considerably greater than 1,327 kg., succeeded in escaping the Earth's gravity, which testifies to the exceedingly high development of rocketry in the Soviet Union.

The third Soviet sputnik is equipped with a wealth of scientific instruments, making possible research in various fields. The total weight of the scientific and radio-measuring equipment, as well as the source of electric power housed in the sputnik amounts to 968 kg., almost twice the weight of the equipment in the second Soviet sputnik and nearly 200 times the weight of the scientific equipment in the American Explorer-1 and Explorer-2.

Let us mention first of all the equipment designed for studying the geomagnetic field which was absent on the second Soviet sputnik. The very origin of the geomagnetic field is unknown to science. There are also many uncertainties as to the causes of the periodic changes of the magnetic field and the sudden "magnetic storms."

Perhaps to some extent other instruments installed for the first time on a sputnik will help find an answer to these questions. These instruments are designed for measuring of the concentration of positive ions in the upper layers of the atmosphere and also for measuring the value of the electric charge of the sputnik and the tension of the electrostatic field of the Earth. Scientists suppose that there are in the ionosphere constant electric currents, the flow of which is disturbed from time to time by streams of particles coming from the Sun (so-called corpuscular radiation) which cause magnetic storms.

Of very great interest is the study, with the help of instruments on the sputnik, of meteoric bodies,—solid particles which are continuously bombing the atmosphere of our planet. Scientists think that the tiniest particles, micrometeors, exert an influence on many processes taking place in the upper layers of the atmosphere. A study of the bigger meteors is of great significance for ascertaining the scope of the so-called "meteoric danger" threatening future spaceships.

Instruments for the study of the corpuscular radiation of the Sun and cosmic rays have been installed in the third Soviet sputnik, just as in the second. It is known that investigations already made with the help of Soviet and American satellite have brought to light a number of entirely new, unexpected phenomena in this sphere. The third sputnik will help check new hypothesis of scientists. The study of cosmic rays will enable researchers not only to penetrate more deeply the mysteries of the origin of the universe but also to solve major problems connected with ensuring the safety of interplanetary travel.

The instruments placed in the sputnik will transmit to the Earth data on the temperature inside the sputnik and on its surface. It is remarkable that to ensure the normal functioning of the equipment the temperature within the sputnik will be regulated automatically. Such a task was set already by our famous scientist K. Tsiolkovsky and is of major significance for ensuring normal conditions of life for passengers of future spaceships.

Lastly, solar batteries are an interesting feature of the new sputnik. These batteries, transforming solar energy into electric energy, will be able to prolong considerably the operation of the equipment. This first solar batteries are the prototype of gigantic solar electric stations which will serve the needs of inhabited "cosmic islands" of the future. An important role is played by a timer device which controls the work of the equipment, making possible the economical use of electricity.

While the radio transmitters in the small American satellites can emit only weak signals, the size of the Soviet sputniks made it possible carry radio transmitters of big capacity. This, just as previously, enabled the broadest sections of scientists and radio hams to receive the radio signals of the third sputnik.

As for the significance of the launching of the new sputnik for solving problems of space travel, we should first of all stress the fact that Soviet scientists and engineers have succeeded in surpassing their previous achievements which staggered the world and have put in orbit near the Earth an unprecedented total weight of metal shells and equipment. Future big steps in mastering outer space require the use of

sputniks and research rockets of big size carrying diverse instruments.

Let us recall that the power of radio-signals received diminishes rapidly as distance increases. Hence it is clear how important it is for a rocket sent to the Moon or in general

far from the Earth to have on board powerful radio transmitters, and for this it must be of large size. The launching of the new huge Soviet sputnik proves the possibility of still greater progress in the mastery of outer space by man.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN GARO HILLS

THERE is nothing monotonous and rigidly conformist about the Community Development movement in India, which has, in the five-and-a-half years of its existence, shown the basic characteristics of a living organism, a powerful urge for growth combined with a capacity for adaptation to a multiplicity of conditions and needs. This fact was brought home to us in a variety of ways during the week we spent at the Resu-Belpara Block in Assam.

The area covered by this Block lies on the northern slopes of Garo Hills, forming part of the lower Himalayan range which separates the Brahmaputra valley from the southern districts of Assam. The region gets its name from the hardy tribals who inhabit the lonely hills, which have until very recently remained largely unopened to the world that lies beyond.

Their very first contact with the region and its people made it clear to the workers attached to the Block that the experience in Community Development techniques they had acquired elsewhere was not of much help in these rugged, severely isolationist tribal tracts, where road to frustration was paved with good intentions and more important than knowing what to do was knowing what not to do.

No one was in a better position to understand this situation than Harrison Marak of village Belpara. Only six months ago, Mr. Marak had returned after three years of agricultural training at Jorhat and Shillong to preside over Resu-Belpara's Self-Help Society—a body roughly equivalent to a Panchayat—there being no Panchayats as such in Garo Hills.

NEED FOR RESTRAINT

"In these regions," Mr. Marak said to us, "excessive enthusiasm does not pay. The Garos are not an unfriendly people, but they share the tribal people's inborn fear and suspicion of all that is extraneous. They are quick to resent anything which looks like patronising or interference. The Community Project people here have done well to avoid the civilising zeal of some pre-project missionaries and village uplifters, who, because of their blind and aggressive goodness towards the tribals have succeeded mainly in wounding their pride, disrupting their way of life and degrading their arts and crafts."

In this respect, the Garo Hills offered a genuine testing ground for the philosophy behind Community Development movement in India, which all along has laid emphasis on the importance of basing all progress on local economy and functioning as far as possible through local institutions.

The beneficial effects of this approach are much in evidence in the field of agricultural development. Initial enthusiasm on the part of some project people for abolishing "primitive" practices and for introducing spectacular innovations changed with growing experience. Going around some of the villages with the Project Executive Officer, we were happy to find that the Block's financial and labour resources were being more fruitfully utilised in improving existing facilities and conditions than in introducing spectacular innovations for which the local farmers cannot find much use.

Some useful innovations, however, have been made in the directions in which it could

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN GARO HILLS

be most rightly done without disturbing local economy. Fine cashewnut cultivation has remarkably caught on with the Garo farmers, as the introduction of cashewnut cultivation. Garo Hills' climate and soil condition have been found suitable for this crop; the gamble paid. Soon, in the commercial towns of the valley of Assam, Garo Hills will become famous not only for their cotton but also for their cashewnuts.

were at least two known instances of burning of hospitals by enraged villagers.

This posed a grave problem until the Assistant Project Executive Officer in charge of the Block hit upon a novel idea. Medical men before they proceeded to the interior were thoroughly briefed in local sickness and health cults and adequately posted with knowledge of local herbs, some of which incidentally have been found to be highly efficacious. As far as



Mrs. Lohomani De Shira, a 80-year old Garo woman of Dilma village, is the moving spirit behind the Women's Industrial Co-operative Society



A young Garo girl proudly displays the lovely cotton shawl made by her at a Production-cum-Training centre for weaving

NEW MEDICINE FOR OLD

Medicine is another field in which a flexible and intelligent approach on the part of project officials turned initial doubts and resentment into enthusiastic participation in the end. As is the case with most tribal people, medicine among the Garos is mixed up inextricably with religious and occult practices. Modern medicine was for long time a suspect. Medical men working with the Block were manhandled in many places during the early days and there

possible, they were asked to supplement and not replace the traditional healing methods. During epidemics, which in the Garo Hills have been, until recently, as frequent as disastrous, modern medicine won countless converts by the simple strategy of saving life. Garos are not an ungrateful people. Soon they were helping the authorities in building hospitals, which today adorn the Garo countryside like temples of popular deities.

WOMEN TO THE FORE

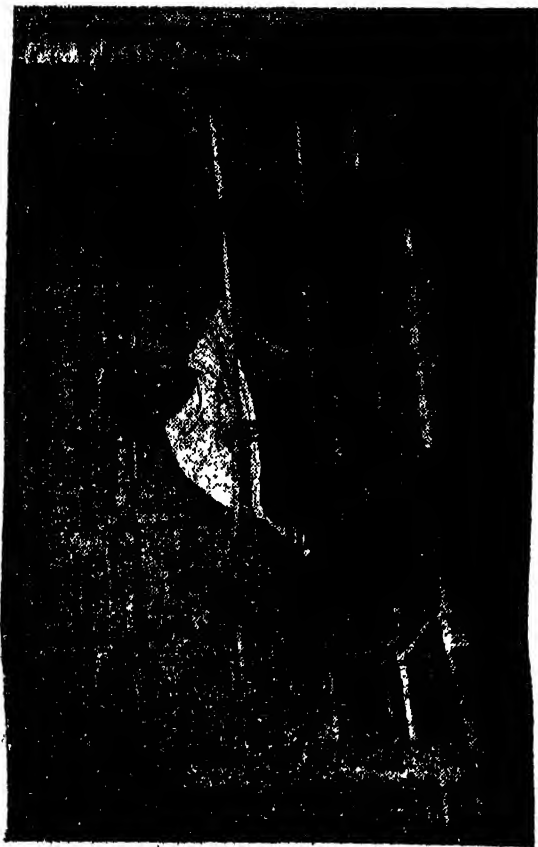
It was, however, not in these epitomes that we found the perfect embodiment of Garo



A party of students helping to build a bund on the Gajong river



A couple of Garo farmers cutting terraces on their field



A Garo housewife working on a local variety of loom



A view of the Community Hospital at Belpara

Hills' resurgent spirit. We found it in the frail, 80-year old body of Lohomani De Shira of Dilma village. Mrs. De Shira presides over a unique and flourishing institution, an industrial co-operative society composed entirely of women. The Society which was started as a modest Mahila Club in Dilma five years back has grown into a colossal institution, and is today one of the chief instruments of rural development in the region. Through its sales and marketing organisation at Dilma and more than a dozen production-cum-training centres for women spread over the interior, the Society has provided both power and direction to what can legitimately be called a cottage-industrial revolution in the Garo Hills.

The importance of this organisation for Garo Hills can be appreciated only when the place of weaving in Garo society is fully understood. Garo women are born weavers. A handloom is an indispensable article of every household, and proficiency in the art of weaving is considered a necessary pre-condition of eligibility for marriage for a young Garo girl.

Apart from imparting training to young women, the Society, with liberal financial assistance from the Block and the State Tribal Welfare Board, supplies free looms to qualified trainees. Lohomani De Shira introduced us to a group of girl students from Gangdobi who, by spending an hour daily at the weaving centre situated at a distance of less than two miles from their school, were helping to bring an extra income of 30 to 50 rupees every month to their families.

A SCRIPT IS BORN

Another major development has been in the field of education. The Garos have a very peculiar language of their own without any properly developed script. Moreover, the dia-

lect varies from village to village. The first problem that the project people had to face was the crying need for a common script. The Autonomous District Council of Garo Hills instituted a special committee which recommended adaption of Roman script. Soon after, the task of producing suitable text-books was taken in hand. The rate of advance made in this direction has been truly astonishing. A highly competent fortnightly news-sheet produced by the staff and students of the high school at Resu introduced us to the beauty and potentiality of the Garo language which is rapidly taking its place as one of the major languages of Assam.

Our only disappointment in Garo Hills came from the somewhat slow pace of improvement in means of communication. Although, in the last four or five years some excellent roads have been built to connect some of the major villages in the Block with the District headquarters at Tura and the big market towns of Goalpara and Gauhati in the valley below, internal communications, by and large, remain agonisingly under-developed. One reason for this state of affairs could be the difficult nature of the terrain itself; another, the high cost of maintaining good roads. However, the discovery of large deposits of coal near Nangalbibra, at the heart of the Garo Hills, has brought with it the prospects of better roads in the near future. Work has already begun on the extension of the 15-mile long Resu-Bajengdoba road, the region's main artery of internal communications, to connect it with the coal-bearing region.

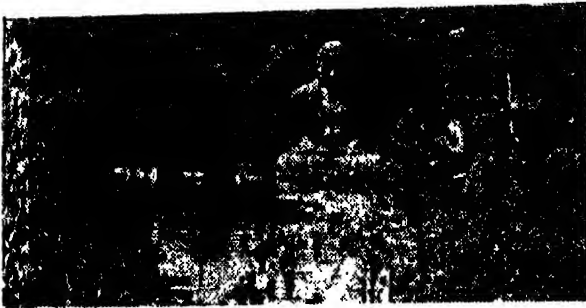
It is, however, in the matter of roads alone that the Garos look towards assistance from outside. In every other field they prefer to do everything with their own resources and with their own hands—and rightly too.—PIB.



THE HEART OF JAPAN

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

THE pre-war Japan and modern Japan are entirely different in outlook and character. The sublimely indomitable, intensely egoistic spirit of the pre-war militaristic Japan has been converted into a new democratic Japan. It was rather lucky that I visited the Japan of today in August and September, 1954 during my tour round the world as the cultural ambassador of the Bharata Sanskriti Parishat.



World-famed Daibutsu (Great Buddha)
in Karakura

During the last great war, Japan made an unconditional surrender in 1945 and for seven years she was under occupation by America. But out of evil cometh good. This period of

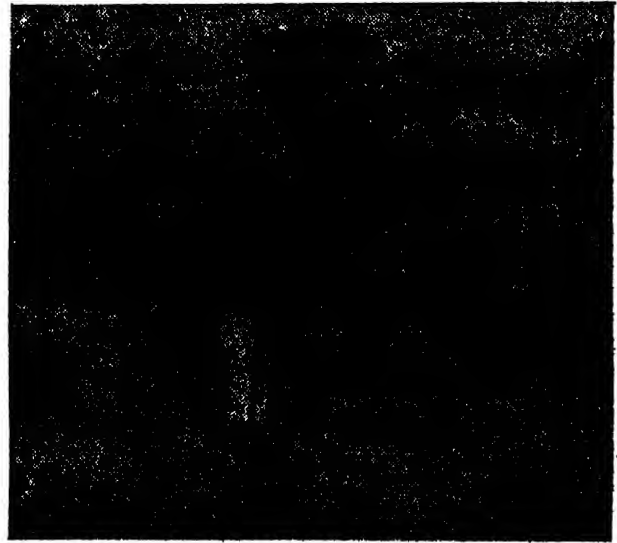


The flower-festival celebrates Buddha's birthday

the occupation, though a national disgrace in sense, has brought in epoch-making

changes and has been the cause of great developments in all walks of life.

First of all, there has been demilitarization, followed by separation of the state from religion. This has been America's great friendly act in Japan. The democratic ideas of U.S.A. touched every corner of Japanese life. There has been a new constitution giving wide rights of liberty, franchise, local autonomy and making many other sweeping changes. There has been a new civil code, reform of the police and educational systems, land reforms and development of labour. The State is now a Welfare State, catering to the needs of the people.



Shinjuku Gyoen Garden in uptown Tokyo

But with all these new changes and reforms, the heart of Japan is still the same. The Japanese still possess a unifying faith in a national destiny. This faith and this intense patriotism made Japan throughout its diplomatic career rise as a great power. While Japan was busy in empire-building, in manufacturing and in militarisation, she was still powerful in her spiritual heritage. She turned to the ancient ethics for her philosophy. She survived the competition and conflict of the west by keeping her heart pure.

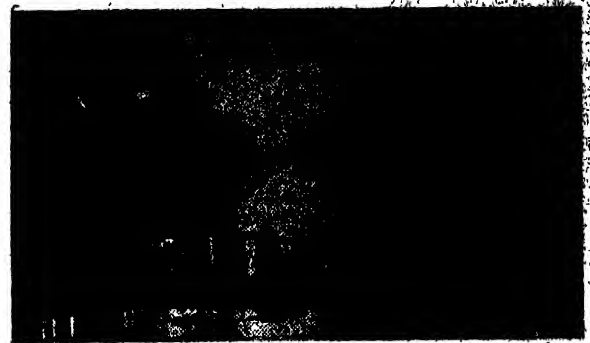
It was possible for me to dive deep into the hidden source of Japan's national character, because I was a guest in Nishihara in a hermitage organised by George Oshawa, who is a dreamer and dreams of world-organization and world-unity. He wants to fuse and amalgamate the East and the West and build a better and a richer world.

his bit of madness or eccentricity. I was glad to find that this peculiar trait of the new people has been noted by Upton Cross. He writes: "The Japanese love of eccentricity and hyperbole in lighter things adds a great deal of charm to the islands."

The Japanese like Indians are fond of festivals. Some of these festivals centre round



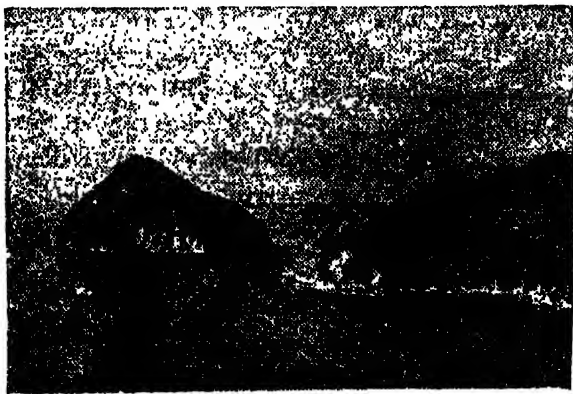
A lovely approach to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo



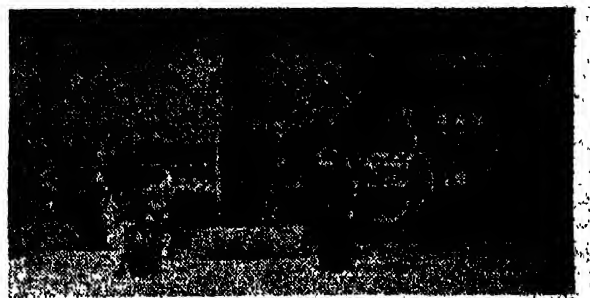
The colourful fireworks display

George Oshawa himself is a Buddhist but the gentleman in charge of his Association is a Christian gentleman called John Yanaguchi. He is a kind-hearted nice man and during my stay in this place, he allowed me to have his room and have his bed while he himself slept in an easy-chair. The Japanese soldiers are noted for their thorough discipline, but still the imagination of the people is captured by anything totally whimsical, individualistic and

the peoples' love of nature and their aesthetic sense of beauty. The Japanese derive their love of beauty and culture from their inner nature but they have developed it into a new art of life. It manifests itself in their fine arts, in their daily outlook, in dress and in all other appurtenances of daily life. The Japanese village is built to nestle into the mountains and mist harmoniously. Even the factory worker in the midst of smoke and dust will look up to have a glimpse



Mt. Fuji over the Mitohama Beach, Izu



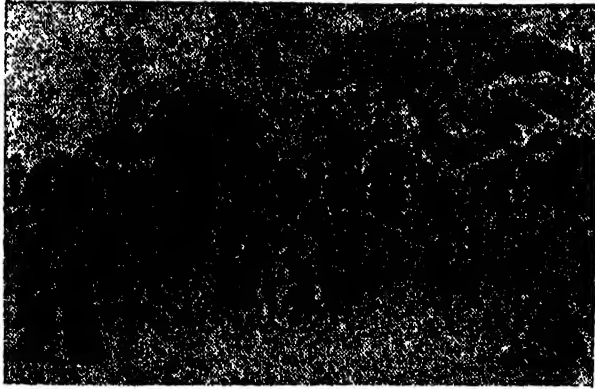
A scene from a traditional Kabuki performance

impulsive. George Oshawa is a notable man, broad-minded and catholic in his outlook though he is all the same an eccentric man who believes that vegetarianism is the cure for all diseases. With their love for restraint and discipline, here is a curious example how a large band of followers has gathered round Oshawa in spite of

of the snow-clad Mount Fuji. Everybody that goes out at night will look up at the sky and greet the moon.

This innate love for beauty is apparent from the fact that they have festivals of moon-viewing and flower-viewing. Sakura or Cherry-blossom is the symbol of spring and the people, young and old, go out to enjoy the sight of the flowers in bud or in full bloom. Even Tokyo,

the premier city of trade and commerce, is called the capital of flowers.



A performance of the gorgeous Kabuki

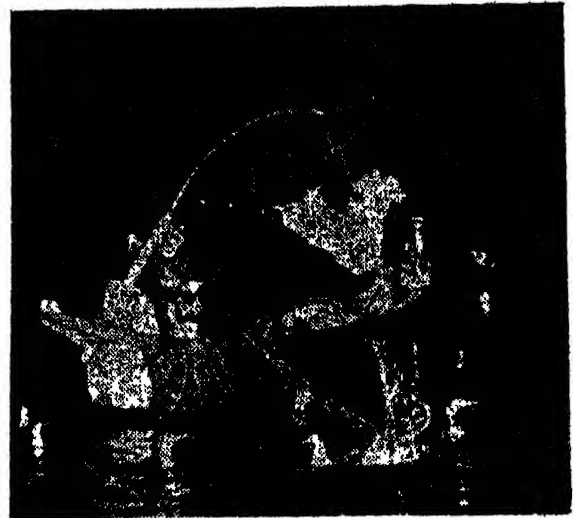
This aesthetic bent of the race has conquered the filth of modern industrial life. Half of the population in Japan is engaged in agriculture and fishery, while the other half is busy with manufacture and industry. But even in their trade and industry there is some poetry and colour. The workers of this highly industrialized country will have hours off to watch the lotus open, the cherry fall and the maple leaf turn. Even in her new stone and concrete cities, there is beauty and romance, mystery and colour, poetry and play. Rows of shops in a street are a kaleidoscope of design and arrangement.



A spectacular scene in a Kabuki play

Art is a national affair in Japan. Every big department has one floor constantly devoted to art exhibitions, musical performances and other festivals of Nature worship. The soul of the people has not been destroyed by the

greed of profit-making. The Japanese are proud of their island heroes. Japan has her many mountains and they enjoy their magnificent scenic beauty. Rivers thread their way through the peaks, forming lovely waterfalls and ravines in the upper reaches. The hot springs in scenic environments, the picturesque landscape, the crystal streams, the silvery cascades, the great forests—all are there in Japan. The Japanese are their most ardent and sincere admirers. A writer has said well that they draw as much sustenance from white lilies as from a loaf of bread.



Cormorant fishing on the River Nagara

Closely interwoven with their love of beauty is their love of pleasure. One channel of this is to be found in their national dramas. I had the good fortune of witnessing a Kabuki performance in Tokyo. This classical dramatic performance owes its origin to the Noh and the puppet show. Without knowing a single word of Japanese it was not possible for me to appreciate the inner symbolism of the play. But it was a magnificent feast for the eye. On a very big stage we were pleased to witness gorgeously colourful costumes, luxurious settings, and spectacular acting.

Like that of us in Bengal, rice, fish and vegetables form the principal items of the Japanese diet. But they are served in containers which are to be admired for their colour, shape and design. I had the good fortune of being invited to a dinner by one Mr. Azimur, a follower of Mr. Oshawa and a member of his

THE HEART OF JAPAN

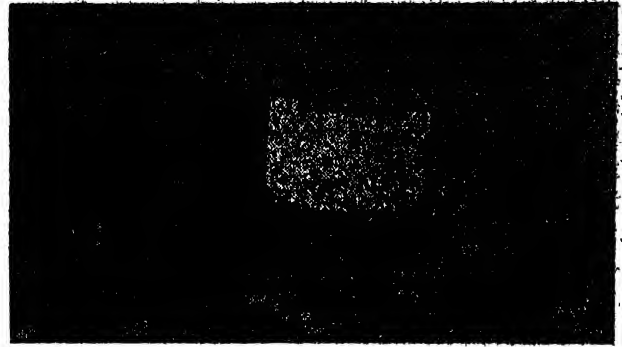
organisation. They do not use knife and fork. I tried their chopsticks but without success. We were served green tea as an essential part of the meal. There was no other drink in this dinner, but the people as a whole enjoy having sake or rice-wine.



Pearl-divers of Ise-Shima National Park

What struck me most is the wonderful recoupment Japan has made after the great devastations of the last war. The real reason for Japan's success is to be found in many causes, viz., rationalization and production, modernization of machinery, cheapness of power and labour, co-operation instead of throat-cutting in their industries and above all Government supervision and help. But the most important source is to be found in the morale of the workers, their profound faith in the value and importance of their work, each believes that he is working for the nation, and they must win over the Western world. India is free for ten years but with all our boasts, there is no fire in our heart. Our leaders must know that without this morale no nation can rise in the world.

As the cultural ambassador of India, my attention was closely devoted to the cultural link and Japan. I am happy that through Japanese friends, I was able to come into close touch with the heads of many Buddhist monasteries. I was impressed



Marunouchi, hub of commercial activities

with the meditative aspects of Buddhism in Thailand, but I am glad to find that the adroit and agile Japanese are now-a-days giving more emphasis on preaching and active worship.

My stay was short. I have a mind to go once again and study Japanese culture. What I should ask my countrymen to remember is that it was Subhas Chandra Bose who is the actual builder of Indian Independence and he did so through Japanese help. We shall lose nothing but shall gain everything if we keep a bit closer and more intimate contact with our brothers of the land of the rising sun.



A TRIP TO TIVOLI

By PROF. (MISS) O. FERNANDES

It began on a warm day in late March. We were planning our trip to Europe, and a friend who had been there the previous year had come to help.

"While in Rome," our friend advised, "you must visit Tivoli."



The Villa D'Este with its foreground of fountains and cascades

Something stirred in my memory. It was a passage from a schoolgirl novel which I still had with me. The schoolgirls, on a visit to Italy, had spent a day at Tivoli which had been the fashionable summer resort of Ancient Rome. One of the girls had said, "No wonder the old Romans came here for their holidays! I expect Cicero and Pliny and—oh, I forget all their names!—have looked at these waterfalls and admired them. I call it great!"

That settled it. In my little notebook I wrote, "Visit Tivoli."

So it came about that one of the first things we did in Rome was to walk up to a well-known travel agency and ask about excursions to Tivoli. Trips to Tivoli were a regular feature of this travel agency, and within a few minutes we had booked seats on a luxury motor-coach which would take us there for a full day's sightseeing on the following Sunday. The cost of the trip was four thousand lire (about

thirty-three rupees) and this included lunch at a first class restaurant, tips, and the services of an English-speaking guide. The motor-coach was scheduled to leave Rome at 9-30 in the morning and to return fairly early in the evening. In addition to sightseeing at Tivoli, the itinerary included visits en route to the Italian (or Mussolini) Forum which is situated in the suburbs of Rome and is the centre of Italian sports and athletics and the site of the 1960 Olympic games; and to Hadrian's villa which lies in the district of Tivoli, a couple of miles away from the town.



The gardens of the Villa D'Este. The fountains to the right of the picture give the appearance of a wall of water

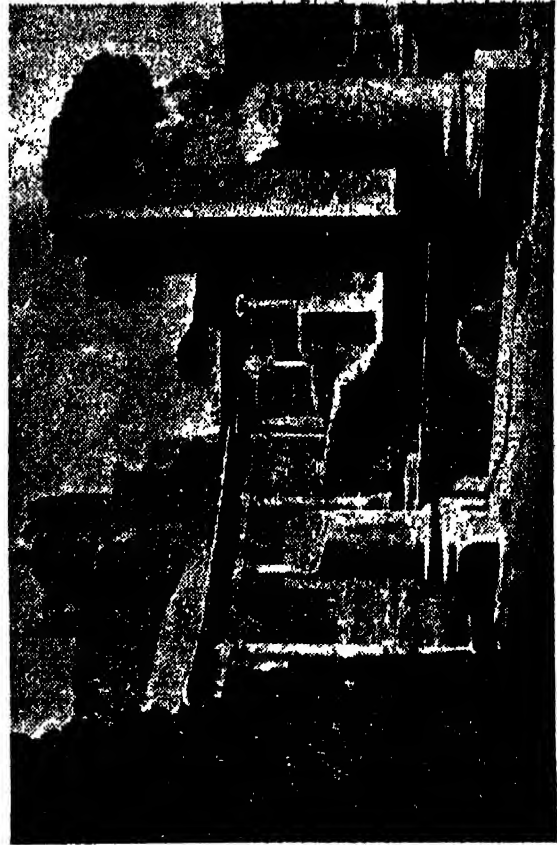
The little town of Tivoli lies on the Tibur-tine hills about eighteen miles to the East, north-east of Rome. During the days of the Roman Empire, Tibur (as Tivoli was then called) was a sort of hill-station for rich and fashionable Romans several of whom (including at least two of the Emperors) had villas there.



The Gardens of the Villa D'Este. A magnificent walk with shady trees on one side and scores of fountains on the other



Umbrellas from a restaurant in the foreground give a modern touch to this view of the remains of one of the Roman temples at Tivoli



The remains of Hadrian's Villa are impressive in the spring sunshine

Some of these villas are scattered about the district of Tivoli. The finest is Hadrian's villa. Hadrian's villa is not a villa in the ordinary sense of the word, but consists of a collection of temples, theatres, gardens, and a palace sprawling over an area of about 160 acres. The emperor Hadrian was a great traveller, and many of the buildings in his villa were miniature replicas of the famous buildings he saw while touring the Roman provinces. Today, everything is in ruins—but what magnificent ruins! Our visit to Hadrian's villa was on a sunny spring morning. Cypress trees stood tall and beautiful. Here and there grew a bush of hawthorn in full bloom. The party in our motor-coach was a cosmopolitan and modern one—American, Canadian, Indian, and British, camera-swinging tourists led by a Roman guide who spoke fluent English with an Italian accent. But as we gazed at the ruins of Hadrian's villa we seemed to be transported for a brief space of time to the distant days of the Roman Empire when the emperor Hadrian held court at his villa during the second century A.D.

On entering Tivoli itself, the first thing we did was to drive to that part of the town which overlooks a deep gorge through which flows the river Anio. The Anio is not impressive. From the top of the gorge it doesn't look much broader than a stream; but the view is beautiful, for the gorge is wooded, lofty waterfalls tumble over its sides, and the whole scene is dominated by the picturesque remains of two small Roman temples traditionally attributed to the goddess Vesta. Lunch was arranged for us on the open terrace of a restaurant overlooking the gorge. It was a wonderful experience—to sit with a cosmopolitan crowd under colourful umbrellas, with the Anio flowing below and an ancient temple on an eminence

beyond, eating Italian food and listening to an old musician playing Italian airs on his guitar.

After lunch the guide announced, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, I will show you something really beautiful."

We realised later that this was, if anything, an understatement, for the gardens of the Villa D'Este to which he took us are incredibly lovely and, today, are Tivoli's major attraction. The Villa D'Este is a Renaissance villa dating from the middle of the sixteenth century. Its terraced gardens with their beautiful shady avenues are laid out on a steep slope. Outstanding feature of the gardens is the magnificent profusion of nearly 400 ornamental fountains and cascades. That afternoon in the gardens of the Villa D'Este was unforgettable. There were crowds of visitors, and parties of tourists shepherded by guides; but those splendid Renaissance gardens with their sparkling cascades, limpid pools, soaring fountains, and shady walks possessed a peace and beauty, which nothing could mar.

The epilogue to this trip to Tivoli came a few months later, a couple of weeks after our return to India. I happened to meet, at a party, an Italian gentleman who had come out to India only a few months before. We fell to talking about Italy and I particularly mentioned Tivoli with which I had been so impressed. But the gentleman didn't seem to know what I was talking about. "Tivoli" he said, "Where is that?"

And then it transpired that I had been anglicizing the pronunciation of the word Tivoli!

Whereupon he cried excitedly, "Tivoli! Of course, I know Tivoli! But if you don't pronounce it properly how can I understand you? Ah, yes! Tivoli is beautiful; it is wonderful!"



ON DOGS AND MEN

By DR. MOHAN LAL SETHI, D.Sc., F.E.S.,

Retd. Principal

ALL domestic animals like all cultivated plants were originally found wild in a state of nature. The history of the domestication of a few among these is known but the history of the majority is lost in antiquity. Nobody knows who tamed the ancestor of the present-day dog and when. I have read naturalists waxing eloquent over this phenomenal advance in human civilization. Who knows for how many milleniums our forbears were stuck up in the life of the chase? Who first trapped and tamed the harmless herbivorous sheep and bred them for meat? The first pastor, like other first-rate benefactors of mankind, is again lost to us. For our pastoral ancestors, who reared flocks of sheep and goats, the carnivores must have been a source of endless trouble. The ancestors of the dog and their cousins the wolves, must have claimed a heavy toll from the shepherds of old. The plucky shepherd who caught hold of the first pup and tamed him must be honoured by a statue by dog fanciers. He must have come upon a freshly delivered litter of pups by accident in the jungle and the mother must have popped off during difficult delivery. Out of sheer pity he must have carried the helpless pup to his cave. The pup as he grew up, must have astonished its master beyond measure. His instinctive liking for his foster parent, must have been ascribed to a feeling of gratitude for the saviour. This liking for the saviour was, in course of time, expanded to include the herd of sheep belonging to the saviour. The potential enemy was transformed into a powerful friend who did not hesitate to fight and to destroy his own kith and kin for the sake of his master. The taming of the dog was a red letter day in the history of the civilization of mankind.

Though there are wild varieties of dog found in certain parts of Asia and Europe, canine experts opine that the modern dog is descended from the wolf. The dog and the wolf interbreed freely and their progeny is fertile.

Although the wolf is an intractable animal, when compared with the dog, instances are on record where people tamed baby wolves who showed the same measure of attachment and faithfulness towards their human masters as the dog. It must not be forgotten that many varieties of dog have arisen from chance variations under domestication. Naturalists think that his characteristic bark the dog learnt after he came under the influence of man. In proof of this cases of dogs left or strayed from sailors in uninhabited islands are cited. The descendants of such dogs, in the absence of human company, forgot barking in a few generations.

Man dotes on dog and the dog dotes on man. There is some instinctive liking of the one for the other in both. Every human child, some time or the other, makes an attempt to own and fondle a pup. In most cases this infatuation is shortlived, in others it is lifelong. Conversely the most contemptible pup of a pariah bitch is looking out for a human patron and enjoys being led in a string by a child. This liking for the dog in humans reaches its climax in old bachelors and spinsters. Psychologists will perhaps say that not being able to bestow their love and affection on their own progeny, bachelors and spinsters, shower it on the canine and so find satisfaction. The instinct for parenthood seeks and finds fulfilment in this way. That is why a cynic was heard to say, "Humans who do not breed humans, breed dogs."

Generally fanciers keep pedigree dogs which are fine specimens of their kinds and are aristocrats among dogs. But cases are not rare where a person has got attached to a varied non-descript assortment of dogs in whom there is no appeal for the friend of the dog lover and who cannot honestly act on the proverb, 'Love me love my dog.' Not long ago a spinster proudly paraded her lap dog to me. It was her late

mother's pet. With its hair coming off at the time and its scaly skin, it appeared to me the sorriest survivor of its kind. The lady divined my thoughts and said, "It is in its twelfth year. It has lost some of its teeth. In a few days its coat will be all right. It looks after me like my mother. When she died it refused food and drink for a week. The little one is very dear to me." I listened to all this and felt very guilty for not having praised the dog outright.

I am not a dog fancier but I had my fling on the tribe in my younger days. A father's friend on repeated requests gave me a spaniel pup whose fore-limbs were mal-formed. I carried it a distance of ten miles to the town. It developed some digestive trouble and I used to carry it to the veterinary hospital for about two weeks till it died. I gave it a decent burial with the help of my father. My son is a dog fancier. When his bitch littered, two of the pups died the first day and only one survived. One day I said to my son, "Who cleans the bed of the mother and the little one?" "The sweeper of course," he said. Knowing better I kept quiet. Next morning when the pup was crawling in the sun on the verandah, it eased itself. My son who was standing close by shouted for the sweeper. Before the sweeper could reach, the mother lapped up the excreta, little minding the don'ts and frowns of her master. This is the way the bitch keeps her pups and her bed clean. The dog is one of nature's honorary scavengers. Do whatever you like, he must run after filth, decaying carcasses and bones. For this reason the dog is looked upon as unclean and a taboo is put upon it by some people. Really the dog is one of nature's Harijans—those nearest to God. It is the height of unkindness combined with ingratitude to declare the dog unclean and treat him as an untouchable. The dog shows a devotion to duty which humans would do well to emulate. The Gita says, "The Lord lives in the heart of every creature."* The author of the Gita returns to this theme several times. The Hindus, who consider the Gita to be the essence and the epitome of all the Vedas and the Upanishads, after this categorical pronouncement have no reason to give the dog a bad name.

* Gita: XVIII: 61.

The dog is the victim of his very acute and peculiar sense of smell combined with an extraordinary memory for smells. Acute, because things which humans declare to be non-odorous, give out odours which the dog can appreciate and evaluate. Peculiar, because things which are very repulsive and nauseating to humans are very attractive to our canine pet. Man has not been slow in putting these special traits of the dog to his use. Hunters avail of the service of dogs in chase. Police people train dogs to help them in tracking down criminals. Police dogs because of their unerring sense of smell take up the trail of murderers when human ingenuity fails.

The universal popularity of the dog is mainly due to this animal's liking for play and its capacity for demonstrating its emotions. Children take so kindly to dogs because these frolicsome creatures join them wholeheartedly in their play. While playing with children dogs permit themselves to be roughly handled and they too take all sorts of liberties with their human play-mates. Without the gift of speech, this dumb creature is unique in the animal kingdom for exhibiting his emotions. Perhaps with the exception of monkeys and apes which are higher in the scale of evolution, no other animals can excel the dogs in the display of emotions. Watch a dog welcoming his master back home in the evening. The reception he gives is, perhaps, warmer than the one given by the man's wife. He bubbles over with joy. He yelps, he jumps, he wags his tail. I may be wrong, but I think no mother or wife ever gave such an affectionate reception to a man as his dog. Dog fanciers can justifiably feel proud of their pets for this reason if for nothing else.

There are stories galore about the faithfulness of the dog but perhaps the earliest of these to be committed to writing is the story of the dog, in the Mahabharata, who followed the five Pandava brothers in their ascent to heaven. When four of the brothers and Draupadi had fallen one by one, Yudhisthir found himself followed by a dog. When he reached the gate of heaven ultimately, the dog was still at his heels. The gate opened and Yudhisthir was allowed to enter. The gate-keeper refused to admit the

dog. Upon this Yudhisthir refused to walk in saying, "I would stay out if my faithful dog is not admitted. This creature pinning his faith in me has accompanied me through all the difficulties of the arduous ascent. I will not get into heaven without him. It would be an act of betrayal." This was the penultimate test to which Yudhisthir was subjected by the gods. It was Dharamraj himself in the guise of the dog who had followed Yudhisthir. Hearing Yudhisthir's resolve to forego heaven rather than betray a dumb confiding animal, Dharamraj threw off his guise and welcomed Yudhisthir into heaven.

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ECONOMICS OF TRANSPORT

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"THE 'transport' industries which undertake nothing more than the mere movement of persons and things from one place to another," says Marshall in his book *Industry and Trade*, "have constituted one of the most important activities of men in every stage of advanced civilization." Transport industry plays an important role as an integral part of the economic system. Transport is an indispensable part of the economic life of the country. All means of transport contribute to the economic development of the country in a variety of ways. In an under-developed country like ours, there is no need of emphasizing the importance of transport system. The framers of the Second Five-Year Plan rightly gauging the vital role of the transport system gave first preference for the development of existing means of transport so as to cope up with the planned rapid industrialization of the country. In his address to the 14th meeting of the Transport Advisory Council at Delhi, the Hon'ble Transport Minister said, "The needs of the country are, however, such at present that there should be an urgent expansion of transport capacity." Effective transportation is indispensable to economic progress. No nation can reach an advanced stage of development without adequate facilities for moving goods and persons. While writing about U.S.A., T. C. Bigham states:

"Historians have generally failed to appreciate the importance of this (trans-

port) factor in American development. Much more attention has been given to the growth of manufactures, to currency and the banking system; but none of these matters has exerted a tithe of the influence upon our economic growth that has come from improvements in transportation. In fact, since 1815 our most conspicuous economic achievements have depended directly upon this factor."

In plain language transport means the function of moving persons and things from one place to another. But economics of transporting persons and things involve problems which rank with some of the most difficult in the whole corpus of economic science hence the necessity of studying the subject of 'Transport'. The term transport system is the sum of all technical instruments and organizations designed to enable persons, commodities and news to master space. It responds to the vast complex human needs—economic, social, cultural, political and religious. It has a vital influence on all human relations. The growth of the transport system affords one of the principal clues to the history of civilization. Howsoever we may define transport the close interdependence of transport and economic life is obvious. Transport is closely connected with various fields of the science of economics, viz., production, localisation of industries, exchange, rent, interest, wages, profits, consumption, etc.

Now-a-days a question is asked, "Is transport a public utility?" The answer is of course "yes". The collective demand of an organised society with a high standard of living for the means of transport is exceedingly strong. The efficiency and sufficiency of transport affect the entire economic life of the country. Cheap and speedy transport has become the dire need of the community. It is an important contributory service in modern organisations of production though it is not productive of the national dividend.

FUNCTIONS OF TRANSPORT

The main function of transport is to move persons and things from one place to another as stated above but economics of this process involves two main functions—Division of Labour and Extent of Market. The extent of the market for a product, which plays so decisive a part in determining the degree of specialisation among the productive resources making the product, is related to the availability of the transport facilities. In this world of specialisation, the essence of economic activity is the exchange of what is surplus to one man for what is deficient to another man. The extent of the market or the volume of demand for particular goods—the ability to exchange relative surplus depends upon the size of the *gap separating producers* and consumers and the means of transport to bridge this gap. The gap between the producer and the consumer can be bridged either by the product being moved from the former to the latter, or by the consumer moving to the producer. The bridging of the gap can be done by transfer of goods or services. This service has got two aspects—Time and Space.

The function of transport is to bridge the time and space gap separating producer and consumer either by the movement of the goods made by the producer (goods transport) or by the movement of the producer or consumer (passenger transport). The economic significance of the producer-consumer gap does not lie in the physical distance separating consumer from producer, as measured in terms of *Costs of Transport*. The cost of transport depends upon the efficiency of transport. Greater the efficiency, lower will be the transport cost. The

cost of transport enters into the cost of production as one of its components. In fitting transport into the economic picture we have been regarding transport as a process in the production of goods and services. This is the most important function of transport but not its only one.

The other functions of transport are: it affords enjoyment, and in war time it has got strategic functions to perform. It played a vital role of unification of the country during the British rule. It was due to various expanding means of transport that the foreigners could keep distant places under their control. It served as one of the factors which made foreign rule stable in this country.

EFFECTS OF TRANSPORT

(i) *Social and Cultural*: Transport serves as a link between goods, commodities, ideals and fashions. It develops the spirit of internationalism. It is responsible for depopulation of Indian villages or urbanisation in the country. It stimulated a high standard of living. It is the determinant factor in case of migration of population, a proof of which we had during 1947 after the partition of the country. It promotes culture and intelligence, as the enlargement of the surplus above the minimum of subsistence increases leisure, and the wide distribution of the mails together with the establishment of personal contacts over broad areas furthers the education and the incentive to progress. It quickens the tempo of life. It creates psychological change in the attitude of the people in general. It has been proved a means of improving village economy. It has stimulated personal liberty and freedom due to free movement. Especially the railways have a great educative value and assist in publicity campaign for reforms and improvements.

From the religious point of view the transport agencies have improved pilgrimage facilities.

(ii) *Political Effects*: It promotes national unity by making different regions of the country economically interdependent and strengthening the national defence. Transportation makes it easier for the country to maintain national unity by fostering social homogeneity.

• (iii) *Economic Effects*: It helps to satisfy elementary wants more adequately and creates new ones. It bears a great influence on reduction of cost of the goods due to increased speed, flexibility and safety. It facilitates equalisation of the supply of goods in different markets. By facilitating the geographical division of labour, transport has its effect upon the cost of production. Broadening of the market through improved facilities of transportation and communication is the fundamental cause of the movement towards large-scale production. It affects functional distribution specially in respect of economic rent and land value—locational value is reduced. It transforms the organisation of industry. It is responsible for averting famines in India. It encourages cultivation of cash crops. It is responsible for the growth of industries like coal, engineering, etc. It stimulated the growth of forest in India. No doubt, it is not less important in increasing the mobility of labour. Lastly, it is responsible for the growth of the foreign trade of the country.

LIMITATIONS AND ILL-EFFECTS OF TRANSPORT

It is responsible for ruination of cottage and village industries. It has depopulated Indian villages and created multifarious problems in the cities due to heavy influx. Psychologically, pessimists point out that the lack of variety in human character which is largely a product of inter-regional and inter-national contact and cosmopolitanism is a very real loss. Contact with one's fellow does not always enrich and extend human experience, it often merely rubs away the distinguishing marks of the individual. Many a time it is found that the political expectation, *i.e.*, unity, is not fulfilled by the development of transport. It has made the daily-life machine-like—monotonous and dull. Less elasticity in the economic structure, greater insecurity of workers or investors, loss of life, crimes, etc., are other ill-effects of the speedy means of transport. Socially, it has destroyed compact village organisation and annihilated 'esprit de corps' of village life. Hygienically, it is responsible for the spread of epidemics. It has made the whole life inter-dependent losing the old self-sufficiency.

Many of these defects, it may be mentioned, are functional and not inherent in the system.

ROLE OF TRANSPORT IN PLANNED ECONOMY

Production depends upon transport. No planning of production is possible until there is a corresponding development of transport system. Transport is an integral part of the economic system as is widely recognised. In planned society, where all developments should be for the welfare of the society, transport would play its proper role as an essential subsidiary service helping in the economic development of the country. Railway industry affords illustration of some of the most interesting problems of price determination—the principle of differential charging.

TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENTS VIS-A-VIS INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

Considering the implementation of the Second Plan, an important question that crops up is: Can our means of transport cope up with the expected increase of industrialisation? It is widely accepted that the load of railways cannot be increased much without losing efficiency. So, the question can be tackled by developing road transport which can provide relief to railways. Mr. Nadirshah, the present President of Indian Roads Transport Association, well-stressed the importance of road transport giving comparative figures of foreign countries depicting the role played by the road transport. He said, "In Italy, motor transport carries more than twice quantum of goods carried by railways. In Australia, it carries 80 per cent. In U.S.A. it carries 1/3 of the traffic, in U.K. 46 per cent of the traffic is carried by roads. In India, the percentage is as low as 14 per cent. The Association estimates that by the end of the plan the available transport facilities will fall short by 36 million tons (as against Planning Commission's estimate of 18 million tons). The gap between the availability and requirements will fall short by more than three times than the existing gap. Out of this shortage if water transport is expanded then the gap of 5 million tons will be covered.

Truck trailer or tractor trailer if used by the road transport agencies, the cost of carrying can be reduced and compared with the railways. This combination may carry about 40 per cent load more than the truck load. The cost of truck trailer per ton-mile is 22 to 33 pies while that of truck is 29 to 42 pies and that of railway is 21 to 40 pies. It is also argued that this combination is economical than the railway wagons. To reduce the cost of road transport, the Council of Indian Road Congress has suggested to increase the minimum laden weight from 14,500 lbs. to 18,000 lbs., i.e., 5 tons per load. Greater speed and less stoppages are the other means to increase efficiency of the road transport.

Independent observers feel that the present road rates are not economic. It is true. The reasons are that a good deal of our investment on roads at present remains unutilised by not putting on them a number of vehicles commensurate with the carrying capacity of roads and that the road traffic is generally confined to feeder or zonal traffic only and thus operating over short distances.

The factors which throttled road transport during the past are numerous. The restrictive regulation of the Government, i.e., Motor Vehicle Act, 1939, gave monopoly to railways for long distance and inter-State journeys. It is due to Government policy that our trading community and the general public have been wedded too much to the railway idea so that today in our vocabulary the word 'Railways' has become synonymous with the word transport. Lack of credit facilities and crippling taxation are also serving as checks over road transport development. It is a well-known thing that motor transport taxation in India is the highest in the world.

The then Minister of Transport, Shri L. B. Shastri, in his speech at Madurai said that Motor Vehicle Act (1939) is being amended to encourage private road transport. He urged merchants to patronise it even if more charges have to be paid. The Motor Vehicle Act (amendment) bill is before the Parliament and has passed through the Select Committee Stage. The main recommendations of the committee are:

- (1) Establishment of Inter-State Transport Commission for developing, co-ordinating and regulating operation of transport vehicle.
- (2) Abolition of mileage restriction for grant of public carriers permit between places connected by railways.
- (3) Having increased the period of permits issued to private operators in case of Stage carriers (Passenger Vehicles) the period of permit will continue to be 3 to 5 years; while in case of public carriers (Goods Vehicles) it is likely to be increased to 5 years.
- (4) Doubling of the rates of compensation in case of nationalisation.
- (5) No scheme of nationalisation will be introduced unless it is published in the *Gazette* to invite objections to it, if any.
- (6) Nationalisation of goods transport on Inter-State routes will require the approval of the Government of India.

The suggested changes, it is sure, will create confidence in the minds of the industrialists and in commercial circles, so that they can invest capital in transport industry. One suggestion more that there should be a small establishment at the centre to look to the requirements of the operators and foster the spirit of co-operation among the people of the transport industry. The production of automobiles should be transferred to the Central Transport Ministry so that it sees that the required number of automobiles is produced.

NATIONALISATION OF TRANSPORT

The motives which have led governments to extend the sphere of their business activity are the following:

- (1) To increase political influence,
- (2) To avoid the abuses of private management,
- (3) Lack of private enterprise,
- (4) Desire to have income sources to finance various schemes.

A first step in India towards nationalisation of transport was taken in old Native British States. It is in 1916 that Gwalior first

introduced the scheme of nationalisation followed by Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin. The era of independence made the idea of nationalisation of road transport popular and nationalisation was done in all the States of India. It is long ago that the railways were nationalised and so there is no question of their nationalisation. In road transport, the Government have not touched the goods transport and kept the field open for all the competitors considering the inability of Government and the needs of the nations. It is only a few years ago that civil aviation was nationalised. Let us now look into the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation.

ADVANTAGES

The Government can raise the capital required for the enterprise more easily than any private person. On account of wide field or various large-scale undertakings it is economical to run the nationalised industry. It is possible that the State would apportion its favours with a more equitable hand; would be able to level the backward parts of the country up to the standard of the better-developed parts. On the side of rates and fares the State is in a position to do adjustments equitably. Abroad in 19th century, Prussia (Europe) was undoubtedly the most successful instance of State railway management. In the present century railways of most countries are State-managed. Indian railways, no one can say, are not efficiently managed. Socialists support nationalisation as they aim at extension of State's functions to all walks of life gradually. Traders and businessmen favour nationalisation thinking that it may reduce the burden of taxation, and will be able to stabilise rates and service conditions. It is definite that under nationalised industry the staff gets better deal due to better working conditions, shorter working hours and adequate wages or we may say comparatively high wages. Nationalisation could secure economies of combination. By nationalisation the spirit of rivalry and bad competition is curbed. Cut-throat competition, a bad feature of private enterprise, is absent in nationalised industry. At the time of emergency, nationalised transport serves as a means

of unifying the nation due to centralised authority.

DISADVANTAGES

State enterprise is not bolder and does not encourage inventions or new devices. The State officials are not prepared to leave the rut. They mistrust ideas, pour cold water on new methods and grudge new expenditure. No one questions the ability of the German people. German manufacturers, German merchants, German Bankers have taught the business world a good deal in recent years. German railwaymen have written many books, some of these are valuable; but in practical operations they have taught the railway world nothing. It is because they are State officials. State management is bureaucratic dilatoriness, incompatible with railway service. This applies specially to the executive officers who should have in the highest degree industrial survey initiative in planning improvements; commercial intelligence is essential in controlling the various classes of expenditure to encourage traffic, improve service, maintain discipline and so forth. State enterprise is not profitable. In India except railways all forms of nationalised transport—road and air are running at a loss. The recent reports on the working of the Air Corporations of India show how State enterprise incurs superfluous expenditure. The ratio of expenditure to gross receipts is always unbalanced. While undertaking any enterprise it is certain that Government's impartiality is broken to some extent. Whatever improvements in conditions of work, etc., we mark are generally at the expense of the general tax-payer. Politically, there are many dangers. Politics would corrupt the government officials and management. Parliamentary interference generally means running the railways or buses not for the benefit of the people at large but to satisfy local and sectional interests. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presiding over the All India Motor Union Congress at Delhi in January 1947, said, "To run Tongas, Phaetons, motor cars and buses by the State is to abuse the idea of nationalisation." Nationalisation requires heavy capital expenditure. The conflicts between the Provincial and the Central Government are not rare. It shows that less harmonious relations exist. Loss of

flexibility of service and inadequate compensation to the persons who are deprived of their business are other disadvantages. Sri Alageson, Deputy Transport Minister (Central), said that application of the idea of nationalisation to all fields is phantom and not realistic.

CO-ORDINATION OF TRANSPORT AGENCIES

Agencies of which co-ordination is generally sought in transport industry are Railways, Shipping, Roadways and Airways. Co-ordination is a burning problem now-a-days. Co-ordination is different from control. It is a relation between two or more transport agencies of similar or dissimilar nature. The co-ordination of associated processes by means of direct control may be described as the 'integration' of the processes. Where any service can be provided by different forms of transport the form of transport which actually provides the service should be one which, allowing the differences in quality of service, meets the transport demand in question at the lowest cost. This may be the convenient definition of co-ordination.

The aim of co-ordination is to provide the control.' But this term in this sense is misleading. Both the method of direct control and that of the 'price mechanism' are alternative means of co-ordination.

The aim of co-ordination is to provide the consumer with a service at minimum cost. This is known as the cost factor of co-ordination. The other factor is of time. Its aim is to save time. Co-ordination aims at harmonious relations between different joint or complementary transport agencies. By co-ordination the waste or competition is avoided.

The necessity of co-ordination arose due to the growth in demand for transport—the newer

forms of transport have been super-imposed on already established facilities. The growth of transport agencies are not only accompanied by increase in total demand but *redistribution* of the existing demands (examples, waterways and railways). This redistribution leaves older forms with spare capacities. The older forms employ resources of stable nature they cannot be thrown out. So the problems arise of determining the division of the functions between different forms of transport for the purpose of meeting the total needs of the community. The problem of cost provides the basis of transport co-ordination.

Co-ordination is achieved by adopting such methods which will make the provision of the transport facilities in question and will have to be operated in harmony with all other processes which are contributing towards the same end. While affecting co-ordination of various agencies of transport comparative advantages of particular services for particular traffics should be borne in mind.

Main advantages of co-ordination are two:

- (1) Unnecessary duplication of services checked.
- (2) Rationalisation of services.

CO-ORDINATION IN INDIA

At present co-ordination in India is confined to co-ordination of Railways and road transport. The Government's approach to the problem is always with a view to maintaining railway interests intact. The Select Committee on the Motor Vehicle Act (amendment) Bill suggests establishment of inter-State Transport Commission for co-ordinating, developing and regulating operations of transport vehicles. A Commission for co-ordinating different transport agencies is also essential.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE CLASSICAL AGE (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III): General Editor—R. C. Majumdar, Asst. Editor—A. D. Pusalker. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay*. 1954. Pp. 745. Price Rs. 35.

This fine addition to the series being brought out with commendable regularity by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* of Bombay is the result of co-operative effort of a team of eighteen Indian scholars belonging to our Universities and attached or allied institutions either at present or in past years. As in the case of the earlier volumes it deals comprehensively with all the different aspects of our culture and civilisation comprising for this period political history (14 chapters), literature (1 chapter), law and administration (2 chapters), religion and philosophy (1 chapter), social life, education and economic conditions (3 chapters), art (1 chapter) and outside contact (2 chapters). Even a slight perusal of this work is sufficient to prove that the scholars have carried out their work with as much thoroughness and skill as could be desired, the General Editor and the Assistant Editor doubtless contributing no mean share to this achievement. Though it is not possible to notice even the main features of this great historical work, a few points may be mentioned. Though the Guptas did not rule over the whole of India or for the entire period dealt with in this volume, it is observed by the General Editor (Preface p. xlix), the title of the Gupta Age is rightly applied to it because of the supreme importance of the activities of the Gupta rulers and the cultural renaissance following in their wake. This apology seems to be a little out of place as the more general and correct title of the Classical Age has been given to this work. The

chapters on political history mostly from the pen of the General Editor cover familiar ground, but he has discussed many disputed questions with his usual critical acumen—witness his rejection of the story of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta based on references in the *Kaumudi-mahotsava* drama, his cautious judgment about the authenticity of Ramagupta and the identity of Emperor Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription, as well as his reconstruction of the history of the Imperial Guptas after Skandagupta, that of the later Kushanas and so forth. The chapter on literature in its three branches of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil is satisfactory so far as it goes, but it might well have included the accounts of non-canonical Pali literature and the detailed notice of the works of the South Indian Saiva saints given in another context (pp. 393f, 428f). The chapter on religion and philosophy deals exhaustively with the fortunes of Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism and Saivism and the minor religious sects and less completely with the general development of philosophy. In the chapters on law and administration full use has been made of the Smriti works and the works on *Niti-sastra* as well as epigraphic data respectively. The chapters on social life and economic conditions break new ground by bringing together for the first time all the literary and epigraphic evidence bearing on those topics. In the chapter on art, architecture has been dealt with very fully with accompanying illustrations, while equal attention is given to the sister arts of painting, ceramics, coin-casting and so forth. The concluding chapters deal adequately with India's relations with China, Tibet, Central Asia, Afghanistan and other lands as well as the history of Indian settlements in south-east Asia. The value of the book is enhanced by a

very full general bibliography, chronological and genealogical tables, an Index, four maps and a list of no less than 43 plates with two in colour. Altogether it is bound to remain a standard work on the subject for a considerable time to come.

HISTORICUS

LOKMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—THE HERCULES AND PROMETHEUS OF MODERN INDIA: By S. L. Karandikar, M.A., L.L.B. Published by the author from 399/3, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 18/-.

One thing needful for a biography is balance to save hero-worship gliding to a convivial excess. To append Hercules and Prometheus—why abjure India's Vishnu and Arjuna?—to the comprehensive 'Lokmanya', a nation delighted to honour Tilak with, is flashy sentimentalism. Next, such puerile inanities as Tilak's mother was 'practically unconscious when the child was born' and 'continued in that state for an hour thereafter'; or, to invoke Kalidasa for comparing her, as she lay by her newborn, with Sree Ramechandra's mother in identical position, like 'the Ganges shrunk in autumn' have added to the bulk of the book—655 pages—straining the readers' patience and the buyers' purse. Were the author to eschew a lot of details, which are trite and of jaded interest, he would add to the impact of his subject-matter.

Having, however, spoken in the above strain, I must say that there is nowhere in the book the taint of effrontery, a sustained eulogistic bent of mind is disconcertingly prone to. What, again, constitutes its chief merit is that we have in this volume anything worth knowing about Tilak. The sturdy fighter in our Struggle for Freedom has been presented with a painstaking devotion. He Indianised Indian politics, as Aurobindo Ghosh puts it so happily. He is one of the leading protagonists of country's freedom at any cost. None before him, has, in scorn of the self, weathered the storm fearlessly and without equivocation.

In 1897, Tilak was given a sentence of eighteen months for sedition. The author tells us how Counsel Ashutosh Chowdhury ran to Bombay and had him defended by the Calcutta Counsel Pugh and Garth; how Surendranath Banerjee and Rabindranath Tagore stepped forward to sponsor a defence-fund; and Surendranath said in the open sessions of the Amraoti

Congress, "Though I am here physically, my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." All these in the teeth of the Bombay Government making no secret that to befriend Tilak was viewed as an 'unfriendly act'. Why no mention at all is made of a chain-reaction of other provinces? Not worth the print? Were they lacking in backbone, or benighted? Professor Max Muller sent Tilak in gaol his copy of Rig Veda, which enabled him to write his famous *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. Professor Max Muller also arranged a memorial to the Secretary of State for Tilak's release when he fell seriously ill. It is particularly noteworthy that R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., in full-blooded service, signed the memorial.

One handsome recompense Tilak made for the great love Bengal bore him was to identify himself with her, whether it was Government repression or Black and Tan in the name of communal barbarities. A stately granite, he stood by Bengal making new history.

I cannot do better than conclude with the observation, Shri Rajagopalachari makes in the foreword, absolutely a classic of its kind, that 'No great man was less troubled with a memory of himself or the thought of how he figured in anything.' Nothing more eloquent to emphasise Tilak's selfless devotion to the country could be said.

JOGES C. BOSE

MY SEARCH FOR TRUTH: by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by S. L. Agarwala and Co. (Private) Ltd., Hospital Road, Agra. Price Rs. 1/8 as.

Sometime back I was reading a magazine. It published an article wherein Dr. Radhakrishnan was described as a 'Savant.' With a sense of ridicule I read the article and the sense lingered in me. The volume under notice removed the last tinge of the jeering propensity that was uppermost in me and convinced me that Dr. Radhakrishnan was a prophet of the new age. We discover him to be a deeply religious man with a keen insight into reality. He suffers with the suffering and is ready to share his own joys with others. With a flicker of prophetic vision in his eyes he declares: "No human being is innately wicked or incapable of improvement. No one can succeed in stifling the soul or drugging or deceiving it for all time. The best side of a human being is his real side, his true self." The author sends out a clarion call of love to the distracted humanity. Man is not good for his riches or intelligence or

wisdom. He is great when he loves. His abounding love for the rake, the down-trodden and the distressed will help his supreme realisation. In the all-consuming love we know each other. Truth is never attainable except along this path of love. Even in our darkest hour of despair, Radhakrishnan tells us, we must cling to hope and believe in love. When we suffer we must remember that God's love for man has not forsaken us. It is through suffering that we learn and grow. By enduring pain, we show the triumph of mind over matter and the suffering becomes a means for growth in grace. When once anchorage is secured and life disciplined and permeated by spirit, suffering is turned into bliss. The fear of suffering gives place to the courage to suffer. The path of bliss is found to be through pain which man consents to take upon himself. The author found this path to bliss and it is evident throughout this monograph that Radhakrishnan had a personal taste of this 'ananda.' He is poised in blaze of glory that usually surrounded the savants of yore. He is no more the rhetorician that we know of him. He does not look like the turbaned philosopher that he is known to be. His sense of logic has been lulled into sleep by the presence of some supralogical revelation. Here he simply narrates his visions of the great truths of life and the beyond in a style simple and so rare in Dr. Radhakrishnan. He is known for his ornate style, for his colourful vocabulary. Here in the volume under review he speaks with easy grace and simple charm. His search for truth has revealed the inner recesses of the heart of the statesman-philosopher and we know him to be the prophet of the new age.

The book deserves wide reading here and abroad.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

GLIMPSES OF TRUTH AS THEY CAME TO ME: By N. P. Mehta. With a foreward by Madame Sophia Wadia. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay-1. Pp. 134. Price not mentioned.

This book, as the author himself has admitted in the preface, is a log-book of good thoughts in which he has tried to record his struggle with different problems and stages of life. These thoughts were jotted down and published so that they may help others as they helped the young author. The great French

thinker Blaise Pascal rightly wrote, "Thought makes the whole dignity of man; therefore, endeavour to think well. That is the only Morality." Madame Wadia has truly said in the foreward that sincere efforts to think aright have borne fair and wholesome fruit in the author as his *Glimpses of Truth* bear genuine marks of mystic fervour. She sees in the author a growing philosopher, a rising thinker.

Sri Mehta lays emphasis on living a higher life and for that purpose strongly advocates a serious study of comparative religions. In regard to this he observes, "In the present age the human mind has reached such a stage of development that the study of any one religion is not enough. Hence the study of all the religions is found necessary before one can liberate one's mind from 'the Cobwebs of crudities of his own faith and dedicate it to the Divine'."

It is indeed literally true. Unless a modern man broadens his outlook and fraternize with all faiths he is a menace to our Society and to our age. Those who are ignorant of right thinking should not open their mouths and poison the thought-stream of our society.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TOWARD A MORE DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL ORDER: By Wendell Thomas. Exposition Press Inc. 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16. Price \$2.50. cents.

The slender volume under review provides good food for serious thought. The author Mr. Wendell Thomas contends that democracy, like Christianity, has never been given a trial, that a "liberal religion," i.e., "a way of life in which thought is free and there are no barriers between religion and secular culture or between one religion and another," aided by natural and social sciences can give a more stable foundation to democracy, if it is to serve as a way of life.

God, Mr. Thomas argues, is not localised on a celestial throne but spread out as space everywhere. He concludes that democracy agrees with human nature, "in which co-operation is rooted in freedom." A genuine democratic government is bound to be decentralist in nature. Political and economic democracy must be founded on a broadly religious residential land-holding community in which land is distributed among individuals for good use. There should further be a system of money based on labour and a way of protecting the consumer from exploitation. "Capital should

be used creatively in a world fellowship of nations."

The views of the author may or may not be accepted by his readers. They certainly deserve a careful consideration.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SANSKRIT

SADASIVA-PROKTA DHANURVEDA:

By Mahopadhyaya Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri. Published by Ardhendu Sekhar Bhattacharya, 211/1, Picnic Garden Road, Calcutta-39. Price Rs. 3/-.

Mahopadhyaya Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri needs no introduction to the public. As a veteran Sanskrit scholar and Professor of the Sastras who has trained scores of scholars his name is on the lips of every Sanskrit scholar in Bengal and outside. What has interested me more than anything else is his life dedicated to the cultivation of Sanskrit learning in its various branches regardless of the prospects of recognition and financial gain. He is an example of the old tradition who has consecrated poverty by intellectual eminence and extra-ordinary moral elevation. He has edited a large number of rare books, written illuminating commentaries, and translated many a work into Bengali. The book under review is an illustration of the scholarly industry and spirit of research which have characterised all his intellectual productions. He had only one manuscript as his basis which was not free from imperfection. It is comforting to orientalists that he has not given it up for its inaccuracies and has made a readable and intelligible edition of the obscure text which bristles with technicalities. Though the text is not as copious in details as one wishes it to be, it throws a flood of light on an interesting aspect of Indian culture. It is a pity that the general public has formed the impression that India was interested only in other-worldly subjects, such as philosophy, theology and religion. It was generally thought that India's interest in secular sciences was next to nil. The present publication though based on scanty materials will go a long way to correct this wrong appraisal of India's attitude and interests.

Military science with its pre-occupation with the various kinds of arms and weapons necessary for defence and aggression did not fail to evoke scientific study. The present work, though a fragment, shows that this important branch of culture was not considered unworthy

of concentrated study. The editor has done a service to the cause of India's culture which will serve as an eye-opener. I wish that many such books were available to the intellectual world. It is too much to exaggerate the value of the research done by the learned editor. Though the work may appear to have mainly an antiquarian value, it is definite that it is only a specimen of what India achieved in various secular sciences, the works which have shared the fate which has been suffered by extensive writings on every subject. I have not any manner of doubt that this work will attract the interest of many a scholar who wants to know India's past achievements and contributions. I trust that every library in India and outside will possess this book which will be a valuable addition. Regarding the editor's scholarship and intellectual contributions I need not attempt a detailed statement which will exceed the limit of a review. His reputation is too well established to require an elaboration.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

BENGALI

BHARATER MUKTI-SANDHANI: By Joges Chandra Bagal. Foreword by Acharya Jadunath Sarkar. Popular Library, 195/1 B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 5.

The book in its new edition has been considerably enlarged. Sri Bagal has been constantly striving to keep us conscious of our cultural heritage, particularly of the glorious achievements of our 19th century thinkers and leaders. The desire for freedom did not inspire them to political work alone; they were out to break down all barriers that stood in the way of national or individual progress.

Bharater Mukti-sandhani, as its name indicates, is an account of the pioneers who had set off in quest of India's freedom. Not all of them, but twelve such eminent persons—eleven men and one woman—have been selected by the author. In the Preface he says: It is not the purpose of this book to discuss the life-history of those fighters for freedom whose glory is widely sung.

Ram Gopal Ghosh, Haris Chandra Mukherjee, Raj Narayan Basu, Naba Gopal Mitra, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Manomohan Ghosh, Anandamohan Basu, Surendranath Banerjee, Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Aswinikumar Datta, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay and Sister Nivedita—these are the figures that engage his

attention here. The short but neat, authentic biographical studies, we get here, will certainly be appreciated by the serious-minded reader, who cares more for the kernel than for the shell.

D. N. MUKHERJEE

HINDI

JEEVAN AUR SHIKSHAN: By Vinoba. *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1952. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 2.*

SARVODAYA KE SEVAKON SE: By Vinoba. *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 62. Price four annas.*

SARVODAYA KE GHOSHANAPATRA: By Vinoba. *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. 1953. Pp. 62. Price four annas.*

NAYA MASIHA: By 'Ashant'. Available from the author. *Shanti-sandesh Karyalaya, Khagadia, Monghyr, Bihar. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

Vinobaji's voice is as a voice of the Eternal in time. For, his roots being in the wisdom of the ages, as expounded particularly by our ancient seers and sages, he brings to bear on the current problems of life a vision and a viewpoint which provide a proper perspective for a consideration of those problems. *Jeevan and Shikshan* is a collection of his speeches and writings, which the youth will do well to make their manual of daily life. *Sarvodaya Ke Sevakon Se* is a record of his eight addresses to the constructive workers assembled at Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan, held in March, 1953, as *Sarvodaya Ke Ghoshanapatra* contains his three speeches at the same Sammelan enunciating the truth that is Sarvodaya.

Naya Masiha is an anthology of "feeling-and-fervour-full" poems, woven by the young promising poet of Bihar, around the New Messiah of the age, Vinobaji and his gospel.

G. M.

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Indian Periodicals

The Last Irish Romantic

R. M. Fox writes in *The Argyr Path*:

When W. B. Yeats, the famous Irish poet—a man of fine presence—walked down O'Connell Street, in the centre of Dublin, he had around him an aura of dignified grandeur. His brother Jack Yeats, the artist, was less impressive and much slighter. He came along the street with the lurching roll of those seamen, tinkers, horse dealers and wanderers who so often found their way into his pictures.

Jack Yeats—a world figure in art and the greatest of Irish painters—was the son of John Butler Yeats, a brilliant portrait painter who went to the United States in his middle years and achieved success as a *raconteur* as much as through his pictures. Always, Jack Yeats maintained that his father first taught him that there were no hard and fast rules in painting. This did not mean, in his case, an ignorance of technique. But the free spirit of the artist was something that Jack Yeats achieved for himself.

In the Ireland of today, trying with varying success to adapt itself to the world of industry, there are many regretful glances back at the Yeatsian era, that Celtic Twilight period in literature, painting, drama and poetry which gave a romantic touch to Irish art. The Yeats family, more than any other, personified that period and imparted a romantic glow to everything they touched.

Growing up in Sligo, in the west of Ireland, with the great square shoulder of the Ben Bulbin mountain looming out of the mists and the wave-breaking round Rosses Point or beating against the grey stones of the harbour, it was inevitable that when the family moved to London, living for some years in impoverished circumstances, they should look back to the dreamy days in Sligo as a heaven compared with the grey pavements of the hustling city. In such a mood W. B. Yeats wrote his "Isle of Innisfree," in which he poured out his youthful longing. His play *The Land of Heart's Desire* is a fairyland in which it is not difficult to imagine Ireland as the stimulus to his imagination and yearning.

During this period Jack Yeats began his work as an illustrator for various London journals, doing unpretentious sketches for odd guineas just as W. B. did with his verses and reviews. Their two sisters learned the craft of weaving and the mysteries of a hand-press from William Morris. Later, in Dublin, they established the Cuala Press from which came beautifully hand-printed editions of W.B.'s poems and Jack Yeats's broadsheets in vivid colour and bold design.

When Jack Yeats died in Dublin—on March 28th, 1957—at the ripe age of 87, his passing snapped the last link of modern Ireland with the romantic Yeatsian era. Far more even than his brother W.B.—whose poetry gained the Nobel Prize—Jack Yeats stood for a romantic attitude to life. In his later years W.B. pruned his poetry of the luxuriant foliage of words, presenting his ideas in hard, bare, simple, realistic terms. But, as the years marched on, Jack Yeats's pictures became more vivid, colourful and obscure.

Jack Yeats went on to prove that his highly original pictures had a wide appeal. These pictures commanded immense sums in the world market. They sold for round about two thousand pounds each. One reached the staggering figure of four thousand pounds. Artists of the modern "pylon" school, who were horrified at his romantic spirit, had to bow their heads at the market value of his pictures.

Exhibitions of his work were held in many cities of Europe. In 1951-52 a travelling exhibition visited the principal American cities over a period of eighteen months. He collected honours from various countries, including the French Legion of Honour. I saw the amazing exhibition of his pictures at the Tate Gallery in London, remarkable for its size no less than its scope. His vivid colouring—deep blues, greens, crimsons and purples—had the effect of making the other pictures look like pallid ghosts.

He painted Irish fairs showing dark wild men; tinkers with bold faces and careless, imperious gestures; shawled women who had natural grace and dignity. His circuses and races were vibrant with lively gaiety. Jack

Yeats's horses have the same grace and energy as his people. They are shown in action, with powerful limbs and rippling muscles. Later he relied more upon colour than design. His study of Grafton Street—Dublin's fashion centre—is like a cave of jewelled splendour, with lights and shadows.

His middle period as an illustrator—in 1934—is seen at its best in his pictures for Patricia Lynch's *The Turfcutter's Donkey* (Dent, London). This is now a children's classic and has been published in America, France, Holland, Germany and even Malaya. It adds to the fascination of Jack Yeats's pictures of Irish donkeys and tinkers when we see them peeping out of the strange Malay text.

I met Jack Yeats, on one occasion, at the house of an Irish dramatist just after I had written the biography of James Connolly, the Irish Labour historian, who was a leader in the 1916 insurrection in Dublin. I had suggested the jacket design for this book—the figure of a man holding a sword, with the shadow of the sword falling across an open book. This was to represent the two sides of Connolly's personality—thought and action. I showed this jacket to Jack Yeats and asked his opinion.

He peered at the design in the piercing way he had smiled his slow, whimsical smile.

"Very good!" he said, at length. "The best thing about it is that the pages of the open book are blank. This is like the future of Ireland which has still to be filled in!"

He did not want Ireland to be tied down to any line of development. Always he reacted against rigid dogma and stood for complete freedom. This was the basis of his sympathy with the tinkers, the men at the races and circuses, which he loved to draw, and even with those proud, wild, untrammelled horses that he has sent galloping for ever over the springy turf of the Irish countryside.

The Artist and his Critic

P. Sama Rao observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

I

Art criticism is not a mere dissection into various elements out of which a work of art has been composed. It is an expression of the synthesis in a medium different from that of the artist, rebuilt out of those very elements in the heart and brain of the critic. A work of art is an expression of the idea. This idea concretized by the artist is always an infinite-

simul part of himself against an infinite background of forces known and unknown surging around and pervading him. The work of art is an expression of only a few of such of them that have befitted his composition. It is thus a homogeneous product of a selection of these forces combined into an unity by the artist in his aesthetic activity. The product is a crystallization of his own vision of the idea. The idea together with its composing strands have to be fished up successfully by the critic and recomposed into a similar synthesis, as it were, by the critic with the help of his own knowledge and understanding of the artist generally and the work of art in particular, before the critic could judge either the propriety and the adequacy of the elements or the symphonic architecture into which they have resulted or synchronized, namely, the work of art. There cannot be a valid judgement of the piece unless and until the critic has converged all his higher knowledge of men and things into the object of his criticism. In a way, though not gifted with the same quality or amount of creational genius, the critic may be regarded as more versatile than the artist. Without this versatility the critic cannot apprehend the artist's idea. One cannot measure the Himalayas with a yardstick.

The psychological set-up of the artist before he produced the work of art and the psychological set-up of the critic who is out to apprehend its idea must be similar. Without a correspondence and accord between the two there cannot be an essential understanding of the piece. This correspondence is variously called, 'Sympathy' by the laymen, 'Empathy' by the aesthetician, and 'Effluvium' by the philosopher. This kinship between them may be likened to the digestive juice which while conferring taste on the tongue, helps the tongue to sense the quality of the eatable, and, as in a process of assimilation, confers health on its masticator. The synthetic apprehension is like a mastication. It is also a recomposition of the piece of art in the critic's imagination. Unless the artist's vision and the critic's vision tally there cannot be any due appreciation as well as a judgement.

But this appraisalment is only by the way. The primary function of the critic consists in the education of himself in the aesthetic ways of the artist. Educating others is only secondary. For, the ideal critic judges not lest he be judged, although he has to spotlight the artist's

quality for the benefit of the world. But in his worldly conduct the critic has to plunge into the artist's spiritual depth, fish up the vision he has concretized and present it to the world. The critic is, therefore, a pearl-fisher. But not all the oysters, he throws up, contain the pearls of the artist. Thus his own equipment and competency for the task are conditions precedent for the critic's just approach to the work of art. The critic is in essence an interpreter of it too.

The artist's creation is a mimic of the divine creation, and at its best is only reminiscent of it. The mystery that attaches to the divine surrounds the human product too. The unravelling of the mystery into dispassionate, clear and articulate terms is the *summum bonum* of criticism. The spiritual injunction *Devo Bhutva Devam Yajet* (becoming divine, adore the divine) is applicable to mundane existence also. The critic's own *samskara*, his imagination and insight, together with powers of apprehension of both the temporal and eternal values of life,—all these, with his own knowledge of the here and the hereafter, constitute his *adhikara* and equipment for the purpose. Without these he can neither be wise, nor just, nor illuminating.

Reverential sympathy, open-mindedness and a genuine desire to know, are the preliminary preparation for the critic for the understanding of the artist's conception and his technique. For without this proper approach the effluvium will not flow into the critic's heart which would otherwise be chokeful of his own predilections. It is only the clean mirror that gives the best reflection.

The artist and his critic are both nurslings of their times. They cannot be completely free from the historical influences in their constitutions. Earthly ones are exclusively realistic in their outlook and conduct, while the spiritual are often abstract and care only for spiritual values. It is easy to determine these two extremes. But it is difficult to grasp the import of a super-sensuous product that lies in between them, and which is ingrained with its own infinitude of charm and is symptomatic of the Truth that is protean. It is in this realm of the supra-sensuous and the supra-mental that the artist and his critic often flounder. Thus a knowledge of the artist's heritage, physical and spiritual, becomes necessary for the critic. For the artist knowledge and intuition determine the idea, and discrimination the elements proper for its architecture. These are the very

elements of the critic's analysis, reconstruction (of the artist's vision), and appraisalment. As Paul Gauguin has put it, "Art is an abstraction 'which is derived' from nature in dreams in the presence of nature." Thus the beauty in Nature becomes the real springboard for the artist's jump into the beauty of the empyrean. The critic can ill-afford not to recognize this fact. In more ways than one, the artist's composition is only an alchemization or sublimation of the gross into the subtle, and a regathering and blending, as it were, of the myriad arcs of light into a dazzling perfect round. This he does into his own melody consonant with his own *svabhava* and quite adequately for his own purpose.

II

The different theories of art, 'Art for Art's sake', 'Art for morality's sake', 'Art for utility's sake,' etc., and the various schools, 'the Natural', 'the Impressionistic', 'the Abstract', 'the Cubistic', 'the Realistic', 'Dadaism', 'Fauvism', 'Pointillism', 'Graphism', 'the Calligraphic', etc., and their super-types resulting therefrom, are, to put it hard, emanations of the uncertain mind that knows not itself. At best they are honest statements of self's adventures in the realm of beauty infinite and indeterminate, sometimes charmingly delineated and at more times repulsively portrayed. But as the creeds stand they are based upon one's own predilections of like and dislike. 'Water finds its own level' in the aesthetic field too, and these various schools in the matter of both conception and execution are inevitable; for, the human being is not of one temperamental or cultural pattern. In the swelter and confusion of these there has resulted a great imbalance and disquiet in the heart of a genuine seeker of beauty.

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Art is one though its facets are many. It is predilection that defines its nature and function differently, colouring them, however, with the light of its own eyes. It is indisputable that art which has the greatest appeal to senses, and is unique in that it is not abstemious but combines pleasure with profit to an utmost degree and has the rarest power to lift us out of ourselves into subtle realms of the human spirit, should be our most reliable guide to spirituality. Thus the function and the object of art is not merely temporal. Art abides in eternal values, inspiring and helping one to become that from which both the edible and the inedible, and the ineffable have proceeded as though from a magician's wand. Art is never deficient, but always full. The forms in which it shows itself are various and inexhaustible. Its residuum is also full. It does not suffer from surfeit. Behind its cloying appearance there is the indestructible Norm of all things. There is nothing like the good and the bad, nor the true and the false in art that endures. The main function of the critic lies in lifting the golden bowl of illusion from off appearance to discover for us the Truth concealed thereunder. It is, therefore, imminent that the art critic should be an ideal guide.

Assessment of a piece of art should be only on permanent values. In the matter of their determination it is no good shying at the issue saying that it is metaphysical or hyper-psychological. When once it is granted that the mind is the seat of all ideas, and that all theories are but tangible expression of them, the inward constitution of man becomes the real actor behind the scenes. As Dr. Cousins has put it, "Art is religion turned outwards: religion is art turned inwards." Simply because the motive de force is complex or undecipherable it is no reason to justify the eccentric specimen of art on the ground of its author's independent outlook or originality. Novelty is not necessarily an element of beauty. In fact, there is nothing new under the sun save perhaps the antics of the mad; for, the mad is the most original because he is possessed of an infinite number of faces and his acts are sporadic and seemingly unrelated either to past or the future. A piece of art does not become charming or true because majority apprehend its import, or less so because all are unable to understand it. Therefore, the critic is really the negotiator of an understanding of the artist by the layman.

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realism stands condemned. This slogan is alive only on the metaphysical plane where art is deemed *yoga*, and perfection is defined as *karmasu kausalam*. The creation of genuine and enduring art-pieces is motiveless, spontaneous, unpremeditated and unintentioned. Since everything is linked up by time and causation, nothing is free and existing for its own sake. Everything reflects the divine though in different degree. Thus the cubistic trend which strives to incorporate multiple planes of existence through geometrical patterns is really laudable provided it could give us a synthetic composition instead of a criss-cross medley of unpolarized planes analysed through intellect. The cubistic art as it now obtains even at its best lands us into an eerie realm of archaeological remains of dead bones rather than into a world of living beings where like is attracted to the like with the sensuous spell of flesh and blood by a life force both temporal and eternal. For, the cubistic piece is a product of pure intellect and appeals only to the intellect. It does not touch and sway the heart. This intellectual attempt to break up rather than compose form is like dissection of a *Sirisa* to know its melody of tint and perfume; for, art's glory and delectability lie only in synthesis and not in analysis.

Expression is the concretization of the intangible abstract with the aid of tangible medium like sound or form. Impression is the perceptible image made over the mind by expression. Impressionism and its supertypes are but conditions for any precept. There cannot be expression or impression communicated without the attempt to crystallize the nebulous or margining off the infinite into the finite. Thought is abstract but the delineation of it is not strictly abstract any longer even in its most cloudy state. Thus we see there is absolutely no meaning in any regimentation of art into the different schools excepting perhaps to grade its quality from the technical viewpoint. This cannot change either the nature or function of art, which remains yet supreme. Life is made up of the gross as well as the subtle; the technique that may be appropriate to hit off the gross can in no manner be deemed so in our dealings with the subtle and the eternal. Rugged masses of tint recklessly splashed or scratches of broken lines criss-cross, or the eye-piercing angular attitudes, cannot be justified in any true conception of art and its appropriate technique, essential for administering *Santam*, *Sivam*, and *Sundaram*, which is necessarily the supreme

triune function of all art. For the cactus can nowise be deemed the maidenhair.

Many of the above schools of art are differentiated mostly by technique. They are based upon different notions of effectiveness. Pointillism is, in fact, the decomposition of the organic and the synthetic into what may be called its elemental amorphous state. At its best it manipulates successfully the blending of one element of composition into the other effacing their marginal outlines. In a way this style transfigures the essential unity of life in that objects are not quite independent of one another, and that true edibility lies only in the mutual blending of one into the other in a holy 'camaraderie', as it were, of the softest colour-blend. This flowing in of the colour masses, one into the other, like the nonegoistical blending of individualities is really symbolical of harmony. That technique is the proper and best which appropriately and adequately sets out in the most glamour-way the aesthetic concept. It can never be labelled as such and such. The poetry of Turner's landscapes, the sublimity of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, the eternality of our Padmapani, Sarnath Buddha, Srisaila Nataraja-Siva, Elephanta's Mahesa-murti, the cloying sweetness of Sithanivassal Dancer, and the spell of the Titian tint or the luminant dark of Rembrandt, are very much to be wished for in the modern resurgent India.

If we believe in evolution, biological and spiritual, and its continuous progress there is no need to hark back to primitive types of art despite their being spontaneous, rhythmical and vigorous. These qualities are not their monopoly. There ought to be levelling up rather than levelling down in any activity of life. The sedulous aping of the modern western art, conceptionally as well as technically, has only landed us into a morass and wiped out our unique and precious art-heritage.

III

An individual piece, however true and representative, may not suggest the artist's quality fully. It is only a record of his mood or being at a particular moment of his evolution. Most pieces of art register only being and not becoming. The 'becoming' ones are the really prophetic. It is also true that most works of art are pictorial delineations of the artist's lyrical or metaphysical flashes. These moments are as fugitive as the artist himself, though not his quality that has over-reached itself on the way, to the eternal and the Absolute. This seeming

paradox of existence in both temporality and eternality at the same peak of time, between being and becoming, is not peculiar to the artist and his creations. It is the critic's duty to be similarly comprehensive.

There is absolutely no shadow of the critic's ego in a just or proper appraisal save perhaps his own individual manner or style of interpretation. Just as the artist is a vehicle for divine thought the critic is a vehicle for its correct interpretation. The critic is, therefore, bound to deliver the goods all safe and sound. He cannot legislate his own terms in such a bargain. In a way a just critic is often the artist's best showman. He is not his 'conductor' or 'stage-manager'. Though criticism is roughly an accompaniment in a different medium of the artist's tune in creation, yet it is individual in the sense it is the critic's own. It should be purged of all 'dispersion and diffusion' in order to be clear and authoritative.

A good critic is also an enjoyer of the piece of art, to the same degree as the artist himself. But there is a difference between the critic and the layman. The critic's enjoyment and the apprehension of its truth is deeper and more comprehensive, intellectually and intuitively, than that of the layman. Hence, the critic is entitled to be its interpreter and educator.

High art may or may not be a true reflection of the times but its *genre* type is. The latter portrays the social, the ethical and the spiritual trends of the society. In every form of art there is the suggestion of That that is beyond one's pure intellectual cognition and sensory apprehension. Hieratic art may be cited as an instance. It is only the supra-logos akin to spiritual insight that can be sure of reaching the artist's supermental activity and apprehend the Truth it has gasped. Like the spiritual artist his critic is also "no man in every man, and every man in no man". In other words, for true and valid criticism the critic should have sunk his own individuality in the Universal like Sri Ramakrishna and lived out imaginatively the multiple existences of life. He should lean

only on 'Truth, Goodness and Beauty' in order to be just, fair and attractive. In a way the good critic, like the artist, is a high-priest of the Divine in that he also interprets the Divine. Like Isis hiding herself in her cloud of tresses the artist may hide himself in his technique. The artist's duty lies in unravelling the mystery. His duty is not the counting of the spots in the sun or the moon; for the sun and the moon are great not because of them but in spite of them. The artist and his critic therefore adore the Divine though in different ways. They are indispensable complements of each other like the knower and the knowledge.

"But" is an eternal shadow over existence. It delimits perfection. As Browning stressed, the artist should "prepare the eye for future sight and the tongue of speech, present us with the complete engineering of a poet, . . . the function of beholding with an understanding keenness the Universe, Nature, and Man in their actual state of perfection in 'imperfection'." The artist does not paint pictures and hang them on the walls, but carries them on the retina of his own eyes; we must look deep into his own eyes to see those pictures on them. He is rather a seer accordingly than a fashioner and what he produces will be less a work than an effluence. That effluence cannot easily be considered in abstraction from his own personality,—being indeed the very radiance and aroma of his personality projected from it but not separated.

The primary function of both the artist and his critic,—one with his own creation and the other with a true and an adequate interpretation thereof—is to lift their "fellows with (their) half-apprehensions up to (their) sphere(s) by intensifying the impact of details (of) the phenomena around (them), whether spiritual or material and rounding off their universal meaning." For, "not what man sees but what God sees—the Ideal of Plato" and of Sri Samkara (*Svatma-nirupanam*; V. 95) "the seeds of creation lying burning in the Divine Hand—it is towards these" both the artist and his critic struggle.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Afanasi Nikitin and His Journey to India

In an article in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* N. Goldberg and A. Osipov observe:

Early in the 19th century the famous Russian historian Karamzin found a 15th-century chronicle in a monastery library which among other accounts contained a tale by Afanasi Nikitin, a Tver merchant, on his travels in India. The tale is called *Journey Beyond Three Seas*, in which the author told in lively literary style the story of his travels and impressions of what he had seen and experienced in the far-away country.

TRAVELOGUE OF THE TVER MERCHANT

Karamzin properly understood the instructive importance of the story and was justly proud that 15th-century Russia had its own Taverniers and Chardins, who though less educated were equally fearless and enterprising; he was also proud that Indians learned of Russia before they had of Portugal, Holland, or England. While Vasco de Gama was only thinking of the possibility of finding a route from Africa to Hindustan the Russian merchant from Tver had already been trading on the coast of Malabar.

That is how the splendid specimen of 16th century literary work was made available to the Russian educated community. Soon thereafter it also became known to Western European intellectuals. In the thirties of the 19th century it was translated into German, and a score of years later count Vyegorsky, a close friend of the great Russian poet Pushkin, translated the *Journey* into English, and through that, true, far from perfect translation, it became known to Indian historians, taking a proper place among the best European sources of 15th-century Indian history.

GLIMPSES OF 15TH CENTURY RUSSIA

All that is known of Afanasi Nikitin himself is what he told in his *Journey*, which extended from 1466 to 1472. In this tale Nikitin appears before us a mature person who had seen much and grown wise with experience. His intellectually conscious life, therefore, dates to the second and third quarters of the 15th century. That was a grim period in the history of the Russian land. A struggle was on between Vasili II, Grand Duke of Moscow and other dukes, among them the Duke of

Tver, who tried to defend their independence and feudal privileges. A good many times the Duke of Moscow suffered defeat and Moscow was captured by his enemies. Everywhere the arbitrary rule of the feudal barons prevailed. That ceaseless confusion was made use of by the Tartars. Tartar horsemen penetrated deep into the Moscow duchy plundering or destroying everything on their way; sometimes they got close to its capital, Moscow.

Victory in that feudal war finally was won by the Moscow Duke, but that was after Nikitin had left Russian soil. The Moscow Duke won because he was backed by his military nobles and actively supported by the townspeople and merchant class. The townspeople of other principalities, including that of Tver, Nikitin's home, were also interested in putting an end to feudal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the independent dukes and boyars and setting up a single centralized state which would unite all Russian lands. Loving his native land, Afanasi Nikitin deeply lamented the disorders in his country and severely condemned the feudal tyranny in it. He graphically expressed all this in the exclamation: "May God save the Russian land. . . . There is no country like it in this world."

ORIGINAL DESTINATION NOT INDIA

Nikitin was no novice in far journeys. Knowledge of the language current among merchants in the Middle East and which for many reasons he used in his *Journey*, shows that he had been in those countries many times. Being a literate and inquisitive man he knew the records of earlier Russian travellers who had visited Constantinople, Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cairo, Alexandria and other towns in the Near and Middle East.

The original goal of the journey on which Nikitin set out in 1466 in the company of other Tver and Moscow merchants was not India. He and his colleagues wanted to take their goods to Transcaucasia, with which Russian merchants had long traded, using the Volga route. This time too the merchants sailed on Volga vessels.

On the way there the merchant vessels were plundered and some of the merchants went back to Russia. Nikitin, however, got to Baku, one of the larger towns in Transcaucasia and from there went on to Persia. There local

merchants advised him to buy a horse, using the money which he evidently earned during his more than a year's stay in Transcaucasia and Persia. In Persia merchants told him that India was importing horses and that they fetched a high price in that country. Nikitin took their advice and after getting to Ormuz with his horse he took passage on an Indian vessel with other merchants, crossed the Arabian Sea and landed at the port of Chaul.

FASCINATED BY THE LAND OF INDIA

In his *Journey* Nikitin says very little, only in passing, about Transcaucasian and Persian towns. It will hardly be a mistake to attribute this fact to the relatively good knowledge Russians had of those areas of Asia. Everything, however, in style and content of the *Journey* changes when he begins to describe what he saw in India. From the time he sets foot on Indian soil everything becomes important for him and gets his close attention. He describes the appearance of plain people and gentry, and the arms of soldiers; he tells of the palaces of the feudal barons, the huts of the poor, and inns, also of town artisans and of peasants; he tells the reader of habits and customs, religions, political events, and the wars waged during his stay in that coun-

try, and even about the way they fed horses there, which amazed him.

Travelling from town to town, Nikitin got to Bidar, the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom, which along with the Vijayanagar Empire, was the strongest state in India in the latter half of the 15th century.

Nikitin told in detail about Bidar and its Sultan and the Sultan's extraordinary magnificent public appearances, about Mahmud Gawan, the Grand Vizier, exceptional beauty of the Sultan's palace in which "everywhere there were carvings and gold." He noted that "the town of Bidar had 1,000 night watchmen outfitted by the kotwal, and they ride their horses wearing armour and carrying torches." There were seven gates to the Sultan's palace, and every gate had 100 watchmen and 100 clerks who registered everyone entering and leaving the palace.

WIDENING CIRCLE OF ACQUAINTANCE

At first Nikitin seemed to have associated with the town's authorities, most of whom professed the Islamic religion, but gradually, the circle of his acquaintance widened. He made the acquaintance of many Hindus, chiefly merchants, became close friends with



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them and won their full trust. He says, "They did not keep anything back from me, either in food, trade, prayer or other things."

Nikitin looked upon India not just as a curious traveller. He tried to understand the social and spiritual life of the people in its varied manifestations. He wrote that India had many towns with large populations. During his journey from the coast to Bidar he "passed through three towns and sometimes four daily." This especially struck Nikitin who vividly remembered the wide depopulated expanses and the many towns of his native Russian land razed by the Tartars. A careful and thoughtful observer, Nikitin noted, however, that while India was populous and Nature there was magnificent and generous, there were also great social contrasts. He wrote: "The rural people are very poor and the boyars are rich and live in luxury." After staying for four months in Bidar he arranged with his Hindu friends to go to Parvata on the Kistna River, about 100 miles from the present Hyderabad, where a temple of Shiva stood. At that time a religious holiday in honour of Shiva was held in Parvata, and, to use Nikitin's figure of speech, "all India was there."

A FREE THINKER

Here we should underline another important trait of Nikitin. He was, of course, a religious man and loyal to the Russian Orthodox Church. He refused to renounce his religion even when the Khan of Junir threatened him that if he refused to accept the Islamic faith his property would be confiscated and he would lose his freedom. Nikitin was enough of a free thinker to state in his *Journey* after acquainting himself with the Hindu religions: "God knows the true faith and the true faith is to recognize one God and to pronounce his name in purity in every clean place." This free thinking explains Nikitin's respect for the religious views and rituals of the Hindus, a respect so rarely shown by other travellers to India before and after him.

It is amazing how this plain Russian merchant who had been left with practically no money and who, it may be said, was unknown to anybody, managed to make the acquaintance and even get friendly with people of diverse walks of life. This enabled him to comprehend the complex life of India.

VALUABLE INFORMATION ON INDIAN TRADE

Although Nikitin's approach to the descrip-

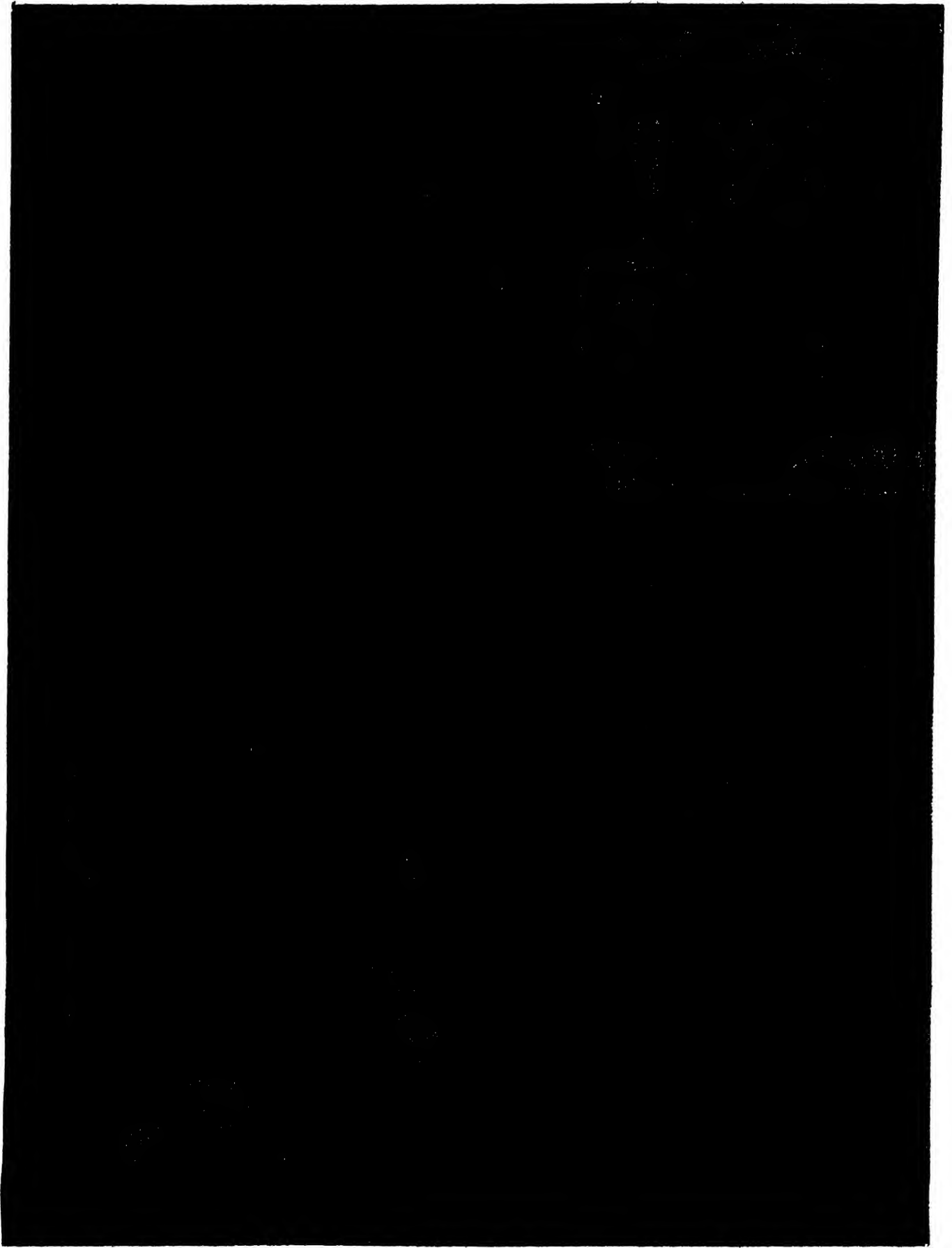
tion of India was not restricted to the narrow merchant viewpoint, he did not forget the interests of trade, and for this reason he supplied much valuable information on the chief trading centres in India as well as in the neighbouring countries. He correctly stated that merchants from all over the world gathered in Ormuz and everything produced in the world could be found there. He noted that horses were brought to Dabul from Egypt, Arabia, Khorosan and Turkestan. He stated also that Calicut was the world centre of trade in spices, that Gujarat was the indigo centre, and that Ceylon was famous for its elephant and precious stones. Pegu, he said, was famous not for its many Buddhist monks alone, whom he called "dervishes", but also for its rubies, for which Burma was famous, and, finally that "Chin and Machin," that is, China, was famous for its porcelain. In the spring of 1472 Nikitin decided to return home.

HOMEWARD BOUND

He left Dabul on an Indian vessel and a little more than a month later, arrived at the Somali Coast, which was altogether unexpected by the seafarers. From there, after paying ransom in rice and pepper to pirates, Nikitin and his companions went on to Masgat on the Arabian Peninsula, and later arrived at Ormuz. In his *Journey* he tells of the internecine wars in Persia, which prevented him from following the route he well knew to the Caspian Sea. From Koshan in the north of Persia he was compelled to turn in the direction of Tavriz in Azerbaijan and later he went to Trapezund, a port on the Black Sea. In the latter place Turkish officials took away from him what little was left with him. He was happy, however, to have been permitted to proceed to his country. He crossed the Black Sea battling storms and bad weather and landed on the Crimean coast in the town of Kafa (the present Feodosiya), a famous port through which trade was carried on then between the Russian lands and countries of the Near East. His native land was not so far away then, and Nikitin travelled over the regular route to the North via Kiev and Smolensk, hoping to get to Tver from there. The privations he suffered on the difficult return journey from India evidently had undermined his health and he died not far from Smolensk, without seeing his native Tver and his near and dear ones.



During his second visit to the United States in 1916, Rabindranath Tagore planted an urn with ivy for the "Shakespeare Garden" renamed the "Cleveland Cultural Gardens" in Rockefeller Park. The photograph is hitherto unpublished in India



MOTHER AND CHILD

By Prabhat Neogy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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NOTES

Justice in India

Elsewhere in these notes we have put on record extracts from the speeches of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. S. R. Das. Both have laid emphasis on the Supreme Court, being the final arbiter of law and justice, should dispense justice for all at a cost that can be borne by all sufferers from the wrong-doer.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, was very careful in not making any suggestions for this "Temple of Justice," as it was termed by the Chief Justice, becoming a veritable citadel of law and justice. He only laid a plea at its door, for lowering the costs and speeding the process of law. The Chief Justice, on the other hand, was more clear. He stated with emphasis:

"The writs which will issue from this citadel of law and order, *should run* to the farthest corner of this vast country, bringing adequate relief to the oppressed and *just retribution to the wrong-doer whoever he may be.*"

We are not in a position to suggest any remedies, either for the improvement in the process of dispensing justice, regarding delays and costs, for that duty devolves in another quarter altogether, nor can we suggest that the Supreme Court be vested with all the powers that the Supreme Court of the United States possesses, for that again is a matter for the Lok Sabha. But we can certainly affirm that there is very little justice available, as dispensed today, for the relief of the oppressed, and for just retribution on the wrong-doer. There is a crying need for remedial measures,

but the cries merely echo in the wilderness of a pseudo-democracy—for democracy in the Union of India seems only to operate for a few months, at each general election.

There is corruption and callousness at the highest quarters today, else there could not be such a rampant, open, and country-wide black-marketing in essentials today. What remedy is there for that in our highfalutin Constitution? There is oppression by high officials, the only remedy for which is an extremely costly and long-drawn process of law, in the working of which the scales are heavily loaded in favour of the oppressor, who operates with the moneys extracted from the tax-payer, and escapes scot-free even when found to be not only in the wrong but guilty of arbitrary injustice. This is the one thing that has fostered corruption and arbitrary and grossly unjust action by those who are in charge of the administration.

The absence of even a semblance of justice, in the matter of the two evils noted above, is deeply felt by *every honest man* in the Union of India today. The Constitution, over which our President waxed so eloquent at the opening of the Supreme Court, has provided every venue of escape for the wrong-doer, official or non-official, provided he has plenty of ill-gotten wealth. We say ill-gotten after due consideration, because to the honest even the process of making both ends meet, where bare existence is concerned, is an arduous and perilous process, let alone begetting wealth.

If democracy connotes the even dispensation of law and order for the law-abiding and the honest, and if India is, indeed, a democracy today, then what is needed is a *new definition of Justice.*

Administrative Reforms

Recently two important reports were published with regard to the problem of administration. One was the Kerala Administrative Report, the other was the Gorwala Report on the state of public administration in Mysore. The Kerala Administrative Reforms Committee's report was more broad-based and general, while the Gorwala Report dealt with particular aspects of Mysore administration. Both these reports deserved close study by all those who were interested in the future of the country. The importance of a sound administrative machinery for the formulation and execution of plan schemes could be hardly over-emphasized in the context of the constantly widening public sector.

The Kerala Committee headed by Shri Namboodiripad in its general report (a more detailed report on the reorganization of individual departments was expected to be published in early September) referred to the fundamentally altered objectives of Government in India after independence which called for greater and more effective popular participation at all levels of administration.

"There is need," the report said, "for establishing democratic bodies with substantial powers from the level of the village upwards. Arrangements should exist for the association of the people's representatives with the administration either in an advisory capacity or in a more positive manner according to the importance of the level and the nature of the activity. In matters of development these democratic bodies should have a definite and responsible role both in planning and in ensuring execution."

Along with this democratisation there should be decentralisation of authority. The committee urged for steps to be taken "to ensure (i) greater delegation of authority to lower units of administration, (ii) co-ordination of the activities of officials at all levels, (iii) improvement of the moral and social purposiveness of the services, (iv) proper adjustment of the relationship between officials and non-officials, and (v) proper canalisation of the democratic spirit for constructive work."

The committee suggested that panchayats should be made the units of administration.

"It is not meant by this that the panchayats should (or could) exercise the same degree and extent of powers in respect of all matters. The functions of panchayats may be divided into three categories: (i) those in respect of which they will have full devolution of powers; (ii) those in respect of which they will function as agents of Government with executive delegation of powers; and (iii) those in respect of which their role will be advisory."

The report dealt in some details with these three types of works and the financial aspect of their execution.

The committee took note of the public criticism about the functioning of the Secretariat and pointed out that the situation could not be improved without a change "simultaneously both in the nature of work done in the Secretariat and in the procedures adopted. Secretariat work should be confined to the framing of policies, laying down rules and principles of procedure, financial control, work connected with legislation, general direction and evaluation of the work done."

The report also dealt with the recruitment, training, promotion, conduct, rules, etc., of the services and the relation between the Minister and the civil servant and procedures for associating non-officials with the budgeting procedure and financial control.

"Government servants having dealings with the public," the Report added, "should set apart a prescribed time for meeting and hearing them and should also meet and hear them with patience and sympathy. There should be facilities in public offices for people to wait. Whenever possible requests made by parties should be examined and the orders made known to them immediately. Where this is not possible, a definite time-limit before which orders will be passed should be intimated and it should be kept."

Shri Elamkulam Mana Shankaran Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, was the Chairman of the committee of which the other members were: Shri Joseph Mundassery, Minister for Education and Co-operation, Shri N. E. S. Raghavachari, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government, Prof. V. K. N. Menon, Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, Shri H. D. Malaviya, formerly Editor of the *A.-I.C.C. Eco-*

conomic Review, New Delhi, Shri P. S. Nataraja Pillai, Ex-Minister of Travancore-Cochin State and Shri G. Parameshwaran Pillai, Retired Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore.

The picture of Mysore administration disclosed by the report submitted by Shri A. D. Gorwala to the State Government of Mysore might not be found too much different from that obtaining in some of the other States. It depicted a state of incompetence, indecision and bungling. There was extensive slackness of administration. Ministers often held up files for too long either because they were unable to make up their minds or because they did not wish to deal with a particular matter till the Cabinet as a whole had reached an unanimous decision. Files in the Mysore Secretariat had shown a strange facility for getting lost. Shri Gorwala referred to the extravagance in the administration. The Vidhan Sabha building was constructed at a cost of two crores of rupees. The Ministers had shown a particular fondness for numerous costly entertainments at public cost, maintenance of costly guest houses and for luxurious tours. The officials also naturally followed suit.

Shri Gorwala, whose views on prohibition were well known, suggested a radical reorganization of the State's finances, recommending the abandonment of prohibition. On this point the *Hitavada* remarks:

"This is a suggestion which is bound to be frowned upon by the State Government as prohibition has become an article of faith and a prestige issue with the Congress Governments. Yet any dispassionate observer of the prohibition experiment in Mysore as in other States will come to the conclusion that it has, on the one hand, failed to wean the addicts from drinking and has, on the other, led to large-scale illicit distillation and smuggling of liquor into the dry areas. Crores of rupees are being spent on the enforcement staff and yet drinking goes on unabated. Prohibition has resulted in a heavy loss to the exchequer, from the point of view of revenue and enforcement, corruption among the excise and police staff and a defiant attitude towards law by those engaged in the I.D. liquor trade. We are, therefore, glad that Mr. Gorwala has sounded a note of warning against any idea of extending prohibition to the remaining part of Mysore State. It is time that the Congress Party does some rethinking about prohibition. Hundreds of crores are being lost due to prohibition with no corresponding benefit to the country and at a time when the Second Plan is collapsing due to lack of finance. Realism demands that the prohibition policy should be submitted to a searching and impartial review by a team of observers."

Foreign Aid and Development

Professor Tibor Mende, the noted French political scientist examines in an article in the Bi-monthly *United Asia* some of the aspects of economic development in the under-developed countries with particular reference to the Western attitude. He believes that the West can still exercise a decisive influence over the course of economic development in the retarded areas provided it adopted a clearly thought-out policy. In practice, however, the West did nothing to foster the process of development which could be beneficial to the inhabitants of the area. Western aid, given so far under the various programmes and schemes, served three clearly-defined aims, Professor Mende writes: "Firstly, and in their most enlightened form they were designed to help the economic progress and strengthen the social resistance of the recipient countries. Secondly, they were destined to prepare the ground for, and to render more remunerative, private investments. And, thirdly, they were openly armed at assuring strategic advantages."

All these programmes had certain common features. "The most obvious common feature has been," Prof. Mende adds, "that the sums employed within frame, have been, and without exception, grossly inadequate even for the limited tasks prescribed to mix schemes. Their second general characteristic has been that they have tended to fortify to patch up, or to revive the economic system which the imposed bi-lateralism of the colonial relation has created, rather than to aid in the formation of a new kind of economic structure suited to the political conditions and the psychological corollaries of national independence [i.e., Western aid had always sought to maintain economic colonialism—Ed., *M.R.*]. The third distinctive feature of all this aid-schemes has been in their almost

universal lack of serious results in the form of improved living standards or of greater social contentment. Fourthly, and finally, these schemes destined to aid the 'under-developed areas' of the world—whose funds have been voted by appealing to the selfish interests of the voters of the donor countries—have (apart from minor exceptions) failed to convince the recipients that they served 'noble' motives and have led to more hostility than gratitude. In reality—and particularly where aid was openly linked to strategic conditions—these aid schemes tended to create friction and irritation and rather than to cement the links between donors and recipients, have encouraged suspicions concerning the motives of industrialized countries."

Prof. Mende's assessment covers the same points as are often made by the Asian critics of Western aid. This endorsement by a leading Western political scientist should help public opinion in the West to take a more objective view of the Asian attitude than has hitherto been evident. A changed perspective of aid in which strategic considerations would be less prominent would not only be more helpful to the recipient countries but would also lessen mutual suspicion and tension and would be a great indirect help to world peace.

Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India

The "Statistical Tables relating to banks in India, 1957," recently published by the Reserve Bank of India, contains as usual a wealth of statistical data pertaining to individual banks and the banking system as a whole, based on their balance-sheets. The various tables in the volume disclose the all-round progress made by the banking system during 1957. There was a rise in deposits, advances, investments and offices of both joint-stock and co-operative banks covered by the Tables.

The general improvement in business in the joint-stock sector, was, however, confined to scheduled banks only. Non-scheduled banks showed all-round declines in deposits, advances, investments and number of offices. A major portion of this was however attributed to the shifting of two important non-scheduled banks from non-scheduled to scheduled category. As regards scheduled banks, the most outstanding feature during the year under review was the

spectacular rise of Rs. 280 crores in their deposits. Deposits of Indian scheduled banks showed a rise of Rs. 264 crores while the foreign scheduled banks which had suffered a loss of Rs. 7 crores in their deposits in 1956 showed a rise of Rs. 16 crores in 1957. One-half of the increase in deposits under the Indian scheduled banks was accounted for by the State Bank of India alone, bulk of which may be attributed to a special factor, namely, the accrual of deposits arising from transactions connected with import of foodgrains, under P.L. 480.

By types of deposits, it is observed that two-thirds of the deposit expansion took place under time deposits. The large increase in time deposits was also responsible for a sharp rise in interest payments by banks on deposits. The general expansion in deposits may be related to factors such as the expansionary effect of Government deficit financing, the sharp import cuts during the year which might have led to temporary investment of surplus funds with banks in time deposits, mobilization of savings facilitated by the increase in deposit rates and the opening of new offices during the year.

Advances of scheduled banks continued to rise during the year. At the end of 1957, total advances and bills of scheduled banks stood at Rs. 894 crores showing a rise of Rs. 74 crores over the year as compared with an increase of Rs. 155 crores in 1956. The smaller rise during 1957 was attributed to a reduction in demand for finance following the severe import cuts, to attempts made by banks to press down the level of advances following advice from the Reserve Bank and to a sharp seasonal contraction in advances since the middle of 1957. The average level of advances and bills as disclosed by the weekly returns of scheduled banks, however, showed a rise of Rs. 129 crores during the year as compared with an increase of Rs. 140 crores in 1956. The earning capacity of banks from this source was, therefore, maintained during 1957.

Investments of scheduled banks which had remained steady around Rs. 400-420 crores in the past three years rose sharply to over Rs. 500 crores by December 1957. This indicates an investment of surplus funds by banks. The change in the structure of liabilities and assets had their impact on the earnings and expenses of banks. Both earnings and expenses

of banks showed increases, the latter mainly because of interest payments.

Net profits of scheduled banks (Indian and foreign) rose further by Rs. 2½ crores during the year 1957 as against an increase of over Rs. 3 crores a year ago. The total current operating earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose steeply by Rs. 12.7 crores or by 25.8 per cent as compared to a rise of Rs. 7.9 crores or 19.2 per cent in 1956. The current operating expenses rose by Rs. 10 crores or by 26.1 per cent in 1957 as compared to a rise of Rs. 5.1 crore or 15.3 per cent in 1956. The balance of net profit, as a result rose by Rs. 2.4 crores only this year as compared to a rise of Rs. 2.7 crores in 1956.

Deposits of co-operative banks (having paid-up capital and reserves of Rs. 1 lakh and over) also registered a rise of Rs. 39 crores in 1956-57 as compared to Rs. 37 crores in 1955-56 while their loans and advances rose from Rs. 135 crores to Rs. 177 crores in the same period. The number of offices in the Indian Union of Joint stock banks went up by 155 in 1957 as compared to a rise of 65 in 1956. The increase, it may be noted, was in spite of a sizeable fall in the number of offices of non-scheduled banks. The State Bank of India accounted for as many as 84 additional offices in 1957 as compared to a net increase of 54 offices in 1956. The number of offices of co-operative banks also rose during the year by 192 to 1,421. Taking the offices of Joint Stock and co-operative banks together, there was one office for every 9,543 of the population served by banks at the end of 1957 as compared to one office for every 9,937 of the population a year ago. On an average, there was one banking office for about 69,000 of the population. About 50 per cent of the offices of scheduled banks were concentrated in the larger towns having population of over 50,000.

Refinance Corporation

The Refinance Corporation of India was registered on June 5, 1958. Its registered office is at Bombay. It will be managed by a Board of Directors consisting of seven members, including the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India (who will be the Chairman), and one of the Deputy Governors of the Reserve Bank, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, the

Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation and three representatives of the bank associated with the scheme.

The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 25 crores. It will have an initial issued capital of Rs. 12½ crores contributed jointly by the Reserve Bank, the Life Insurance Corporation and fifteen other scheduled banks. These banks include the State Bank of India, Central Bank of India, Punjab National Bank, Bank of India, Bank of Baroda, National Overseas and Grindlays Bank, United Commercial Bank, Lloyds Bank, Allahabad Bank, Chartered Bank, Indian Bank, United Bank of India, Mercantile Bank, Devkaran Nanjee Banking Co., and State Bank of Hyderabad. The share of the Reserve Bank in the capital of the Refinance Corporation is Rs. 5 crores and that of the State Bank of India 2.5 crores. The Life Insurance Corporation will provide Rs. 2.5 crores and the balance will be provided by the other scheduled banks. The issued capital will be supplemented by the American counterpart funds to the extent of Rs. 26 crores.

Under the Agricultural Commodities Agreement, entered between the Government of India and the Government of the USA in August 1956, a sum of about Rs. 26 crores from the counterpart funds has been reserved for relending to private enterprises in India through specified banks. The Government of India will make available to the Corporation the amounts required by it from time to time, in the form of interest-bearing loans and arrange to obtain reimbursement in due course from the counterpart funds. The total resources that will be available to the Corporation at present will be of the order of Rs. 38½ crores. Out of this amount, each of the participating scheduled banks will be allocated a quota within which it will be eligible to obtain refinancing facilities from the Corporation.

The Refinance Corporation has been set up to augment the resources available for the use of medium-sized industrial units in the private sector. The Corporation has been designed for the purpose of refinancing. That is, it will not lend itself to the industries, but it will assist banks to lend to the industrial concerns. Its function will be indirect in extending loans to industries.

The aim of the Corporation is to encourage and extend lending facilities of commercial banks to the industries. Loans given by the member banks are eligible for assistance from the Corporation. Loans are to be given to medium-sized industrial concerns for amounts not exceeding Rs. 50 lakhs in any case and the period of loan should not be less than three or more than seven years. These facilities will be available only to industrial concerns whose paid-up capital and reserves (excluding reserves for the payment of taxes and normal depreciation reserves) do not exceed Rs. 2½ crores in any particular case. Loans must be for the purpose of increased production, primarily in industries included in the Second Five-Year Plan and succeeding Plans.

The first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Corporation was held in the last week of June at Bombay. At this meeting the Board decided to fix the issued capital for the present at Rs. 12.5 crores, made up of 1,250 shares of Rs. 1 lakh each.

World Petroleum Production

The world crude oil production outside the USSR increased by 4 per cent during 1957. This was half the average rate of increase over the past ten years. In the first half of 1957 Middle East production was reduced as a result of the cutting of transport facilities occasioned by the Suez crisis. In the second half of the year, the stagnation of demand in North America led to a reduction in United States and Canadian Production. If the production of the U.S.S.R., is included, the increase in world crude petroleum production would amount to 5 per cent.

In 1957, the world oil reserves continued to grow at a faster rate than production. Published proved oil reserves increased from 31,250 million tons in 1956 to 33,705 million tons in 1957. The main increases were in the Middle East, chiefly in Kuwait and the Neutral Zone of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, in the East Indies and in Venezuela. The Middle East now accounts for 63 per cent of the total world oil reserves, followed by the United States with 13 per cent and the USSR with 10 per cent. The average annual rate of growth of oil production by main areas during the period 1946-

57 indicates as follows: 4 per cent in the USA, 9 per cent in the Caribbean, 16 per cent in the Middle East, 32 per cent in East Indies, 14 per cent in the USSR, 34 per cent in Canada and the world average is 8 per cent. In the following table, the world crude petroleum production during the years 1956 and 1957 are given. The figures are in million tons.

WORLD PETROLEUM PRODUCTION

(Million tons)

	1957	1956
<i>Western Hemisphere:</i>		
U.S.A. (including gasoline)	380.4	380.5
Venezuela ..	141.5	125.6
Columbia ..	6.4	6.2
Trinidad ..	4.9	4.1
Canada ..	24.1	22.8
Mexico ..	12.4	12.9
Argentina ..	4.8	4.3
Peru ..	2.5	2.4
U.S.S.R. ..	98.0	83.0
Others ..	2.8	1.9
Total Western Hemisphere	677.8	643.7
<i>Eastern Hemisphere:</i>		
(Middle East)		
Bahrein ..	1.6	1.5
Iran ..	34.9	26.2
Iraq ..	21.5	30.8
Kuwait ..	56.4	54.1
Neutral Zone ..	3.4	1.7
Qatar ..	6.5	5.8
Saudi Arabia ..	48.1	47.9
Total	172.4	168.0
Western Europe ..	12.2	10.4
East Indies ..	20.7	18.6
Others ..	3.4	3.0
Total Eastern Hemisphere	221.5	200.0

The total crude petroleum production in 1956 was 857.7 million tons and in 1957 it was 899.3 million tons.

Consolidation of Land Holdings in India

The revised edition of the *Agricultural Legislation in India* (Consolidation of Hold-

ings), published by the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture, has incorporated all up-to-date statutory provisions in the direction of land reforms in the country, particularly those relating to the consolidation of holdings. The publication states that the small size of the agricultural holdings and their dispersal into fragments constitute the greatest impediments to the efforts being currently made to improve the standards of agricultural productivity in the country. "Technological research has opened up vast possibilities for increasing agricultural productivity and the State in India is expanding extensions and credit facilities in order to bring within the reach of the cultivators the results of such research as also the means required for putting these results to practical use. The small-size and the defective lay-out of a large majority of our farms, however, makes it impossible for these farms to take maximum advantage of these programmes. These two factors are thus responsible for a lot of wastage of national effort in this direction because the benefits derived from these programmes would be very much greater if the individual units of farming are larger in size and more rationally and compactly laid out. It is being increasingly recognised, therefore, that schemes for improving the lay-out of farms should form an integral part of the total programme for agricultural development, for such schemes are absolutely essential for enlarging the scope for improvements in various directions."

In India, the average per capita availability of culturable land is about 2.8 acres and the size of the farm is more or less predetermined by the gift of nature. The over-population in India rules out any possibility of enlarging the size of the farms in the near future. The agricultural farms can be enlarged in size only when there takes place a large-scale diversion of the people working in the agricultural sector to the industrial and commercial sectors of the country. That requires a long period of economic development resulting in the redistribution of the people in the different economic sectors of the country and also the creation of opportunities for their re-employment in new sectors. Unless diversion of employment takes place, it is useless to talk about increasing the size of the agricultural farms in the country. It may be pointed out here that the Study Group which

was sent to Japan to study the agricultural aspects of that country gave the verdict on their return that small holdings by themselves are no impediments to increasing the productivity of the soil. In Japan the land holdings are comparatively small, but on account of technological improvements the productivity of the soil is much higher than that of India. But small holdings have to face many difficulties and technological improvements are not possible to the fullest extent. In a country, however, with a large population, larger holdings cannot be expected and therefore the national effort should be directed towards raising the largest possible crop from the existing small holdings. Where it is possible, the consolidation of holdings should be effected. But mere legislation will not bring about the desired result and mere large-size of the holdings will not be able to increase the output of the country.

It is stated that in its nature and even in its origin, the problem of the excessive fragmentation of farms is different from the small size of farms. But these two problems are inter-connected and one deteriorates the other. Cultivators of small holdings normally have less margin to spare when suffering under physical and economic disabilities imposed by excessive fragmentation. It is not possible for them to deploy economically and effectively their limited resources of labour, livestock and equipment. The increasing pressure of population on land aggravated by the decay of village industries and lack of scope for employment in the organised industrial sector in the country are collectively responsible for the fragmentation of land holdings in India. Our laws of inheritance are also greatly responsible for the fragmentation of holdings.

The pressure of population on land is continuously on the increase and the secondary and tertiary industries have not been able to keep pace with the growing number of population in India. Although the area of cultivable land has increased, but not in the proportion of increase in the number of population. The 1951 Census Report states that while the agricultural population has increased in India from 17.6 crores in 1911 to 25 crores in 1951, that is, 42.04 per cent, the net sown area has increased by 8.4 per cent only, thus indicating

a decrease of 23.68 per cent in the sown area per person dependent on agriculture. In India, 16.8 per cent of cultivators' holdings have the area of 1 acre and below, and another 21.3 per cent of holdings vary between 1.1 to 2.5 acres.

For the purpose of agricultural improvement in the country, larger doses of labour and capital are required to be effectively employed and such a step will raise the per acre productivity in agriculture. Both institutional and technological reforms are essential for re-organising Indian agriculture.

The State of Congress Organisation

The United Press of India reports:

New Delhi, July 12.—The Congress Working Committee which commenced its two-day session here today reviewed the by-election results since the last general elections.

Summing up the assessment of the Committee in this connection, Mr. Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, told pressmen that so far as the State Assemblies were concerned, the net loss was two seats. In the Lok Sabha elections also the Congress lost two seats to the Opposition.

Since the last general elections till the end of June, Mr. Narayan said, in all 46 by-elections were held for the State Assemblies.

The analysis of the Party's gains and losses was:

Losses: Andhra 2 and Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Rajasthan 1 each.

Gains: Orissa 2 and Madras and U.P. 4 each.

In the last elections the Congress had won 20 of these 46 seats and now it secured 24 out of them.

In terms of percentage of polling also the Congress has improved its position. In the by-elections to State Assemblies, the Congress has polled 47.4 per cent of votes as against 44 in the last general elections.

Earlier, the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar gave his impressions about his recent tour in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andhra and Tamil Nad in connection with the organisation of the Mandal Congress Committees.

He reported that about 13,000 Mandal Congress Committees have already been formed in different parts of the country and expressed the hope that after further elections to be held soon it would be possible to complete the formation of 18,000 Mandals in all the Pradeshes.

The programme which has been given to these Mandal Congress Committees is five-fold: (1) mobilisation of small savings, (2) increasing agricultural production, (3) co-operation and small industries, (4) community development and (5) removal of local difficulties.

The Congress President suggested that every Congress M.P., M.L.A., members of the A.-I.C.C., P.C.Cs and the District Boards should be entrusted with the intensive organisation of one or two Mandal Congress Committees in their respective areas.

An effective machinery should be devised for the removal of local administrative difficulties at the district level.

Arrangements should also be made for training cadres, both short-term and long-term, to equip the Mandal Congress workers with the necessary knowledge and ability for carrying on intensive and house to house work through the Mandal Committees in the villages and cities.

Acute Food Situation

The mounting shortage of food supply in India has reached an alarming position and it seems that the authorities have been caught unawares. On August 20, the Union Food Minister told the Lok Sabha that the next six to eight weeks were going to be difficult for India. On account of the serious shortfall in the production of food-grains, the rise in prices of food-grains—a usual feature at this lean period of the year—has been much higher than usual this year. The prices have risen highest in West Bengal and Bihar, these two areas being persistently in deficit. Prime Minister Nehru defended his Government in the Lok Sabha saying that the obstacles of over-population, under-development, over-dependence on the Government and the extremity of ill-luck were mainly responsible for the shortage of food production in the country. Prime Minister Nehru assured the House that the entire Government was giving first priority to food.

It was stated in the Lok Sabha that not only the Food Department, but also other departments of the Union and State Governments are responsible for the present position of food production in the country. It is in the agricultural sector that success on the desired scale has not been forthcoming during the Second Plan. Over the period 1950-57, the annual increase in agricultural production came to 2 to 2.5 per cent. This rate of increase is not sufficient to support a larger plan of economic development. The results have been varied and uneven and in certain cases they did not reflect adequately the large outlays which had been incurred. There has not been enough concentration of efforts on increasing yields per acre in irrigated areas and in areas with assured rainfall. Progress in the utilisation of the irrigation potential created in major and medium irrigation schemes has not been satisfactory. Minor irrigation programmes have tended to develop into departmental programmes with insufficient public participation. Even in N.E.S. and Community Project areas, the provisions for minor irrigation have not been adequately utilised and programmes were not fully co-ordinated with the agricultural departments of the Union and the States.

The revised target for food production for the Second Five-Year Plan was laid at 8 crore tons to be reached by stages in 1960-61. The Food-grains Enquiry Committee, however, pointed out that it would be possible for India to reach a lower target, namely, 7.75 crore tons, as against the estimated demand for 7.9 crore tons by 1960-61. The output of food-grains is much lower in 1958 than in 1957 when it aggregated 6.87 crore tons. The production of food-grains calls for an integrated effort involving all the connected departments of the Government. The effort to raise the food production is essentially one of implementing a comprehensive programme in which the provision of irrigation facilities, fertilisers and improved seeds all have to play equally important roles. It is now an admitted fact that the irrigation potential created by the large river valley projects has not been properly utilised. This has resulted in a considerable loss in output in areas where irrigation facilities exist. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning the other day pointed out that by the end of the Second Plan,

Rs. 788 crores would have been spent on irrigation. "It is obvious that, if utilisation is to proceed according to the old ideas—that is, if it is left to the people entirely and is spread over 10 to 15 years—the nation will be losing Rs. 30 to 40 crores a year in interest alone and three to four times that amount in output." In West Bengal, particularly in the deltaic areas, there has been continued drought for the last several years and as a result food production in these areas have fallen considerably. The country needs a food production council whose function it will be to lay down targets for every village and to set up organisations to reach those targets. It is the primary responsibility of the States to raise the food production by integrated efforts, but their achievement in this respect are totally disappointing.

Food Prices

Food prices have continued to rise throughout the length and breadth of India. In West Bengal, the situation has already assumed an alarming picture with the price of rice per maund rising over thirtytwo rupees even in suburban and rural areas. The assurance that government were "watching the situation" or that they would not "allow prices to rise" loses all meaning in the context of this constantly rising index of food prices.

The *Hitavada* writes with reference to the situation in Madhya Pradesh and Bombay :

"Prime Minister Nehru has given an assurance at the Press Conference, that the food prices will go down shortly as the Government has large stocks of rice and wheat. People have been living on such assurances from Ministers for quite a long time but there is no indication of any fall in the price of foodgrains. In the Nagpur market, fine rice is sold at one *pailee* and one *chatak* for a rupee and rice merchants have given notice that the *chatak* will be cut down next month. They complain that there is some defect in the mechanism of supply in the Bombay State. Formerly, they were getting rice supply from the districts of Chhattisgarh. When this was stopped, the Bombay Government made no alternative arrangement to ensure a regular supply. Whatever be the real cause of high prices of foodgrains in place like Nagpur, the very fact

that prices continue to soar irks the consumer particularly when he hears assurances of the type given by Prime Minister Nehru at his Press Conference. The Consumer is losing faith in such assurances."

Financial Devolution

The Government of India announced on July 4 its decision to delegate greater financial powers so far exercised by the Finance Ministry to the administrative ministries

This decision was taken with a view to facilitating the execution of plan schemes and removing administrative delays. To achieve this end a revised arrangement for budgeting and financial control would be introduced shortly. Internal financial advisers attached with, and forming part of, the administrative ministries would have the duty to ensure that wider financial powers thus delegated were exercised with due regard to financial principles.

The decision of the Government of India involving devolution of financial powers would evoke a mixed reaction. The matter had been debated for several years now since Mr. Chanda, the present Auditor-General of India, had in his earlier capacity as Secretary of the Production Ministry, recommended this measure. There could be no denying the fact that the extreme centralization of financial authority under the Ministry of Finance had on many occasions led to much avoidable delay without in any way contributing to real economy. While there was the obvious danger inherent in any liberalisation of the stringencies of financial control, the new decision of the government certainly merits a sincere trial.

Removal of the Jaipur Bench

Referring to the movement for the retention of the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court and the government's policy the *Bombay Chronicle* writes editorially:

"Neither the Congress Party nor the country at large can hope to benefit from the disciplinary action that is contemplated against Congressmen who supported the agitation against the abolition of the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court. Among those who

openly sided with the so-called 'rebels' are said to be Mr. Raj Bahadur, Union Minister for Communications, two former Chief Ministers of Rajasthan and two present State Ministers. The terms "agitational attitude" and "public defiance" are distortions to describe what was an outcry against a public grievance. It is wrong to say that the move will entail hardships merely to a few hundred lawyers who will now have to go to Jodhpur for every case before the Rajasthan High Court. Litigants themselves will have to suffer considerable inconvenience and monetary expense involved in the removal of the Jaipur Bench. Lawyears alone could not have incited members of the public who hurled stones at the police and even indulged in acts of incendiarism in Jaipur when the agitation was at its height. On one occasion, the demonstrators numbered 5,000, and the police had to use tear-gas and lathis to curb the unruly crowd. It cannot be forgotten that at one time all the municipal councillors of Jaipur thought of resigning on this issue. To voice public sentiment in full strength, the Jaipur City Congress Committee unanimously reiterated its earlier stand for continuance of the Jaipur Bench and appealed to the State Government to reconsider its decision.

"All this public furore does not add up to the work of a few Congress "rebels". It will be a sad day for Congress when the party ceases to give vent to people's grievances because of ukases from the High Command. Democracy, too, will suffer a grievous setback."

There would appear to be great strength in the arguments made by the *Chronicle*. Further we have to strongly criticise the action of the High Command if they have ignored the suffering of the people, in taking this "disciplinary action." "Discipline" of that type has an evil stench, reminiscent of the days of our slavery.

Medium of Higher Education

The *Hindu* of Madras in a leading article in its issue of July 27 came out strongly against the replacement of English as the medium of higher education by the regional languages. "It would lead to nothing less than the Balkanisation of India and its division into fourteen separate countries each of which would put up an effective language

barrier to persons from other states. Competitive examinations would become a farce and there could be no inter-change of personnel either in Government or business", the newspaper writes.

"The usual 'democratic' argument against English (apart from appeal to crude nationalism) is that the English graduate will form a new caste or class. The argument is scarcely valid when such graduates are well-versed in the mother tongue. The other familiar argument runs that, in an era of mass education, a foreign language is a barrier to the newly-educated. To this, the answer is that the statistics do not bear it out. In 1926, the total number of college students was less than 100,000. In 1947 the figure rose to 230,000. Today it is in the neighbourhood of 900,000. If this last figure is compared with the total for British Universities which was only 91,000 last year, it becomes clear that, while the standard of college education may not be high, it cannot be said that English is a barrier which is keeping out the new matriculates. We do not, however want to give the impression that there should be no higher education in the regional languages. There is no reason why ample provision should not be made in some colleges for education entirely through the mother tongue. But students who opt for such higher training should be made aware that their chances of employment outside their own State are pretty slender," the newspaper adds.

The comments of the *Hindu* high-lighted some of the difficulties of the replacement of English as the medium by the mother tongue. While the points made by it were not to be laughed at or brushed aside, it did not appear to have considered the problem of ensuring a *properly oriented* education which could only be gained through the medium of the mother tongue. While English might as yet serve for some years more as the official language, its replacement as a medium of higher education would have to be accelerated.

The Kerala Firing

Two persons were killed and six others were injured, four of them seriously, when on

June 26 police opened fire to disperse an unruly mob of workers who had surrounded a cashew factory at a place about seven miles from Quilon. The trouble reportedly arose out when the management, who had earlier declared a lock-out, attempted to remove some of the goods from the factory in their lorries with police protection.

There was a country-wide furore over this incident of firing which, to anyone not acquainted with Indian developments, might appear as an unprecedented thing, though as a matter of fact it was not.

There have been quite a few deaths caused, since independence, by the bullets of Indian police. But never before had there been such an all-India movement to denounce firing. There were police firings elsewhere in India since July 26 but no comparable condemnation of those firings.

This is not to suggest the condonation of firing in Kerala or elsewhere nor to overlook the misguided policies and bunglings of the Communist-led government in Kerala. Democratic government was based upon certain assumptions about the codes of conduct of the government and the opposition. Unless both of these facts sincerely adhered to those codes of conduct democratic government would become impracticable.

49th State of USA

Alaska is soon to be made the forty-ninth state of the United States of America which since 1912 has been the Union of forty-eight states. Admission of Alaska—purchased from the Russian Czar in 1867 at a price of \$7,200,000 (or less than two cents an acre the price having since been repaid more than 300 times)—would add to the United States an area of 586,400 square miles, roughly equivalent to one-fifth of the existing 48 states. The admission of Alaska (which had so long been treated as a "territory" as distinct from a "state") would involve a change in the national flag of the United States. The flag now is made up of 13 alternate stripes of red and white and 48 white stars on a field of blue. Soon the flag would have another star, the 49th, for the new State of Alaska.

Ministers with Picks and Shovels

China is one of India's great neighbours. Chinese successes in several fields of production have been widely acclaimed throughout the world. How things are happening in China; how the leaders behave there are therefore, questions about which interest is naturally keen. An interesting account is provided by the report of the participation of leading government and Party functionaries in manual work. In June leading cadres including Chirman Mao-Tse tung and Premier Chou En-lai participated in such manual work. Premier Chou En-lai led two contingents of more than 540 ministers, heads of departments and bureaus of the Central Government and members of organizations directly under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at the Ming Tombs Reservoir Construction site on the north-eastern outskirts of Peking. Each of the contingents work for a week.

Reporting the work of these contingents *People's Daily* of Peking writes: "It was a hot day with a blazing sun overhead. The sand underfoot was scorching." It was on that day that work began. "Everyday as the whistle blows at 3 p.m. people [Ministers, Chiefs] fall in and set out for the work-site. Nor until 11 o'clock in the evening do they return to their camping grounds where they sleep on pallets on the ground."

"Under the blazing sun, the stones were hot to the touch but this group was not mindful of this. They cheerfully called the big stones 'water melons' and the small stones 'musk melons'.... All the members of this contingent, whose average age is over 45 vied with each other in working hard."

Premier Chou En-lai, whose right hand had suffered a permanent strain during the Long March back in the 'thirties, brushed aside the advice of friends not to take up heavy work. He insisted on pushing a few cart-loads of stones. Other ministers and officials did likewise.

The frugality of the Chinese leaders is well known. Their personal participation in real manual labour cannot but create new enthusiasm among the people to work hard and economically.

Pakistani Intrusions

The Delhi Hindusthan Standard writes: Incursions of East Pakistani personnel into Assam and West Bengal along the borders have become not only a great nuisance but a danger. Since the Pakistani Army's "Operation Closed Door" started in December last year and border trade was closed down on the pretext of controlling smuggling activities Pakistani armed personnel have been steadily reinforced along the frontiers. In a recent statement Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, has referred to the increasing number of cases of trespass by Pakistani citizens, sometimes backed by Pakistani policemen, with the object of lifting cattle or illegal cultivation of *char* areas or harassing and kidnapping of Indian boatmen who ply their boats along rivers where the midstream had been accepted as the Indo-Pakistan boundary. It is the West Bengal Chief Minister's irresistible conclusion that this situation has resulted from the aggressiveness and instigation of Pakistani Army personnel who not only take recourse to high-handed action themselves but also encourage and assist Pakistani police and civilians on the border to undermine border peace and tranquillity. He has also noted that the Government of East Pakistan is either unable or reluctant to restrain their officials and nationals from committing these felonies and that on the contrary it invariably covers up "the misdeeds of Pakistani nationals who harass Indian nationals or trespass into Indian territory."

From this very unreassuring picture two conclusions can be drawn: firstly, that the East Pakistan Government offers, by its passive acquiescence, indirect encouragement to violations of the border by its nationals; alternatively, that it has no power to restrain or control the Army personnel under whose active instigation violation of the border is being committed. There is reason to believe that the unit of the Dacca Government has, by and large, ceased to run along the borders with West Bengal and Assam. But it is difficult to dismiss the impression that the East Pakistan Government is [not ?] entirely innocent in the matter in view of its evident unwillingness to implement the decisions of the Bagge Tribunal demarcating the border

between West and East Bengal. Dr. Roy is of opinion that the root of 'this and other Indo-Pakistan problems' is Pakistan's desire to grab whatever territory it can without consideration for rightness or wrongness.

Middle Eastern Drama

Events in the Middle East were moving very fast during the second half of July. The region had long been smarting under the double yoke of western imperialism and local feudalism. The revolution in Egypt, particularly since the coming to power of President Nasser, has always served as a beacon-light to the oppressed peoples of the other Middle Eastern countries. The unification of Egypt and Syria at the beginning of the year held out a renewed hope of Arab reunification and independence. Popular forces in every country were trying to seize the right moment to strike back at their oppressors. Great ferment was evident in Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. The popular forces gained a new position through the successful revolution in Iraq in the middle of July. The monarchy tumbled there practically without offering any opposition. The Iraqi revolution was purely internal Iraqi development and was an expression of the spirit of nationalism and independence of the people of Iraq. This precisely was most distasteful to the western Powers who had so long been accustomed to ordering about things in the region. The immediate reaction of the government of the United States of America was to send a contingent of U.S. troops to Lebanon where an internal controversy had been raging on the future President of the country. The British Government in its turn ordered its troops into another Middle Eastern country—Jordan. Such a development could by no means be palatable to the Soviet Government who had ample cause to be concerned at such briskness of the Western Powers along her borders. It appeared as if war would break out. Thanks to the restraint shown by all the Powers concerned, the situation did not worsen, though efforts to settle the impasse were not very successful. Meanwhile the Presidential election in Lebanon turned into a victory for the Opposition and a great blow to United States

prestige. The foolhardy measures of the Western Powers reduced their stock of goodwill in the region still further.

Independent opinion everywhere deprecated the despatch of U.S. troops to Lebanon and British troops to Jordan.

The Summit Talks

Now that the crisis in the Middle East has lessened and tranquility seems to be in the offing, the following extracts from the *New York Times* editorials, which give a summary of the situation at the peak of the crisis, are worthy of record:

"The international picture changed radically last week. These were the manifestations of the change:

"(1) Chances for a summit conference on the Middle East vanished. The whole issue was shifted to the eighty-one nation General Assembly.

"(2) The Chinese Communists asserted themselves forcibly in the policy councils of the Communist world. They did so in a context that suggested a possible division within that world over what course to pursue in relations with the West.

"(3) Events in the Middle East solidified the position of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. The prospect was that, at best, the West could hope only for neutralization of the area.

"The week's developments pointed to a harsher and more inflexible Communist policy towards the West. The strengthened influence of Communist China brought with it the threat of new military pressures in the Far East and a new diplomatic offensive for a seat for Peiping in the U.N. The major issues dividing East and West remained as far from solution as ever."

"Khrushchev's urgent call on July 19 for an immediate summit conference to avert 'a world catastrophe' opened one of the most extraordinary chapters in the history of Big Four relations. In the ensuing flurry of notes, four distinct positions emerged:

Russia wanted a five-power conference with the United States, Britain, France, India and

U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. The *United States* wanted the chiefs of government to attend a regular meeting of the Eleven Nation Security Council.

Britain endorsed the Security Council idea, but emphasized that the big powers should meet as a kind of Council sub-committee to conduct their summit business in private.

France wanted a summit meeting completely independent of the U.N.

In Washington, there was considerable concern, and some confusion, about precisely what kind of meeting was in the offing. The U.S. was convinced that Khrushchev intended to use the conference, not for negotiations, but for a free-swinging propaganda attack on the West. The only way to salvage its position, as the State Department saw it, was to try to keep the meeting within the Council rules and procedures.

Khrushchev, for his part, did not seem unduly concerned at first about any restrictions a Council meeting might impose on him. He apparently saw sufficient leeway between the U.S. and British positions to give him the kind of conference he wanted. On July 23, he had written British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan: "We share your views about the approach to a discussion of this question (the Middle East) at a special meeting of the Security Council with heads of government participating."

Five days later, although no change of any importance had occurred in the Western positions, there was a marked change in Khrushchev's attitude. In a note on July 28, he accused the U.S. and Britain of renegeing on the concept of a flexible Security Council procedure and he strongly endorsed the position taken by Premier Charles de Gaulle of France for a heads-of-government conference independent of the U.N.

The West did not interpret the July 28 note as closing the door on a Security Council summit meeting. Khrushchev, it was felt, had demonstrated too strongly his desire for a heads-of-government conference to boggle now over details.

That was the situation over last week-end as the West awaited Khrushchev's reply to a new series of notes restating the Western position. Three days passed without word from

Moscow—a marked contrast to the rapidity with which Khrushchev had fired back previous replies. Then last Sunday came a communique—but not from Moscow. A joint statement, issued in Peiping, announced that a meeting between Khrushchev and Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung had been in progress in the Chinese capital for the past four days. The communique said:

China and the Soviet Union . . . firmly maintain that a conference of the heads of the big powers should be called at once to discuss the situation in the Near and Middle East and resolutely demand that the United States and Britain withdraw their forces immediately from Lebanon and Jordan.

The Peiping meeting startled the West. From the outset of the latest chapter in summit manoeuvring, Khrushchev had urged that India be included and he also asked for the participation of the Arab States. But he had never mentioned the Chinese Communists—presumably because he knew the West would not sit down at the summit with the Mao regime. Now the Peiping communique strongly suggested that Mao had called Khrushchev to book for the omission and that pressure from Peiping might explain the signs of a Soviet switch as early as the July 28 Khrushchev note.

What remained uncertain for two days was whether Khrushchev was now going to back out of a summit conference altogether.

Last Tuesday the doubt was dispelled. In a sharply worded note, Khrushchev scuttled plans for a summit meeting. He charged that the Security Council was an "auxiliary organ" of the State Department and he accused the United States and Britain of having "evaded" a heads of government conference by insisting on holding it within the Council framework. Khrushchev said he was instructing Russia's representative at the U.N. to demand an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to discuss United States and British troop withdrawal from the Middle East.

Within a matter of hours, President Eisenhower issued a statement expressing "regret" that Khrushchev had rejected a Security Council meeting, but stating that a General Assembly session was "completely acceptable."

On Thursday, acting under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure adopted in 1950 which permits

the General Assembly to act when the Security Council is paralyzed by the veto—as happened in the debate last month over Lebanon and Jordan—the Council met and voted to call the Assembly into session.”

“The shift of the Middle East debate from the Security Council to the General Assembly changes abruptly the ground rules for the debate. The two bodies are notably different in composition and capacity. Among the differences are these:

The Security Council has eleven members, five of which (the United States, Britain, France, Russia and Nationalist China) are permanent. A negative vote by any permanent member is a veto. Originally the Council was the only U. N. agency with power to act, but because of vetoes it has been able to act in only one major crisis—the Korean war, which broke out while Russia was boycotting Council sessions. As now constituted the Security Council has a built-in Western majority.

The General Assembly has eighty-one members, each with one vote but none with veto power. A two-thirds vote is required on important questions; with every member voting, two-thirds would be fifty-four. The major blocs in the Assembly are the Western, consisting of twenty-three nations; the Soviet, with ten members (counting Yugoslavia); the Afro-Asian, with twenty-eight; and the Latin American, with twenty. Originally all the Assembly could do was make recommendations, but the Uniting for Peace resolution of 1950 broadened its powers.

On Friday the Assembly met for opening formalities. Immediately U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld came forward with a plan for dealing with “the basic problems” of the Middle East. His principal proposals are:

(1) Agreement by the Arab states not to interfere with one another’s territory or internal affairs.

(2) Enlargement of U. N. activities aimed at preserving stability in Lebanon and Jordan.

(3) Action by the Arab nations, with U. N. help, to make “arrangements for economic co-operation.”

Then the Assembly agreed to begin its substantive discussions Wednesday. The Assembly President, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand,

cautioned against turning the forthcoming sessions into a propaganda battle.

By all indications, however, that is what the sessions will be. With neither East nor West certain of mustering a two-thirds vote on any resolution, each will be out to make a case that will woo some uncommitted votes. The strategy taking shape at the week-end was as follows:

The Communist Bloc: The Russians obviously intend to hit hard at the theme that the U. S. and Britain have committed ‘aggression’ in Lebanon and Jordan and that this proves their imperialistic designs. Russia is expected to introduce a resolution calling for the U. S. and British forces to withdraw—a resolution which would have no chance of winning a two-thirds vote.

The West: Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has made plain his belief that the West ought to hammer at the theme that the real source of trouble in the Middle East is indirect aggression, inspired by the Soviet Union and executed by President Nasser. Such an attack might be used to try to win support for a United States resolution calling for a U. N. force to replace United States and British forces as a stabilizing influence in the Middle East. But there were some signs of Western wavering on this approach last week. For one thing, such a resolution might fail to win enough support from the Afro-Asian and Latin-American blocs to achieve a two-thirds vote.

Washington’s alternative—or companion—approach, it was reported last week, will be a broad program for Middle East development. President Eisenhower set the theme at his news conference last week, saying:

‘Troops are never going to win the peace. We have got to do something positive, and this must be in the field of moral and spiritual and economic and political strengthening of all these areas.’

The Fall of the French Republic

The inside story of the fall of the Fourth Republic in France is now coming out piece by piece. It is a story of political bankruptcy and lack of courage on the part of those Frenchmen on whom lay the responsibility to defend the Republic. It is the story of a nation in decay.

“The Fourth French Republic,” writes Sal

Tass, Paris correspondent of the New York weekly *New Leader*, "was not strangled, it choked on steak and wine. The National Assembly's acceptance of General Charles de Gaulle was the product of an intricate series of manoeuvres, but it also sprang from the deep unwillingness of the French to defend their Parliament. The deputies who had never had the courage to denounce the reactionary Algerian policy have now been swallowed up by it."

"If on the first day of the revolt—May 13—the Government had acted vigorously against the Algiers' generals," Mr. Tass adds, "the latter might have submitted and the crisis might have passed. Surely the mutineers were thoroughly shaken on the second day, when the (French National) Assembly invested (Premier) Pflimlin with a large majority and thus refused to give in to the mutineers' demands. If the Government had then isolated de Gaulle or forced him to denounce the mutiny, it could again have re-inforced its position."

This assessment made by Mr. Sal Tass from Paris is endorsed by Mr. Hal Lehrman who was an eye-witness of the events in Algiers on the momentous days of May and who had access to much inside information there. In his despatch to the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York, Mr. Lehrman describes how the revolt had been planned long before with the direct participation and patronage of leading Frenchmen. Referring to the situation immediately following upon the revolt in Algiers he writes: "Soldiers obey their superiors, and (Brigadier-General Jacques-) Massu's superior was (General Raoul) Salan. From Paris, Pflimlin, whose government was ratified that night, invested Salan with supreme military and civil powers in Algeria. This put Salan and his staff in an extraordinary dilemma. For several days thereafter the top army command talked as if the (public safety) committee's only objective was the maintenance of law and order."

"And an even more extraordinary quandary was created for Massu's civilian colleagues among the original organisers of the rising, who could never be sure during this period that Salan would not arrest them on orders from Paris at the next committee meeting. This was why they kept the Unite Territoriale Blindée (armoured corps reservists upon whom they

knew they could rely) in the corridors outside their offices in the ministry; and why they maintained crowds night and day on the huge esplanade forum outside the ministry windows as a constant reminder of the source of their ultimate power."

The Government in Paris, however, consistently refused to act and the Republic fell.

"The Temple of Justice"

We append below the speeches of the President and the Chief Justice, at the opening of the Supreme Court building as given in the *Statesman*:

"Dr. Rajendra Prasad declaring the 'temple of justice', open, said: 'Traditionally we look upon justice as a pair of scales, the two pans of which have to be held evenly without allowing the beam from which they hang to incline to one side or the other,' adds *U.P.I.*

"Just as the building is modelled on European architecture but the idea underlying it is Indian in conception, even so, should our Constitution which is modelled very largely on the British Constitution, be understood, worked and interpreted in accordance with our Indian genius," said the President.

"It is well known and well understood that our Constitution is based largely on the British Constitution and yet there are certain basic factors which distinguish the one from the other. For example, the British Constitution is an unwritten constitution which has been evolved in the course of centuries and has grown from precedent to precedent. It is a unitary constitution with one Parliament which is sovereign whose right there is none to dispute.

"The Indian Constitution, on the other hand, is a written Constitution. It is also a Federal Constitution in which Parliament is not supreme or sovereign in all matters, but has its powers limited and supremacy restricted only to those matters in which it is given exclusive jurisdiction or in regard to those which do not fall within the exclusive competence of the State Legislatures or concurrent competence of Parliament and the State Legislatures. No wonder that in interpreting it not only deep and wide knowledge of the British Constitution has to be requisitioned, but also acquaintance with our conditions, and above all the ingenuity which

is so peculiar to India of simplifying complicated matters and reconciling conflicting ideas.

"In the welter of politics and political parties and ideologies the courts of justice furnish the one stable element and if they with the Supreme Court at the apex from which they should draw inspiration and sustenance continue to hold their own by fair and just decisions and no less by their quick disposal of disputes, we can look forward with confidence to the future for steady growth and progress."

"The President said: 'While there is general satisfaction with the quality of justice dispensed, we hear complaints in regard to one matter and that is delay in the disposal of disputes coming up before courts. Whether such delay is due to rules of procedure, to paucity of time, to shortage of personnel or to any other causes, there is no doubt that in many cases delay does occur and it is up to the legislators as well as judges to see to it that delay is reduced to the minimum. This delay occurs all along the line, from the preliminary stages right up the highest court of appeal. It should not be taken lightly because justice delayed is in many cases justice denied.'

"I believe vigilance and supervision could help in improving matters. I think also that the expenses of litigation should be reduced as far as possible, but whether it is a question of delay or a question of expenditure, the bar, no less than the judges, have to play their part particularly in the peculiar circumstances of this country."

"We have evolved a system and procedure based largely on English practices and precedents and law of evidence is derived more or less exclusively in this way. We have in the process introduced many artificial rules which do not fit in with conditions prevailing here. I have a feeling that a revision of the rules of evidence and procedure will be conducive not only to reduction in the time spent and expenses incurred but also to improvement in the quality of justice. It is not for me to make concrete suggestions and I content myself by throwing out the suggestion for the consideration of all concerned."

"The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. S. R. Das, in his welcome speech, said that the new building was more than a magnificent mansion, adds *P.T.I.* It stood forth as

a solemn and sublime symbol of the 'majesty of the law.' He added that the portals of the Supreme Court which he described as the 'temple of justice' would be open to every citizen who might seek redress for wrong done by his fellow-men or by the State.

"The writs which will issue from this citadel of law and justice," the Chief Justice added, 'should run to the farthest corner of this vast country, bringing adequate relief to the oppressed and just retribution to the wrong-doer whoever he may be.'"

Official Callousness

The Allahabad correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in the July 24 issue of the paper:

Allahabad, July 23.—Allowing the writ petition of a student, Justice S. S. Dhawan yesterday passed severe strictures against the U. P. Education Board and its officials.

His Lordship was delivering judgment on a petition filed by Ram Krishna Varma who had appeared for the Intermediate examination conducted by the Board in 1957 and whose result had been withheld by the Board on the ground that an inquiry was still being held by the Board to discover whether Varma had been rusticated for one year while he was reading in Class VIII of Nehru College, Bindki, and whether he had concealed this fact in his application to the Board before appearing for the High School Examination and Intermediate Examination or whether it was his brother who had been rusticated from Nehru College.

Ramkrishna told the court that it was his brother Ramkishore who had been rusticated.

His Lordship ordered the Board to declare the examination result of the petitioner within two days.

His Lordship also ordered the Board to pay Rs. 500 as costs to the petitioner who "lost one year of his educational career irretrievably by this extraordinary and scandalous delay in completing this inquiry."

His Lordship said: "I hold that the conduct of the respondents comes within the legal meaning of *mala fide*."

"The respondents do not appear to have any consciousness of the irreparable harm they have done to this boy by this inexcusable delay

in conducting the inquiry but coolly state in their counter-affidavit that allegations made by the petitioner to the effect that not he but his brother was rusticated is still the subject-matter of an inquiry which is to be conducted by the Board.

"This is bureaucracy at its worst."

Fifteen months had elapsed since the Board received an anonymous letter against the boy, his Lordship said. The matter under investigation was a simple one. Had a serious attempt been made by the Board the inquiry could have been completed in a few weeks, his Lordship observed.

Student Disturbances

Below we append a news-item of this growing malady:

"A hartal was observed and processions were taken out today by students in several towns of Uttar Pradesh to protest against the police firing on students in Lucknow on Saturday and in support of the demands of the students of the State Ayurvedic College.

"The U.P. Government has meanwhile ordered that all educational institutions in the State be closed for a week from today.

"While the demonstrations in Lucknow, Kanpur and Allahabad, held with the permission of the authorities, went off peacefully, in Banaras, it was reported, police personnel were attacked and State vehicles damaged.

"A Banaras report said that students beat up four police constables and that two shops were looted. The students damaged a police jeep and an Information Department pick-up vehicle, and ripped open the cushions of two State Transport vehicles.

"The students, including those of Banaras University, stayed away from classes.

"The Lucknow procession was led by the leaders of the five Opposition groups in the State Assembly.

"In Lucknow, although the procession went off peacefully, some students later came out of the University in contravention of Section 144 and 23 were arrested.

"In Kanpur a students' procession carrying an effigy of the State Health Minister terminated in a meeting at which was demanded the holding of a judicial inquiry into the Lucknow

firing, compensation for the families of the killed and wounded, the resignation of the U.P. Health Minister and Home Minister, acceptance of the demands of the students of the Ayurvedic College, 'restoration of civic liberty in Lucknow University' and withdrawal of the prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C.

"In Allahabad all shops in the civil lines and the Chowk area, the main marketing centre, remained closed and cinema houses cancelled their matinee shows as students took out processions in the afternoon."

Jesuits in India

The forced resignation of the noted Indian Jesuit scholar, Rev. A. De. Mendonca from the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, bring to the fore the hard core of the reactionary attitude of some of the foreign Jesuits in India. Prof. Mendonca had been teaching in the college and the University of Bombay for many years and he had been a member of the Jesuit order for over twenty-five years.

Though a Jesuit, Prof. Mendonca never gave up his independence of thought or forsook his love for his motherland, India. As it turned out this was his peril. The Jesuit fathers asked him to give up his post in the University and to refrain from writing upon Indian philosophical topics on which he was a leading authority. Such an injunction could not be accepted by any decent man—far less by a man of Prof. Mendonca's integrity and character.

As usual the Jesuit fathers have come out with an explanation. But, as the *Hitavada* points out, it leaves out many significant points. There is really no explanation for the refusal of the Jesuit-General in Rome to receive Rev. Mendonca personally and accord him an opportunity to explain matters.

Rev. Mendonca's resignation is not an isolated affair. In the past grave charges were made against some of the Jesuit missionaries in India and their political behaviour. We are given to understand that several other Indian Jesuits are under constant surveillance of the non-Indian Jesuits in India.

We have no quarrel whatsoever with the religious views of the Jesuits so long as these are not sought to be imposed upon others. It would, however, be foolish to overlook the nefarious political activities of some Jesuits.

On all evidence Rev. Mendonca is a victim of their anti-Indian attitude. The seriousness of the matter calls for an impartial enquiry into the matter.

Encephalitis

An as yet unidentified disease which is generally known as encephalitis has been taking a rather heavy toll of lives for several years past. This year also it has been highly mortal. Until the current year the spread of the disease had been restricted to North and North-West India. Cases are, however, being reported from East and Central India also. The disease is generally accompanied with high fever and brain troubles. Experts are inclined to believe that the virus was possibly carried by the mosquitos and that the children are more prone to be attacked than the adults. Proper arrangements for civic and private sanitation may, therefore, be regarded as one of the most effective ways of checking the spread of this mortal disease. In some parts of Calcutta in particular the human congestion and the mosquito menace are equally great. Such a state of affairs makes those areas particularly vulnerable to the disease.

The progress in the battle against the mosquito menace in the city, as elsewhere, has been extremely unsatisfactory to say the least. The State Government's programme does not cover the city which is the responsibility of the Corporation of Calcutta. The latter body is doubly crippled by financial and administrative disabilities. The first reports of this new, and highly contagious and mortal disease should induce the authorities to take more vigorous and effective steps to check the mosquito menace in the city.

History in U. P. Assembly

History was created in the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly on July 25 when a Communist-sponsored resolution was passed by the House despite opposition by the Minister concerned. The resolution called for an increase of the price of sugarcane by Rs. 1-12 per maund. It was opposed by the Agriculture Minister, Shri Mohanlal Gautam, but was nevertheless passed by the House.

The Lucknow correspondent of Delhi *Hindusthan Standard* adds:

"The resolution, which was moved by Sri Bhikhulal, was supported by the Opposition, while the Treasury benches sat quiet when the voice vote was taken.

"It is for the first time in the House that a non-official resolution by the Opposition, more so by a Communist, was passed.

"Earlier, during the debate on the resolution, speakers pointed out that the cane-price fixed at the rate of Rs. 1-5 per maund ex-field and Rs. 1-7 per maund at mill-gate was much too low as compared to the price fixed in other States.

"Opposing the resolution, Sri Mohanlal Gautam, Minister for Agriculture, said that raising of price of sugarcane would seriously retard food production in the State as more and more acreage would go under cultivation of sugarcane."

The most significant thing in the episode was, as anyone could see, the fact that the resolution was passed against the opposition of a Minister. This incident in a way showed the depth to which the organisational solidarity of the Congress had degenerated.

Floods in Delhi

Delhi was hard hit by the recent rains. The whole of the town remained submerged in water for hours. Old Delhi was particularly hard hit. The seriousness of the situation was discussed at a special meeting of Delhi Municipal Corporation on July 25. The Mayor, Shri Aruna Asaf Ali, disclosed the staggering fact that two-thirds of the houses in Old Delhi were in a state of near collapse. Already more than 150 houses had been ordered to be demolished. She suggested the construction of 10,000 two-room tenements for the benefit of the citizens.

Several speakers criticized the Municipal administration and other concerned authorities for their failure to take adequate measures to save the city from the ravages of a few hours' rainfall. Shri Sham Nath, leader of the Congress Party, maintained that the extent of the damage could have been considerably reduced if help had been rushed to the low-lying areas of the city in time. He particularly referred to the shortcomings of the Engineering Depart-

ment. Shri Kidar Nath Sharma repeated the criticism and accused some of the municipal employees of "inhuman behaviour." He referred to an official who, even when asked, had refused to visit an affected area. Shri Kanwarlal Gupta criticized the bad planning of the city as one of the factors responsible for the havoc and called for a public enquiry into the circumstances of death caused by a few inches of rainfall.

India Returns Burmese Guns

Press Trust of India reports :

Rangoon, July 25--Six guns, captured by the British during the Anglo-Burmese wars and taken to India, were returned to Burma yesterday. The oldest of the gun dates back to 1751.

They were handed over to the Burmese Deputy Premier, Thakin Tin, at a function in the Jubilee Hall by Sri Laljee Mehrotra, Indian Ambassador to Burma.

Thakin Tin, thanking the Government of India for its prompt action in acceding to Burma's request for the return of these mementos said, it was further proof of the friendly and cordial relations that existed between the two countries.

This is a piece of welcome news. It also reminds one about the fact that a good many properties of Asian countries are still in the possession of others. Canons of reason and justice demand their restoration to their rightful owners. An example that readily comes to mind is the collection of the India House Library which the British Government has not yet handed over to India on one pretext or another.

Rakhaldas Palodhi

Rakhaldas Palodhi, an ex-member of this organisation, died recently at the ripe old age of eighty in his home district, Hooghly. He

went to Lucknow in his youth and served a factory for some time. From Lucknow he came to Allahabad where he made his acquaintance with the late revered Ramananda Chatterji, the then Editor of *Prabasi*. Mr. Chatterji appointed him as an itinerant agent of the journal in Northern India. Rakhaldas came into contact with every prominent Bengali gentleman then residing in Northern India. He wrote a few articles in *Prabasi* about his varied experiences in this capacity. After Ramananda Babu shifted to Calcutta, Rakhaldas was given the responsible job of the advertisement manager. He served as such for over thirty years. He retired in 1940. Since then he was living in his village home. Rakhaldas Palodhi was of amiable nature. He suffered bereavements, but nothing could deter him from discharging his duties faithfully. May his soul rest in peace.

Bejoyendra Krishna Seal

We have suffered a severe loss in the death of Bejoyendra Krishna Seal, one of the assistant editors of *The Modern Review and Prabasi*. He joined our staff sixteen years back. For his unassuming nature and devoted service he won the affection of all persons connected with this institution. From his boyhood Bejoyendra Babu formed studious habits. He used to read books of various sorts, and we often wondered how he could very well remember their contents. He was an M.A. of the Calcutta University, but his mental make-up and equipment were far above the average run. He would read more and write less, a rarity with modern litterateurs. His wide range of studies rendered him very useful in the discharge of day-to-day editorial duties. He was a man of retiring nature. His constant friends in weal and woe were truly speaking; his books. But he was humane too, none-the-less. His heart melted at the distressed humanity. He was very simple in his talks and demeanour. He died at about fifty-nine.

DYNAMISM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

DEPRESSED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Table I

It needs no elaborate discussion to say that agricultural productivity in India has remained depressed over a long period. Even today our yields are much lower as compared with those of other countries. For one reason or another, agriculture in the country has so far lacked the necessary incentive. Agricultural production is not merely a study of input and output analysis. The exogenous factors play the greater role and the paper proposes to examine them more carefully.

Constant croppings reduced the fertility of land and no steps were taken to replenish it. An idea of the grave injury thus done can be had from a comparison between the yields now and some few centuries back.¹ Dr. V. G. Panse in a paper read by him before the meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, March 1950, stated that "the average yield on medium type of *poolej* (annually cultivated) land during the reign of Akbar, was 2240 lbs. on an acre of wheat land (equal to the present average yield in Western Europe), 2,333 lbs. on rice land (equal to that in China) and 1,940 lbs. on jowar lands²." The standard yields of wheat, rice, and jowar now are only 828, 902 and 590 lbs. per acre respectively.

A study of the average Indian yields of rice for the last 60 years as shown in Table I, indicates a steady decline.³

AVERAGE ALL-INDIA YIELDS OF MILLED RICE PER ACRE IN LBS

Year	Yield	Difference	Percentage Decline
1895-96 to 1899-100	942	..	..
1900-01 to 1909-10	920	22	2.3
1910-11 to 1919-20	900	42	4.5
1920-30 to 1939-40	818	124	13.5
1940-41 to 1949-50	745	197	20.3
1950-51 to 1952-53	643	299	32.0

The decline in productivity by about 32 per cent is said to have continued even after the Grow More Food Campaign was launched in 1943. The position in the case of other food-grains was also practically the same. Japan on the other hand, during the same period, succeeded to raise her rice yields from 1729 lbs per acre to 2694 lbs or by 55.8 per cent as shown below:

Year	Yield per acre (lbs)
1881-1890	1729
1891-1900	1872
1911-1920	2399
1921-1930	2462
1931-1940	2632
1941-1950	2694

Bogey of Soil Exhaustion—From all this, we must not conclude that our soils have either been exhausted or permanently harmed. The bogey of soil exhaustion, raised in the past, had only led to wrong conclusions.

The point of soil exhaustion was raised by Voelcker as far back as 1893, but he failed to put forth any positive evidence in support of his contention⁴. Thirty-five years later, the Royal Commission on Agriculture⁵ (when faced

1. "There are parts of Bengal," wrote Ditcher (*Capital*, Vol. III, 1934. India Analysed), "which the Government of India found garden and left as desert and Bengal as an administrative and economic unit never recovered from the grave economic injury thus inflicted." About the productivity of Bengal during the Mugul period refer to Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mugul Empire*.

2. Quoted in *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. III, p. viii. A recent survey carried out by the FAO (*The Hindustan Times*, September 19, 1952) also states, "Rice yields were about 50 per cent higher during the Mugul period than at present."

3. Dr. Punjabrao S. Deshmukh's circular letter No. IX dated June 3, 1954.

4. Dr. Voelcker, *Report, Op. Cit.*, pp. 36-37.

5. *Royal Commission on Agriculture Report*, para 77.

with the same problem) attributed some loss due to lack of manure, but fully conceded that a "balance has been established and no further deterioration is likely to take place under existing conditions of cultivation." Later, the Bengal Provincial Enquiry Committee⁶ (1930) and Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee⁷ reiterated the same view. The notion that there was soil exhaustion was based on the then available data regarding the yield per acre of various crops.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee⁸ and Rao Bahadur⁹ Bal, the then Agricultural Chemist to the Government of CP and Berar, proved that India's soil was not in any way inferior to that of other countries¹⁰. Food yielding capacity of 100 acres, according to the former, was—India 100 to 110 persons; Great Britain, 45 to 50; and Germany, 70 to 75. In the case of Indian soil only the humus, called the 'Reserve Bank of the Soil' was being depleted and called for immediate attention. Otherwise, the 17th Indian Science Congress¹¹ concluded that the soil was responsive to improved methods and proper manuring.

The Cultivator—Our cultivator also, though primitive in his methods and orthodox in his views, is as efficient as his fellow cultivator in the advanced countries¹². The conservatism and fatalism of the farmers are more or less the same the world over. The Report of the American Business Men's Commission on Agriculture was quite vocal when it pointed out that "the farmer is ordinarily a prudent and conservative man but as his prosperity

depends more and more on forces outside his control, this prudence and conservatism are affected with a touch of fatalism and in some cases, recklessness¹³." Even then, as Dr. Voelcker observes, the Indian peasant is not to be viewed as a "a living emblem of inertia. In reality he is not so very conservative as he is supposed to be."

Possible Explanation—Though India has had a long tradition of sound agricultural practices, the gradual deterioration in methods resulted from the lack of encouragement and proper technical help. Other factors contributing towards such deterioration were the migration of more efficient agricultural labour to the industrial area, lack of equipment and finance, inability of the administration to mobilize the resources of the cultivator and the then existing land system under which the cultivator had no *locus standi* on the land.¹⁴

UNRELIABLE DATA

The position was, however, made to appear worse because of the unreliable data. Statistics in Indian agriculture were attached the least importance in the past. The collection of such data was merely treated as an appendix to the administrative routine and incidental to the collection of land revenue. It was more or less a by-product of official activity¹⁵, or a luxury which was enjoyed in relatively easy times and skipped over in times of stress. As a result, many a time the average yield per acre, as depicted by the available statistics, was untrue or even imaginary¹⁶. Sir Bryce

6. *Report of the Bengal Provincial Enquiry Committee*, pp. 21-22.

7. *India Analysed, Capital*, Vol. III, 1934, p. 169.

8. *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, Op. Cit., p. 126.

9. *Proceedings of the Third Meeting of Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture*, December, 1939, pp. 193-193.

10. "Speaking generally, however, we may say that the land is fertile in India." (P. N. Banerjee, *A Study of Indian Economics*, 1951, p. 49).

11. *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress*, p. 34.

12. *Indian Farming*, Special No. 1946, p. 51; Voelcker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12; J. Mohson (*A Text Book of Indian Agriculture*, 1901), quoted by Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India*, Op. Cit., p. 18; Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11, 120 and 227; and Sir John Strachey, *India—Its Administration and Progress*, p. 394.

13. *Report*, p. 111. Also see Dr. P. S. Deshmukh's circular letter No. XVII, p. 291 and *Villager, Famine or Plenty*, p. 33.

14. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Part III, Op. Cit., p. (ix).

15. "The Statistics of India have largely originated as a by-product of administrative activity. As a result, the statistics are un-coordinated as issued in various forms by separate Departments . . . they are unnecessarily diffuse, gravely inexact, incomplete or misleading while in many fields general information is almost completely absent."

16. D. H. Grist, *Rice* (pp. 272-273), says that many of the technical workers and production of specialists in India are emphatic in their belief that the crop reports in recent years have underestimated total production. He quotes J. N. Efferson in *Foreign Agriculture Report*, No. 35 (UP Department of Agriculture 1949) who pointed out that "the average yield of food-crops, especially rice, are at least stable as compared with pre-war and, if moving in either direction, are increasing gradually with improved varieties, cultural methods and fertilizer use."

Burt, the then Vice Chairman, ICAR, made a review of the progress of Indian agriculture during the decade following the submission of the Royal Commission Report in 1928. He contended that the average yield per acre of several crops had been raised. The crops surveyed by him included rice and wheat in addition to the well-known cash crops¹⁷.

OLD METHOD

Such statistics were of doubtful character in permanently-settled areas where there was no primary reporting agency. Then there were the princely states, where as much as 50 per cent of the area was not even surveyed. Whatever little reliable data could be obtained were from temporarily-settled provinces. Even here the source of origin was the illiterate and disinterested patwari or the Karnam who would estimate the outturn of the produce in terms of annas or sixteenth of a rupee. It were these estimates channelled through the Tehsildar, Deputy Commissioner, the Director of Land Records, and ultimately the Director of Agriculture which figured in the all-India estimates.

All these yearly calculations are in terms of annas. The normal yield per acre for each district is fixed. In the case of Madras, for example, it was fixed as early as 1919¹⁸.

It would be seen that the whole of this system is technically defective and logically wrong. Keeping the village Patwari at the

back of all this was unscientific,¹⁹ as well as arbitrary²⁰.

Realising these defects the Board of Agriculture in 1919 came out with the first authoritative recommendation that crop-cutting experiments must be carried out in randomly-selected fields and villages. It was, however, left for John Hubback to carry out the experiment in 1923-25. Hubback's method was later used by C. D. Deshmukh in the Central Provinces in 1928-30. Indian Statistical Institute also did some work in Bihar and Bengal, but their results were not published. None of these early efforts in crop-cutting experiments could, however, bear any fruitful result.

Then came Profs. A. L. Bowley and D. A. Robertson who in 1934 reiterated the necessity of the sampling method in their *Scheme for an Economic Census for India*. But for some stray efforts here and there, the scheme was never implemented. Sir John Russel in 1939²¹ and the Food Grains Policy Committee²² in 1943 again emphasised the need for improved methods. Some interest was raised in the subject after independence when Dr. W. Shewhart visited India.

Even today these statistics are not very reliable and efforts are being made to place them on scientific footing.

Intentional Underestimation—Besides the absence of a proper machinery there were also other depressing factors responsible for the malady which has fortunately died out. All along there had been a tendency on the part

The Editors, *South Indian Village—A Re-survey*—Op. Cit., p. 433, concluded that during the period of 20 years that had elapsed between the first survey, the area under cultivation had not extended with the increase in population though there was no indication that the food supply had not kept pace with the growth in numbers. We cannot generalize the results of this survey which was restricted to only 8 villages. But it is a sufficient indicator that our yields per acre might not have fallen.

17. A paper read by Burt before a Joint Meeting of the India and Burma Section of the Royal Society of Arts.

18. Dr. B. Natarajan: *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, Second Edition, 1953, p. 123. The definition of 'normal' according to J. K. Pande (*Crop Estimates in the United Provinces*, 1945—pp. 42-43) was unreal, inaccurate and unscientific. Also refer to Dr. S. G. Tiwari, (*The Economic Prosperity of the United Provinces*, 1951, pp. 85-88) for similar views.

19. Mr. W. J. Jenkins while speaking on the subject at the 2nd meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (1937—p. 83) held that "the statements prepared were merely the result of the work done in the Director of Agriculture's office."

20. According to Dr. Sukhtame (*Report on Crop Cutting Experimental Survey*, Op. Cit., p. 19) the whole method was arbitrary, there being no means of finding the extent to which the estimates were either biased or accurate. Official estimates according to him further tried to keep close to the average of the preceding years.

21. *Report on the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in Applying Science to Crop Production in India*—Sir John Russell—1939 p. 93.

22. *Report of the Foodgrains Policy Committee*—1943—pp. 9-10.

of the cultivator to underestimate yields. This point was illustrated by Bryce Burt, Chairman of the 2nd Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing. Difficulty in obtaining standard yields according to him was due to the fact that 'Land revenue and other taxes were based on this yield and the farmers were naturally anxious to make that figure as low as possible'.²³

The introduction of rationing and procurement in 1943 aggravated this tendency to underestimate Crop Yields. Surplus as well as deficit States showed their actual yields to be much lower than the real position.²⁴

Future Outlook—This discussion should not, however, give us the impression that our yields compare favourably with the yields in other countries or that they have not gone down over a period. It only proves that not much reliance can be placed on the existing data. And there can also be no two opinions about the fact that the existing yields are much low.

DETERMINANTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

With our soil quite fertile and cultivator efficient as well as keen to improve, there is thus an immediate need to rejuvenate agriculture. Every productive activity depends upon the existence or otherwise of both endo-genous and exo-genous factors and agriculture is no exception to this rule. The former are those which are inherent in the system and the latter originate from some external source.

The main factors of production as enumerated by Marshall are land, labour, capital, and organization. All these are the endo-genous factors. The exo-genous factors are the land policy, size of holdings, communications and marketing facilities and the pricing policy. These factors do not have any direct effect on production but have considerable indirect influence.

23. *Proceedings, 1937, Op. Cit.*, p. 89.

Besides this 'experience in other countries of the world has also been that growers are usually inclined to underestimate their production.' (*The National Sample Survey General Report No. 1*, p. 80).

24. *The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee*, p. 110.

ENDO-GENOUS FACTORS

Land is the first requisite in agriculture and its supply is more or less inelastic. But in India, all the available fertile land has not so far been brought under the plough. Not more than 300 million or 36.4 per cent out of a total of 821 million acres are at present under cultivation. In European countries, on the other hand, as much as 90 per cent of the available land is under the plough²⁵. In the world as a whole, Prof. Fawcett estimated years back that nearly 30 per cent of the land was cultivable²⁶. But hardly 9 per cent of it is being cropped²⁷ at present²⁸.

Maximum economy in the case of land can at the same time be obtained if only the marginal product of labour as well as capital is zero. This, in other words, means that the high input of capital and labour per acre should result in a high output per acre²⁹. Land is actually like a living being. It gives nourishment to the crop and calls for nourishment in return³⁰. The inputs are water, manure, seed, human or cattle labour and the use of machine. The optimum utilization of men, cattle, or machine power depends upon the availability of other factors in a country. In India, for lack of capital, both men and cattle are required to be used to the maximum in agriculture³¹. The

25. Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problems, Op. Cit.*, p. 285.

26. C. B. Fawcett, "The Extent of Cultivable Land," *Geographical Journal*, LXXVI (1930), pp. 509-509. Quoted by L. Dudley Stamp, *Our Underdeveloped World*, London, 1953, p. 49.

27. According to the Year-book of Food and Agricultural Statistics, FAO, 1949, the total area of the land available in the world is estimated at 33,113 million acres, out of which only 3,006 million acres is under the plough.

28. *C.I. Rural India*, September, 1956.

29. *Progress in Land Reforms*, UNO, p. 2.

30. S. Arnold, *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, May, 1951.

31. The subject enters the field of mechanization or otherwise of agriculture. It is not necessary for us, to go into a detailed discussion of the subject. We can, however, say that in the present context of conditions in India, a dovetailing of all the resources is necessary. We need heavy machinery to reclaim jungle-infested lands and cultivate big estates. Human and cattle labour will still be more economical as well as useful in the matter of intensive cultivation in all areas where the holdings are small and capital scarce. For an interesting study refer to Deshmukh's Circular Letter No. XVIII, pp. 63 to 72 and the *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, March 1949, pp. 78-103.

best use of land is a fit subject for discussion under the head 'Intensive Cultivation' and has been discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

The Indian cultivator is quite capable of organising his agricultural operations efficiently. But so far he has lacked the normal facilities required for intensive cultivation. This has sapped his enthusiasm so much that today he has lost all his interest not only in his profession but also in life. Efforts are now being made to infuse in him the new spirit and encourage him to take to improved methods of agriculture. This is being done on an intensive scale in the Community Project areas and on an extensive scale in the National Extension Blocks³². There is every reason to believe that the Indian Farmer will soon come to his own and reorientate Indian agriculture.

EXO-GENOUS FACTORS

It is difficult to measure the effect of these factors statistically, but all of them have an indirect effect on agricultural production and we cannot afford to ignore³³ them.

LAND POLICY

Until recently there prevailed in India a feudal land system whereby the tiller of the soil was deprived, in a majority of the cases, of the well-known three F's—fair rents, fixity of tenure and free sale. He had, therefore, little incentive to improve his agricultural methods.

Dr. Gangulee pointed out long ago that low agricultural production in India was due more than anything else to the circumstances in which the Indian peasant worked, the ownership of land under the existing agrarian system being unequal and unjust³⁴. The title

to land is a thing a farmer cherishes the most. "Possession of land gives him a status in society³⁵" so goes a local saying. This being the case land values in most parts of the country are incredibly high³⁶. A removal of these handicaps is thus a necessary pre-requisite to improve our agriculture.

The urgency of changing the old order was felt long back. Land reforms which aimed at both increasing production as well as dispensing social justice, were taken up as far back as 1937, but much headway could not be made till recently³⁷. Wolf Ladejinsky, architect of land reforms in Japan, and Kenneth Parsons, Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin, who visited India in 1953 on an invitation from the Government, declared that "the progress in land reforms was too slow to meet the rising discontent of the villagers³⁸." Recent land reforms have, however, swept away the 162-year old zamindari system established by Lord Cornwallis which, like an over-ripe fruit, came down in the sheer fullness of time. The existence of philosopher-landlords has come to an end and a direct relationship has been established between the farmers and the State by the elimination of intermediaries and zamindars.

Agriculture under the Indian Constitution is a state subject as against the central head. Measures have, therefore, been taken by the State Governments to bring about land reforms. While the main plank of such reforms is the conferment of proprietary rights on the tiller which we will discuss in detail, legislation has also been passed by the various State Governments to fix reasonable rents and ensure of security of tenures where conferment of

35. V. V. Sayana, *Readings in Rural Problems*, p. 52.

36. According to Chester Bowles (*Ambassador's Report*, New York, 1954, p. 184) an ordinary rice paddy land in West Bengal valued at \$1,500 an acre!

37. *Recent Development in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy*, ILO, p. 22. The original constitutional, financial and other difficulties are also given at pp. 23-25.

Most of the legislation for the abolition of intermediaries was put through during the last four or five years. For details refer to *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. IV, Land Reforms, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 1953.

38. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 185. Again, the measures taken by the Government according to Ladejinsky were "half-hearted and inadequate." (*The Indian Express*, October 3, 1953).

32. For a detailed study of the Community Projects and the National Extension Schemes refer to *The Modern Review*, June 1956.

33. W.S. and E.S. Woytinsky (*World Population and Production—Trends and Outlook*, p. 324) while discussing agricultural production in under-developed areas point out that "agriculture in these areas is handicapped less by the scarcity or the poor quality of the soil than by the lack of good roads, storage facilities, organised markets and by diseases among men, plants, animals."

34. Dr. N. Gangulee, *Health and Nutrition in India*, p. 23.

immediate proprietary rights was not possible.³⁹

PEASANT FARMING

In a country like India where there is an intense love for land, the very title to it naturally serves as nothing short of magic in the matter of stimulating agricultural production. The old Carver type of argument in favour of tenant farming is no longer valid in the present-day world. China⁴⁰ and Egypt⁴¹ have given conclusive proof of an increase in agricultural production as a result of the restoration of land to the peasants.

It may be that peasant farming failed in countries like Rumania and Yugoslavia where the holdings proved to be too small⁴². Such a system might have also been less successful in Russia than in Germany⁴³. Hungary too was faced with an acute problem when in 1945, as a result of the introduction of land reforms, 642 thousand agricultural workers found themselves in possession of 1,914 thousand hectares of land. There were no communications, drainage facilities and technical skill. Equipment, and other resources were also lacking.⁴⁴

There is all the same an overwhelming evidence to prove that once land is restored to the actual tiller of the soil, agriculture gets an impetus. A reconstruction of the legal fabric of the land system is actually a pre-condition to any improvement in land management. R. H. Tawney rightly observed, "Improvement of agricultural methods is no doubt indispensable, but it is idle to preach that doc-

trine to cultivators so impoverished by exactions of parasite interest that they do not possess the resources needed to apply it⁴⁵." With the exit of the absentee landlord the fear of ejection and the perpetual dread of increase in rents⁴⁶ are removed. The cultivator finds himself in a better position to invest in the land and bring about permanent improvements⁴⁷ in it. Even the early British administrators, brought up in the school of Adam Smith and Ricardo, pointed out, "Give the cultivators a definite property in the land, give them security of tenure, a guarantee that the improvements will not be taxed, and a light equitable assessment, and with settled conditions there will be a great improvement in agriculture and a marked increase in prosperity⁴⁸."

China has already shown the way. Jack Beldon in *China Shakes the World* explains at length how land reforms are not just a question of land, but also a question of the whole social structure tied to the landlord system. Our first problem is to give the peasant a chance to live by freeing him from landlord exploitation. When he gets land, he realizes he is an individual and that every one has equal right and then he realizes the need for democracy.

Maybe that there is some lacuna left⁴⁹ in the existing land legislation, but the odds are all against the parasitic elements living on the land. All the forces are focussed against them

39. *Progress in Land Reforms, Op. Cit.*, pp. 143 and 127.

40. Premier Chou-En-Lai's Political Report to the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on October 23, 1951 (reproduced in the Supplement to *People's China*, Vol. IV, No. 10, November 16, 1951).

41. *Egyptian Bulletin*, published by the Egyptian Embassy at New Delhi. Reproduced in the *All-India Congress Committee Economic Review*, October 1, 1954, p. 19.

42. P. N. Driver, *Problems of Zamindari and Land Tenure Reconstruction in India*, p. 197.

43. Doreen Warriner, *Economics of Peasant Farming*.

44. Co-operative Farming, Reserve Bank of India, 24, p. 110.

45. Quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao, *Studies in Rural Economy, Op. Cit.*, p. 90. Also refer to Ambassador's Report (*Op. Cit.*, p. 187) which says that land reform is the first essential step to agricultural improvement.

46. "The heaviness of existing rents would be judged from the fact that for the country as a whole, the rents account for anything between one-fourth to one-half of the gross produce. Land taxes in Europe on the other hand represent only about 3 per cent of the gross revenue on the farm." (V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar, *Agricultural Economics*, p. 223).

47. "Cases are not rare where the cultivator has been prohibited or brought into court of law simply because he tried to dig a well or improve his holding in one form or another." (Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India, Op. Cit.*, p. 107).

48. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, p. 181.

49. Dr. Karuna Mukherji (*Land Reforms*, p. 125) goes so far as to say that the loopholes in the legislation may be responsible for introducing landlordism by the backdoor.

and whatever is left out of the purview of the existing legislation, will be swept away under the tidal forces of social movements like Bhoodan.⁵⁰

FUTURE POLICY

Though land reforms have so far been directed towards eliminating intermediaries, the ultimate aim is "to work out a co-operative system of land management in which the entire land and other resources of the village will be so managed and developed as to increase and diversify production and provide fuller employment to all the people working on the land."⁵¹ If in the second phase, steps could be taken to bring about a change in the management so that transactions in land become easy and it begins to change hands like any other commodity, most of our land problems would be automatically solved. As 'land gifts' under the Bhoodan movement increase in a particular area, there follows a drop in land markets and their prices.⁵² Other social movements like the Hindu Code Bill may also help towards greater flexibility in landed property and bring about a fall in its values. The combined effect of these factors may result in a psychological change in our ideas towards landed property.

It will, indeed, be a happy day for India when such a change takes place. But decentralization of industries would be the first prerequisite for the introduction of such a policy. The cultivator is now wedded to the soil per force because he has no other place to go. When he can find other avenues of employment nearer home, he would be tempted to give up his uneconomic holding and thus release pressure on land.

Although the success is not so marked, efforts are already being made to encourage co-operative farming. Any progress in the scheme

will also serve as a first step towards reducing intense love for the land. The next step of separating ownership from possession and emphasis on the best utilization of land resources will follow.⁵³ Whatever our achievement in the field, they are all directed towards our final goal of rehabilitating agriculture.

SIZE OF HOLDINGS

India is admittedly a land of small farms. The average size of holdings in the various provinces varied between 2 to 11.7 acres in 1931. Nothing definite can, however, be said about the present average size of holdings⁵⁴ in the country. In the absence of a regular land census, work on which has already been taken up, various scattered enquiries⁵⁵ suggest that the situation has not improved.

Such a state of affairs is, however, not peculiar to India. It is a common feature of all old countries where every male heir is entitled to an equal share of the landed property of his father. Japan in East Asia, Egypt in the Middle East, France, Germany, Switzerland and Holland in Europe are some of the glaring examples where the evil is marked. According to Keatinge, the size of an individual share in France in some cases has been reduced to a single vine

53. V. Y. Kolhatkar, *Reconstruction of Indian Agriculture*; and M. L. Dantwala, "Objectives and Criteria of Land Policies," *AICC Economic Review*, January 15, 1956, pp. 10-12.

54. Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, p. 133.

55. Some of the salient enquiries are: Borsad Taluka (Kaira Dist., Gujarat), A. D. Patel, *Indian Agricultural Economics*, pp. 124 and 171; Olpad Taluka (Surat District), J. B. Shukla, *Life and Labour in Gujarat Taluka*, 1937, p. 92; Dr. H. H. Mann, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, study No. 2, pp. 46-48; Thomas and Ramakrishnan, *A Survey*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 339; Social and Economic Survey of a Konkan Village, Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay, *Rural Economic Series* No. 3; *Economia Life in a Malabar village*, Madras University, Palme Dutt, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 172-173; *Rural Economy in India*, R. K. Mukherjee, p. 40; *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 114-115; Dr. Baljit Singh, "Whither Agriculture," *Op. Cit.*, p. 91; G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70; M. G. Bhagat, *The Farmer—His Welfare and Wealth*, p. 94; *Famine Inquiry Commission Final Report*, 1945, pp. 252-257; *Report of the Congress Committee on Agrarian Reforms*, p. 14; and Wadia and Merchant, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 173-178.

50. The movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, based on the 'Law of Love' in place of the 'Law of the Jungle', is a unique experiment on Gandhian principles. It aims at collecting 5 crore acres of land for redistribution among the landless and land-hungry people. Dr. G. D. Patel, *The Indian Land Problem and Legislation*, pp. 205-222 for a critical study.

51. Land Reforms, UNO. *Op. Cit.*, 22.

52. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 193.

or a single tuft of lucerne grass.⁵⁶ The position in Egypt is even worse. The field belongs to one person while different date trees thereon are the property of other persons.

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS

In India, as in any other country, where the holdings are not only fragmented but also subdivided, the remedial measure adopted has been the consolidation of holdings. In spite of the best efforts of the Government, no tangible results have, however, been achieved.⁵⁷ Total area consolidated in India by July 1954 was only 92.27 lakh acres.⁵⁸ This seems to be rather negligible when compared with the present net sown area of about 300 million acres. In the Punjab alone which top the list with 37.85 lakh acres, the total area involved is 13.5 million acres.

ADVANTAGES

Though there has been little progress, we cannot deny the advantages of consolidation of holdings which reduces the number of petty village quarrels over field boundaries. A fairly large area may also be released from the existing boundaries.⁵⁹ In Japan, during 1922, out of a total cultivated area of 14 million acres, nearly 1½ million acres of land were re-stripped. The area available for cultivation increased by 69,000 acres from 1,471,000 to 1,540,000 acres by the abolition of superfluous boundaries.⁶⁰ This may also help the villager to look after the fields properly when it is in one compact whole

and may mean a good deal of saving in his time and energy, both human and cattle. The cultivator may as well be enabled to introduce some improvements in the land by digging a well, resorting to contour bunding and other dry farming practices, or by preserving more of manure if under the changed circumstances he keeps his livestock near his holdings.⁶¹

CASE FOR SMALL UNITS

But too much emphasis on consolidation seems to be misplaced.⁶² As stated by Moomaw on the basis of his interview with farmers, "Scattered land means less risk of crop failure. With land scattered in different places one field may suffer from flood, frost or drought while fields in other localities might escape. Again, a farmer can have different kinds of soils"⁶³ to enable him to have a more diversified cropping pattern.

The argument of a saving in time and energy would also seem to be not of much consequence under the existing Indian conditions because our cultivator as well as his oxen remain unemployed from four to six months in a year.⁶⁴ It must, however, be borne in mind that most of the agricultural operations being seasonal, a saving of time during the sowing and harvesting periods is of an advantage which cannot be ignored. There is also said to be a

56. G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 67. Also Dr. R. V. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 32-33.

57. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. II—Consolidation of Holdings, and Dr. Vidya Sagar, *Agricultural Holdings in the District of Kanpur*, pp. 73-84.

58. *The Hindusthan Standard*, August 25, 1954.

Cf., *Recent Developments in Certain Aspects of Indian Economy, Op. Cit.*, p. 31 also.

59. There are also examples in the Punjab (personal enquiries in village Doudhar, Ferozepur District) where hitherto un-cultivated land has been brought under the plough as a result of consolidation. Cf., *Vidya Sagar, Op. Cit.*, p. 69 also.

60. Narayanaswamy and Narasimhan; *The Economics of Indian Agriculture*, Part II, p. 235. Also refer to Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 124-125 for conditions in the Punjab.

61. For evils of sub-division and fragmentation and advantages of consolidation refer to Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 71 and Vidya Sagar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64, 65 and 69.

62. Dr. D. R. Gadgil, while addressing a meeting at the Delhi School of Economics said, "Consolidation of holdings is the basic plan of a progressive land policy for India" (*The Hindusthan Times*, October 11, 1952). Also refer to his presidential speech at the 14th Annual Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics—*The Indian Express*, December 28, 1954.

63. I. W. Moomaw, *The Farmer Speaks*, p. 73—also Hailey. (Quoted by Narayanaswamy, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232).

64. P. J. Thomas and Ramakrishnan, *Op. Cit.*, Studies made by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee in Northern India; Dr. Slater in South India; Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress (Op. Cit.*, p. 127) in Bombay and Calcutta in the Punjab. Even our agricultural labourer according to *All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry* (p. 15) remains unemployed for 98 days and self-employed for another 49 days in the year.

reduction in the cost of production.⁶⁵ But all these things are not of much consequence in the existing rural set-up under which the cultivator does not reside on any particular field but returns home every evening along with his oxen. So long as these scattered holdings are not far removed from his homestead, it does not matter much for him. More so, when the time and energy thus saved cannot be employed elsewhere.⁶⁶

Along with the problem of finding useful employment for the spare time already at his disposal and now released, after consolidation of holdings, there may crop up another problem of finding alternative avenues of employment for the displaced labour.⁶⁷ Although it is desirable

65. According to studies made in Austria (Vidya Sagar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64), the expenses of cultivation increase by 5.3 per cent for every 500 meters of distance for manual labour and ploughing, from 20 to 25 per cent for the transport of manure, and from 15 to 32 per cent for the transport of crops. Vidya Sagar also gives (p. 68) his own estimates and quotes those of U.S. Asthana and Cyril P. K. Fazal which compare well with the Austrian study.

66. Maybe that he indulges in some sort of un-social and harmful activities when he has nothing else to do.

67. Keatinge in his evidence before the Royal Commission (*Op. Cit.*, p. 137), however, maintained that there would not be any population displaced from the land. Some of those according to him, who otherwise might be owners would become labourers and it would mainly be a change in status. But we

to siphon off surplus farm population to the industry, this may not be possible under the present conditions of India. These sub-divided holdings—small as they are—will help in keeping all these people on the soil in conditions which render them reasonably⁶⁸ happy. This point was raised by the Government of India in a resolution on the Report of Sir James Caird (on Famine Commission) submitted to the Secretary of State for India in 1879. The resolution rightly pointed out that such a step on the part of the Government would not prevent all these heirs from remaining on the land so long as some alternative avenues of employment are not opened out for them.⁶⁹

We may thus agree with Levy who concludes that large holdings are preferable where capital is required, and small holdings where intensity of labour is essential.⁷⁰

(To be Continued)

have already seen that even existing agricultural labour has no employment on the field for 147 days in the year. This would go to refute the argument of Keatinge.

68. Final Report of the Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation of Britain 1924 (Extracts reproduced by S. Kesava Iyengar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 48-50) advocated small holdings in England mainly on this ground.

69. Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*, p. 257.

70. *Large and Small Holdings*, pp. 181-184 and Thomas, *The Economics of Small Holdings*, p. 5.



A MODERN PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE IN ITS PARTICULAR APPLICATION TO EDUCATION

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SCIENCE TEACHING IS ADJUSTMENT TO THE PHYSICAL WORLD

EDUCATION is basically the adjustment of the child to the three worlds, viz., (1) the world of Nature (the physical world)—the arena of our activities on earth, shaped and controlled by physical forces, (2) the world of man, i.e., the social order—the entire fabric of civilisation which is wholly man's creation, and (3) the world of morality that is the moral order, contained in the social order. In teaching the child science we are adjusting him to the physical world.

NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY

The real reason why there is so much wastage in our effort in education is that we often lack a philosophy which alone can help us in considering an educational question from a single consistent point of view and in studying it from all aspects so as to see it steadily and as a whole. We must, therefore, re-examine some of the cherished postulates of our educational theories and practices in the light of this observation. Life is a system of relations and every such relation has a physical and a social aspect, for every individual is what he is through his interaction with his surroundings, viz., the physical world, the social order and the unseen world of morality. As a social being, the child enters into all sorts of relations with human beings and with the physical world. Later on the range and scope of these relations increase in complexity and variety and he realizes the existence of a third world—the world of spiritual values. No man can save the soul of his brother and each must spin his moral web anew after his own pattern. So, the greatest task of education is to adjust the child to the two worlds and then to develop in him also the power and impulse to weave as much of his life as possible into the moral fabric.

KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION

The relations between the three worlds can be broadly classified as theoretical and practical, i.e., the relations of knowledge and action.

As a result of the predominantly intellectual cast of philosophic thought during the last two centuries, knowledge and action came to be regarded as antithesis and their mutual dependence was overlooked. This school of philosophy believed that knowledge is derived from a higher source than is practical activity, and as such, the former possesses a higher and more spiritual worth than the latter. The consequences of this antithesis between knowledge and action were serious: knowledge was confounded with erudition and action with rule of thumb aptitude.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF SCIENCE TO EDUCATIONAL THEORY

The most direct blow to this traditional opposition between knowledge and action—that is, between liberal and technical education—and to the traditional prestige of purely intellectual subjects came from the progress of experimental sciences which now demanded entry into the curriculum. If the progress of experimental sciences during the last few decades has proved anything it is that there is no such thing as genuine knowledge and fruitful understanding except as the result of doing and experience. Actual experience is then the basis of knowledge. This is the first great contribution of the experimental sciences to modern educational theory and practice.

MODERN CONCEPT OF "LIBERAL" EDUCATION

This great change has also resulted in an almost revolutionary concept of a truly liberal education. It is now recognised that mere intellectual training, encouraged by our predominantly bookish type of education does not cultivate the total personality of the child so that it is now difficult to see why a man should be said to have enjoyed a "liberal education," if he knows something about the classics and humanities and little about sciences. This change of values has brought about a new appraisal of technical education also. So long, technical education was regarded as a rather inferior limb of the body educational—as the sort of place to which one sent a boy only when

it had become evident that he was incapable of assimilating any of the more fashionable and traditional forms of liberal education. Today it is now being increasingly realised in under-developed countries like ours that the possibility of a fuller life for the people depends on a greater application of scientific knowledge to the more intelligent utilisation of the material resources of a country by acquiring "the gadgets of a machine civilisation" and by using fully the powers which science and technology have created. Hence, technical education rightly conceived can have as much cultural values as any of the liberal studies.

In our task for evolving a modern theory of science teaching it should not be forgotten that man's knowledge really began in the practical needs of life and that every advance in knowledge has a practical bearing on life. The educational bearing of this concept is pretty obvious. To enter into any piece of knowledge is to apprehend this bearing of knowledge on the solution of our day-to-day problems of life and such apprehension can only result from actually working it out in practice. Knowledge is thus not merely something existing in the mind but it consists in actually dealing with the more important things of life in a masterly way, for education is basically the attainment of the power of dealing with life and its problems.

KNOWLEDGE IS A UNITY

The second important contribution of the experimental sciences is that knowledge is a unity, an indivisible whole, and that most of the curricular content of knowledge must be integrated to one or other of the two main centres of correlation, viz., the natural and social environments of the educand, if learning is to take place at all. It is the business of the teacher to set forth the material of knowledge in such a form that its true relations may be grasped and that the dependence of part on part, of fact on fact and of idea upon idea—subject on subject—may be made explicit. Thus History, Geography and Civics should be studied hand in hand as social stories, composition will find its materials in the content of other studies including science and in the out of school life; drawing and modelling will be

called in to help Nature Study by the more definite apprehension of form which an attempt to reproduce it ensures.

THE UNITY OF SCIENCES IN "GENERAL SCIENCE"

Science is a unity and the branches of science cannot be completely separated. As more attention is now being given to matters common to two specialist sciences, more and more names are being invented to describe the area of common interest, e.g., physical chemistry, bio-physics, electro-chemistry, etc. As the inter-locking and over-lapping of the various sciences become more and more evident, so the reason for the study of "General Science" rather than one science only, becomes more and more apparent. As, however, the frontiers of scientific knowledge extend, the process of selecting a small fraction of knowledge and giving it the status of a separate science must continue. To counter this, points of correlation and inter-connection between them should be discovered in order that they may ultimately come within the purview of "General Science." General Science presents the sciences as a whole—a vision which a pupil who has been too early restricted to one or more specialist sciences may never see. Hence the importance of correlating subjects as much possible in the primary stage.

CORRELATION OF SUBJECTS

During the last decade various schemes for regrouping of subjects for better organisation of the curriculum have been attempted in progressive schools owing to the inter-relationship or correlation of "subjects" and their relation to life, e.g., History, Geography, Civics and Elementary Economics have been regrouped under Social Studies and so have the various sciences been re-grouped under General Science.

CORRELATION AND THE PROJECTS METHOD

Not only this but better methods of approach to the actual work of teaching have also been evolved with great success. For example, in teaching General Science, instead of following the lecture method or the demonstration method, the Laboratory method

in which students themselves do the experiments with their own hands, conjointly with the Unit or Project method, has been generally considered to be the best method of approach, wherever possible and particularly in the lower secondary stage.

VALUE OF THE PROJECT METHOD IN TEACHING SCIENCE

The Unit or Project method of teaching science has certain definite advantages which may well be restated here. In a project the process of learning is motivated and as such it tends to focus attention on matters of spontaneous interest to the pupil and of use to the community. The onus of planning the activity under the teacher's guidance falls on the children, who form a planning habit. The joint execution of the project, in which every child gets his share and feels responsible for the job entrusted to him is calculated to develop a co-operative habit and a training in personal responsibility and leadership. Tasks may be provided within the frame-work of the project for pupils of different tastes and aptitudes. A project helps to widen the mental horizon of pupils, who will see that many other matters or 'subjects' besides those of purely scientific knowledge are used to benefit a community which has to adjust itself to the changes that large-scale schemes usually involve. The educational values of teaching science through the employment of the Project method may be summarised thus:

1. *Social Training*: (a) Joint execution of the Project distributed among the students develops a co-operative habit and gives elementary training in leadership. The teacher must see that every child does his part of the work well; (b) Managing Group work; (c) Borrowing, lending and sharing tools and equipment; (d) Responsibility to the group; and (e) appreciation of each other's work.

2. *Discipline in Methods of Study*: (a) Criticism of sources; (b) Use of reference books for collecting relevant materials; (c) checking of information recorded against facts observed; (d) Planning of work: independent study.

3. *Emotional Release*: (a) Pleasure in making charts, booklets, graphs, which involves

a sense of achievement; (b) enjoyment of freedom to work along lines of individual choice in an informal atmosphere; (c) Breaking down of barriers between school work and real life.

4. *Knowledge, e.g.*, of hospitals, clinics; factory, water-supply, housing, nutrition, refuse disposal.

5. *Practice in Skills*: Handwriting, layout, reading for information, reading reports aloud to class.

6. *New Interests developed*: In subjects which normally would not come within the scope of a class lesson.

SCIENCE IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

Science starts from the children's natural interests and normal activities leading to the further knowledge of the things around them. It keeps the children into active touch with their immediate home environment, forming a link between life at home and life at school. The teacher of science, *i.e.*, Nature Study has, therefore, a special responsibility for keeping in close touch with village or civic life as his subject-matter must be planned and largely concerned with the immediate environment of the children. Enthusiasm for discovery is found in children and to keep it alive the teacher himself must be a discoverer ready to join in watching and considering the ways of living things, the weather, the stars, a machine and its working or whatever else, is the subject of interest. If the child finds out something by his own observation, then for him it is a discovery, which will undoubtedly have more importance than what he has only read or heard about. When a little child brings his teacher some familiar object which is new to him and, therefore, a discovery, the teacher should certainly do well to enter into his enjoyment. On no account should the teacher discourage the child by lack of interest or by assuming a superior attitude which will make him feel that his interesting find is of no importance. Careful observation is the very foundation of science. As such, children must be taught to report exactly without prejudice or emotion what they have seen, *e.g.*, shape, colour etc., of subjects and must be trained to draw conclusions. All the way through the whole

range of scientific knowledge of the child from 7 to 14 plus the teacher of science must ensure the intimate intermingling of action with cognition. Prof. Rignano, the Italian psychologist, says that there is primitive atavism in the rudimentary reasoning of the child on the perceptual level and that all arguments in adult life derive their logical force from the practical experiences of early life. Reasoning at the level of abstract thought in the adult has no value unless it can be brought into fruitful contact with the early experiences of the child. The child is by nature a pragmatist and loves activity. Long before he has attained sufficient intellectual maturity to understand the meaning of the various school subjects which figure in the school curriculum, the child can and does take interest in various kinds of practical work. His mind is not confused with a number of ready-made logically arranged subjects whose *raison d'être* is incomprehensible to him. The child is rather led along the direction of his own curiosity and intellectual interests till, as he grows up, he is able to distinguish the significance of the various subjects. This is a valuable psychological principle which the teacher of science in the primary (basic) school should do well to remember. The point is that the child's mind is an integral whole which interprets experience as a unity and not as a collection of separate unconnected fragments.

UNDIFFERENTIAL APPROACH IN SCIENCE TEACHING

To the young child the traditional division of curricula into "subjects" which are not only unrelated to one another but are also out of touch with the pulsating realities of life, is often quite unintelligible. Hence it is important to establish close correlation with other school-subjects in planning the course of study for primary classes in Science. Correlation is like a powerful magnetic wheel which, while whirling round itself, attracts to itself scattered iron filings from different bodies and introduces order and system into them by building up a co-ordinated and systematised body of knowledge at a later stage of development in the child-mind. Correlation

imparts to knowledge greater concreteness and reality and saves it from formal compartmentalization which makes it dull and meaningless. In the first two years of the primary stage, therefore, the curriculum in science should be one of self-directed activity and interest and not mere instruction and passive reception. There should, then, be an undifferential approach to school-subjects which should be inter-linked and correlated as far as possible. In child education we must, therefore, discard some of our old and cherished postulates about compartmentalized method of teaching and our subject-wise attitude to knowledge and our fondness for logical sequence and methodical treatment according to the traditional method in favour of the method of correlated teaching.

VALUES OF SCIENCE TEACHING IN DIFFERENT STAGES

Science teaching has a practical value to the child and gives valuable mind-training for careful observation and for preparation of accurate reports on what he observes and on how to consider evidence before coming to conclusions. It helps to train good citizens. Our children need some knowledge of science if they are to understand the modern world which depends so much on scientific discoveries and inventions. They need well-disciplined minds if they are to be good citizens of a democratic country.

In the lower secondary school the practical value of General Science will be apparent to all. New areas of the world are being opened up for cultivation and development as a result of recent discoveries in Genetics and social chemistry. Scientists are providing the means of the earth's increasing population, which otherwise will be in danger of perishing from starvation. The intellectual value of science teaching consists in the fact that it requires a lot of diligence, patience, high regard for truth, power to infer from data without prejudice and after searching test. All are now applying scientific methods (politicians, administrators, men of commerce, etc.), in a spirit of calm detachment. The aesthetic value of science teaching lies in the fact that the feeling of

wonder, curiosity and beauty is aroused. A speck of living matter becomes a creature of incredible beauty. The need of science in our day to day life will be apparent from the scientific cultivation of land which is so necessary for the removal of poverty and the cure of diseases following the application of scientific rules of hygiene. The vast storehouses of natural power, *e.g.*, wind, waterfall, heat of the sun, etc., are now being harnessed for the relief of human drudgery and for raising the standard of our living.

A knowledge of science is an important part of liberal education and is needed for purposeful living. The benefits of science are more practical and immediate than those of the liberal arts. Scientific methods as has already been explained contribute to intellectual and emotional growth and to intellectual discipline. As the aim of science teaching is to give information about the world in which we live, scientific knowledge in the higher secondary school needs to be built up into an orderly body of knowledge so that the student may be encouraged to apply it to life-situations in various walks of life, demanding accurate observation, selection of relevant facts without prejudice, etc., It is important for the teacher at this stage to train the student's power of observation and develop his power of judgment with an air of detachment without emotion so that he may keep an open mind on a question till he has had proof. As the child goes higher up in this science course he should be led by his teacher through what Prof. A. N. Whitehead has described "the wonder, utility and system" stages of his mental development. At the lowest stage therefore, it is essential for the teacher to plan his experiments in such a way that it may arouse the child's sense of wonder which must not be a kind of "uncritical" wonder, as otherwise it may not lead by a natural transition to the "utility" and "system" stages later on.

SELECTION OF SUBJECT-MATTER AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE SYLLABUS IN GENERAL SCIENCE

A General Science course must offer a body of knowledge of value to the community and a mental discipline to the student in order to acquaint him with the general underlying

principles in the events and happenings of the world. It should take into account the immediate needs of the community, *e.g.*, instruction in Elementary Hygiene and in fundamentals of agriculture and the beneficent changes which the application of science can bring to the cultivator. The course should also take into account the subsequent career of the pupil, *i.e.*, the syllabus should be biased to provide training in some means of livelihood for the school-leaver so that he may go in for some kind of specialised training in technical and vocational schools. The syllabus should also be biased to provide training in citizenship offering a wide range of interests and sympathies. It should take into account the needs and interests of young people.

The syllabus may be presented in any one of the following ways: (1) It may be offered in the order of its discovery, *i.e.*, in the historical order. This is not suitable for the pre-adolescent. (2) It may be presented according to some logical order, *e.g.*, that of each separate specialized branch of science. This is suitable only for the higher stages of development. (3) The material may be grouped round a scientific principle, *e.g.*, gravity (the whole of mechanics can be organised around the idea of work), energy (this may be a central theme containing various forms of energy, such as, chemical energy, animal and vegetable metabolism, calorific value of food, body temperature, etc.), wave motion (this may include sound, the measurement of frequency, resonance, characteristics of musical notes, speed of light, tuning into a radio broadcast, etc.), measurement of temperature, vertebrate pattern among living creatures, adaptation of creatures to environment, etc. (4) The material may be arranged according to its immediate interests to pupils, *e.g.*, what happen when things burn? (This will include the chemistry of Oxidisation, the physics of heat and its transference, the botany of plant respiration, the zoology of animals including human respiration, food and diet, vitamins and catalysts, etc.). In a country where hydro-electric power is being developed or big irrigation schemes are being implemented, themes of local and scientific interest may be chosen for Projects.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCIENCE TEACHING BY
PROJECT METHOD*(A) A Project on "Milk and Milk Products"*
(for middle School classes)

1. *Drawing up of an outline by the Teacher:* (a) How is milk produced? (b) What treatment is given to liquid milk at the milk-town (Haringhata) and why? (c) Butter-making. (d) Cheese-making. (e) Dried and Condensed milk. (f) Other milk preparations.

2. *Carrying out the Project:* (a) Production: Organize a visit to Haringhata or any other milk-town or dairy farm. Let children study feeding methods and milk-yields. Improvement of stock, fodder, pasture land, planned pastures. Collect illustrative materials.

(b) *Treatment:* Cooling and pasteurization of raw milk. Estimate the amount of contamination in raw milk. By filtration (which will arrest insoluble materials present) and culturing of diluted milk solutions of different origins, it is possible to get an idea of the bacteria present in the random samples. A talk on Pasteur.

(c) *Butter:* Cream for butter-making can be collected by allowing bottled milk to

stand for a few hours and taking a spoonful off the top.

(d) *Cheese:* The success of cheese making depends on the control of the acidity of the milk before rennet is added. After rennet is added curd is formed. Then the latter is cut into small pieces and the whey is allowed to drain away. After salting the drained curd is wrapped in muslin and processed in a mould.

(e) *Processed Milk:* Condensed milk is prepared by evaporation in a vacuum with the help of a vacuum pump. This can be shown by an actual visit to the farm.

(f) *The making of sweets* can be demonstrated by arranging a visit to a confectioner's workshop.

(g) *Knowledge Gained by the Project:* Biology: Lactation. Milk Composition. Meaning of fats and Proteins. Digestion of food. Growth of Bacteria—conditions which assist and retard growth. Chemistry—Acidity. Decomposition of substances by heat. Physics—emulsions. Evaporation under normal and reduced pressures. Measuring Pressures. Vacuum Pump, Distillation, filtration and methods of separation.

(B) A Hydro-Electric Project (for Higher Secondary Classes):

ELECTRICITY

Teacher's Work

1. An illustrated lesson on electro-magnetic induction.
2. A lesson on advantages of electricity:
 - (a) Lights easily switched off or on,
 - (b) Not blown out by wind,
 - (c) Clean, smokeless, fumeless—no danger of naked flame,
 - (d) Uses—lighting, refrigeration lathes, drills, saws, printing work, etc.

Pupil's Activities

1. Making of a model electric motor after a visit to a generating station.
2. Preparing a chart of local supply of power.
3. Drawing map of the State showing situation of industrial plants in relation to power supply.

POWER AND ENGINES

Teacher's Work

1. What is the driving force of dynamos? How are engines driven by petrol or oil? How do steam-engines obtain power from coal and coke?
2. Discuss other sources of power with illustrations—wind, tides water (cost of natural power is nil, but dams, machinery, etc., are costly: why?).

Pupil's Activities

1. Collect pictures of electric machinery from magazines and paste them in your scrap-book.
2. Study mineral resources in a map.
3. Make models of water-wheels and wind-mills.
4. Consult geographical magazines, scientific journals (make clippings for your scrap-book).

THE PROPOSED SCHEME FOR SETTING UP A PLANT

Teacher's Work

1. Determine location giving reasons. (Should it be very far from main towns and factories?).
2. Is the water supply likely to be constant all the year round? What are the sources of water supply? Is there any river with its source in snow-capped mountains? (Why is this an advantage over other alternative sources?)
3. Is there any problem of evacuation of villages? If so, what alternative arrangements for resettlement of evacuees would have to be made? What crops should be grown for home use or for export? How many families will the extra output support?

Pupil's Activities

1. (a) Prepare small-scale maps setting out therein course of river, site of plant, actual distance from towns, plants for industries, etc.
- (b) Prepare also large-scale maps setting out contours, areas for proposed artificial lake, etc.
2. Make a large-scale map of a proposed lake on squared paper calculating the approximate area.
3. Study Government reports on extent of progress made in Five-Year Plans.

INDUSTRIES

Teacher's Work

Note that a hydro-electric plant is so costly that unless a great amount of power is generated it will not be ultimately a paying proposition.

1. What towns will benefit by the plant?
2. What new industries will it develop?
3. Where will the raw materials for the proposed industries come from?
4. Will the products find an easy market?

Pupil's Activities

Read newspapers, Government reports on industries and summarize your findings. Write a reasoned defence of the plant to be erected.

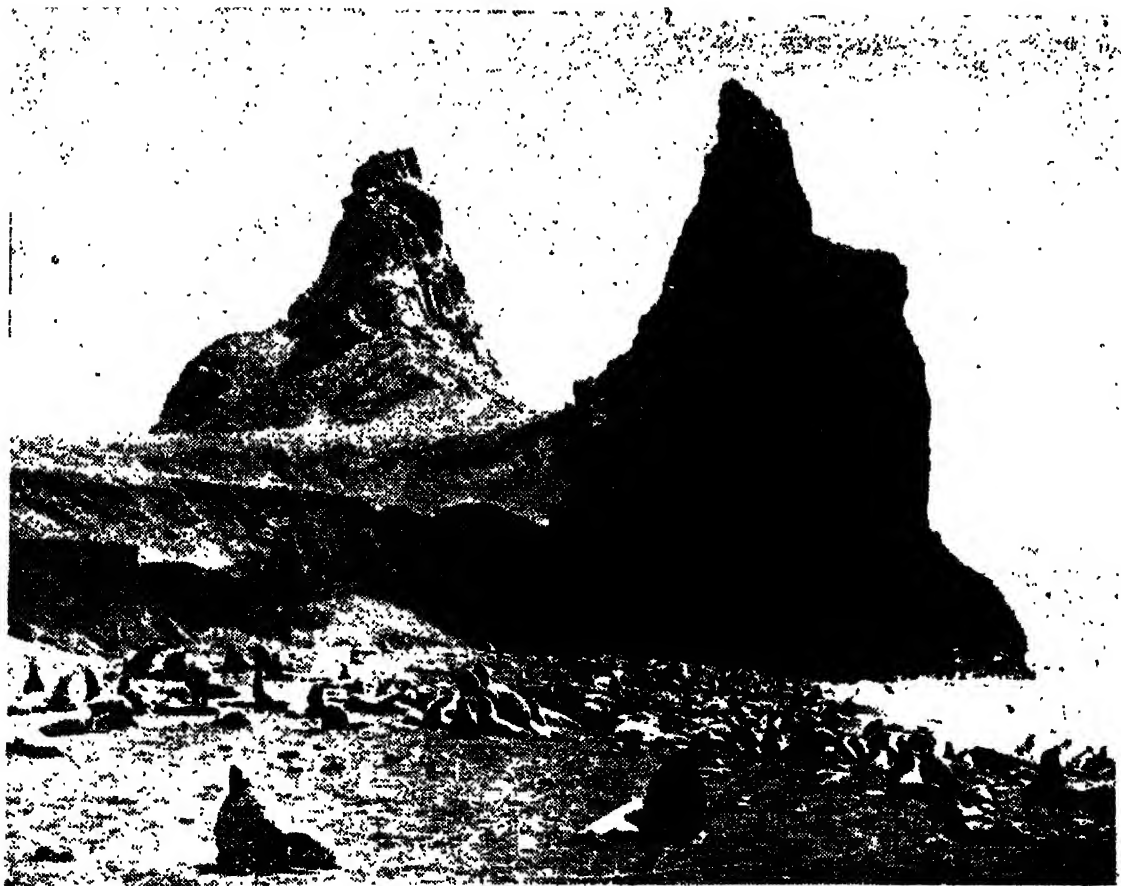
TRANSPORT

Teacher's Work

1. How will you solve the problem of transport to other parts of the State or to markets outside the State?
2. Find out from the map if the site is easy of access. If there are natural barriers (such as mountains or rivers) what bridges, roads, railways, waterways, ports, docks, is it proposed to construct?

Pupil's Activities

1. For the new roads and railways, suggest the routes which can be constructed at the least expense.
2. Explain with reasons your choice of alternative routes and make models.



Sea lions on the breeding grounds at Bogoslof Island, Alaska, U. S. A.



President Eisenhower (centre), Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (left), U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (right)



Students from Jamia Millia Rural Institute (one of the rural Institutes of Higher Education) march off to the fields for practical work



Little girls at a Delhi school learn discipline through play (National Discipline Scheme)

MATERIALS NEEDED

Teacher's Work

(a) If it is for railways make a full list of rails, sleepers, locomotives, wagons, etc., required; (b) for roads, list trucks, cars, etc.; (c) for docks, list tugs, barges, water-supply, cranes, etc.

For the construction—make a list of raw materials and equipment: steel, timber, cement, cement-making machines, bull dozers, excavators, cranes, pylons, wire-cables, transformers.

Pupil's Activities

1. Make out your own lists.
2. Collect pictures of heavy machines and make models.

PEOPLE EMPLOYED

Teacher's Work

Estimate the needs of the people to be employed in the plant and the industries—in respect of houses, food-supply, schools, hospitals, banks, etc.

What trained personnel are to be employed? (e.g., engineers for railways, docks, roads, buildings, water, machines, electricity, etc., craftsmen, mechanic, teachers, nurses etc.).

Pupil's Activities

1. Visit school, hospital, etc., to enable you to make estimates of cost of equipment, furniture.
2. Consult books, articles and pictures.

TECHNICAL MATTER

Teacher's Work

1. Lesson on conductors and non-conductors and insulators to make class understand how current is carried.
2. Lessons on voltages and use of transformers, meaning of watts precautions to be taken when using electricity in houses, earthing and wiring system.

Pupil's Activities

1. Collect various types of insulators and do experiments with them.
2. Calculate the amount of current used in a house, school and factory, and prepare a list of instructions for use of electric.

ECONOMIC

Teacher's Work

1. What is the estimated cost of the hydro-electric plant?
2. How is the amount to be raised? What is the expected profit (immediate or ultimate)?

Pupil's Activities

1. Calculate total cost of each item and then add up.
2. Find out how a big scheme is financed.

SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY AND THE INTER-RELATION OF SCIENCES

The above project will illustrate the extent of scientific enquiry and the fact that scientists are interested in a wide range of knowledge covering many subsidiary sciences. Thus no scientific calculation can be done without mathematics. Mechanics and dynamics have to do with the application of mathematics to the study of things that move, the calculation of velocities, accelerations, work, etc. Physics deals with measurement of various properties of material things. The chemist may be interested in those physical measurements which help him to find the composition of the chemical with which he may be dealing. The biologist, who deals with the nature of living things, how they affect and are in their turn affected by their surroundings, may be studying the chemical changes that take place in living cells. All these illustrate the interdependence of sciences.

CORRELATING GENERAL SCIENCE WITH OTHER SCHOOL SUBJECTS

Teachers must make an attempt to correlate different aspects of the same subject. For example, events in world history may be correlated with famous scientific discoveries such as those of Lavoisier and the scientific and technological improvements made during the Great Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. The class may be asked to prepare a historical chart including scientific inventions, discoveries and developments, or to write an essay on a scientific topic or a description of an experiment in science. Logical arrangement, accurate description, neatness and tidiness are as valuable in the study of language and composition as in science. Every word that the child uses in his written composition must be tinged and coloured by the genuine and original emotion born of personal experience in order that the child's effort at composition may be encouraged as creative self-expression.

It is in co-operation with teachers of mathematics, geography and geology that the possibility of correlation arises most frequently. Here are a few examples: (1) Is it not possible for simple equations in a mathematics lesson to be illustrated by experimental data obtained in a science lesson on specific heat, latent heat or the simple properties of lenses? (2) Cannot the mathematics teacher deal with inverse ratio just before the Science master explains Boyle's Law? (3) Cannot the distances travelled by a stone falling under gravity and the route taken through the air by a cricket ball or the water coming out of a fire hydrant be connected with the graph of a simple quadratic? (4) Is it not possible to couple the measurement of angles and the drawing of triangles with the study of the mariner's compass and the use of the prismatic compass in science? It is needless to multiply examples to suggest points of correlation between these subjects. It is suggested that the syllabuses in Mathematics and Science be adjusted to make all these possible.

It should certainly be possible to let the Geography teacher deal with climate after the Science master has given his lessons on air pressure, atmospheric humidity and their measurement and on heat and the construction and use of thermometers. Again, such topics as the relationships between plant and animal distribution, the density and activity of the population and the occurrence and composition of chalk hills and coral reefs concern both the geographer and the scientist. Science can be correlated with Civics also. Our children need some knowledge of science if they are to understand the modern world which depends so much on scientific discoveries. They need above all well-disciplined minds if they are to be good citizens of a democratic country.*

* Being synopsis of a course of lectures given to post-graduate students and teachers at the Institute of Education for Women, Alipur, Calcutta, during 1956-57.

TAGORE AND GANDHI

By JOGES C. BOSE

RABINDRANATH Tagore was travelling in the West, when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi led the Indian National Congress to launch Non-co-operation in the fermenting aftermath of the Punjab martial law days. It marked the crucial parting of ways in the leadership of India and in her relation with England. Tagore referred to the palpitating realities of the new alignment and warned British statesmanship to take note of the signal ahead. He said that it was not so much a condign punishment of swashbuckling jingoism, as, what was obviously lacking, the unequivocal condemnation of so deep an affront to India, which mattered. He sought to bring home to the ruling oligarchy that empires had in the past reaped the reward of extinction by their reliance on sword. But imperialism had so far tainted even men of letters that some of them tried to isolate him for, what they called, his contumely to the king in renouncing Knighthood. Bernard Shaw refused to join the game; H. G. Wells, Robert Bridges and others did.

On his way-back, Tagore was in the same boat with Subhas Bose, in the immediate glow of his resignation from the Indian Civil Service at the call of Non-co-operation. Bose says in *The Indian Struggle* that Tagore, far from being opposed to Non-co-operation, was rather for a stout line of action in the manner of the Siffin's 'state within state.' On his return to India, he however, came to gather that Non-co-operation tabooed Western science and technology and snapped asunder the cultural tie between the East and the West. It was, as he said, a 'spiritual suicide.' He therefore, stood all-square against the movement, which was spreading over the country with the rapidity of a hurricane. To start with, he delivered in Calcutta two lectures, whose very titles *Sikshar Milan*, the Meeting of Cultures, and *Satyer Ahvan*, the Call of Truth, indicate and in a sense epitomise his new bent of mind. He said, in substance, that the upheaval, unless controlled in some essentials, was bound to swing India back to the age of stone.

These reactions of Tagore disappointed, nay, stung many a soul to the quick. The question, which cropped up unbidden in most minds was: Did not he as much, protest against Science going ahead the Man? His clear-cut stand to slash anything, which induced a cultural subservience, was a headache to the old-school politics and a spur to the new. He was not only for abjuring British goods except those which would make the nation industrially efficient, but would have his countrymen eschew English dress and manner of living at the same time. He would not even have a Bengali write to another Bengali in English save strictly on business necessity. He had pleaded for organizing the country for a gradual withdrawal of co-operation with the Government, short of a head-on clash. Furthermore, he had given us the vision of achievement in his epic character Dhananjay Bairagi with his techniques of passive resistance to stand up to the power that be, if it chooses to ride roughshod over the people. Where then is the room for conflict, unless these visualisings were the quixotic sallies of a dreamer of dreams? Naturally, there was a feeling of irritation against him and they awaited one saucy, strident reply from Gandhi. Gandhi's reply was, however, a model of dignity in polemics and a test of his size. The point he made out that India, prostrate at the feet of Europe, can give no hope to humanity, found an enthusiastic echo in countless hearts.

The Non-co-operation recalls in a great measure the Swadeshi Movement of Bengal. Due allowance should be made for what was confined to Bengal proper having had to operate now in the whole of India; but, equally, allowance should be made that, in the meantime, a global war, in the flash and steel of which, India participated in full, and that the Punjab episode, nothing more bitterly rigged than which can be imagined to bedevil Indo-British relation, and that the enfranchisement of our people on so large a scale under Montford Reforms, in which was implicit the promise of Dominion

Status, had quickened our political sensitiveness in the track of several decades. These allowances being made, the master urge of either movement was to organise the country on the prospect of a 'No' to the Government. There were, however, differences and it is over these that Tagore and Gandhi, amazingly dissimilar and yet similar in fundamentals, came to grips initially.

Even in that incipient stage of our national growth, when nationalism was confined to a very few of the educated class and to the rest an exotic, leave alone the mass, the Bengal leaders, of whom Tagore was in the vanguard, did not flinch to undergo what suffering and sacrifice the Swadeshi movement called for to justify them calling upon the people not to bend knees to the British *Raj*. They as much believed in withholding co-operation, on which hinges the Administration. But in the sheer stress of the lean sanction behind it, they would have it gradually as the people were getting seasoned to the trials and tribulations of the struggle. They would not strike down educational institutions as such, but would supplant them in order to provide for those students, who were expelled from schools and colleges for their Swadeshi activities. They also chalked out a plan of national education and started a Technical Institute, which formed the nucleus of the Jadavpur University. To Gandhi, however, the hour of liberation had struck and he would not wait to tinker but pull down what he called the 'nursery of slave-mentality.' Nothing abashed, he told the students that they might have to, in the alternative, break stones on the road. In fact, either movement exploited youthful emotionalism, the Non-co-operation to the extent of collecting cannon-fodders, justifiable as in the extremes of war-time. Gandhi demanded of the lawyers to suspend practice, whereas the practising lawyers constituted the backbone of the Swadeshi movement. In the absence of any national fund to support them, they did what utmost they could within the limits of making both ends meet. Bengal sought to compete Lanchashire and Manchester by mills; Gandhi by making each home resound with the spinning wheel—*Charkah*.

A section of our people have, by the way,

scouted the *Charkah*. They are far too obsessed with their old text-book lessons in the classic supremacy of the Law of Supply and Demand in terms of the cost of production. They do not seem to consider the economic self-adjustment, such as what Hieden in his *One Man Against Europe* emphasizes that "in the economic sphere, National Socialism has done things, which seem to mock the traditional doctrines of Political Economy." To apotheosize *Charkah* is one extreme, and not to give it the due weight and value, as an offset against enforced idleness the sole occupation of agriculture entails, is the other. Gandhi told Tagore, as he visited the Sabar-mati *Ashram* in 1930, "My calculation is that if one crore of us spin for one hour a day and turn an idle hour to account, we would add Rupees Fifty thousand every day to our national wealth." Notwithstanding the crudeness of such wishful ratiocination, *Charkah* has a place, worth an assiduous scratching in the economy of India.

Bengal voted down violence because of its inexpediency; Gandhi, because, it is ethically wrong—he would have no *Swaraj*, if it was by ways of violence. With Gandhi, the end does not justify the means, which must be clean and above-board. Tagore was no iron fundamentalist. He had rather in him the tug of Semitic justice. In his story *Megh O Raudra*, he advocates blow for blow as a prophylactic, against an Englishman's chronic disposition to treat the Indian as a sub-man. When barely twentyone, he urged the elite of our country to teach the mass that 'an Englishman and Fate are not convertible terms' and help Nemesis overtake the insolence of the ruling class.

I am ill-fitted to discuss the ethics of Gandhi's non-violence, based, as he says, on India's ancient law of suffering and sacrifice. It is conceived to make those who practise it more sinned against than sinning, such as to sting the wrong-doer with remorse and induce a change of heart in him. What Einstein calls in Gandhi 'the dignity of a single individual confronting the brutality of Europe' is his steadfast adherence to non-violence as an instrument in the war of Indian Independence. The Quakers of the 18th century believed in resisting the wrong by peaceful means.

Thoreau preached the philosophy of Civil Disobedience. Tolstoy envisaged its success in Gandhi's experiment in South Africa, as he re-oriented it with the unerring force of, what Mathew Arnold calls, 'sweet reasonableness'—the strength, which accrued to him in being fair and square in all circumstances.

In Gandhi's trek to restore brutalised Noakhali to minimum human response, he asked the Hindus 'not to behave like cowards, not to submit to the wrong in any circumstance, but die fighting like a man if they had not the non-violent strength to face brute force unto death.' "It was here," he said meaning East Bengal, "that the heroes of Chittagong Armoury-raid were born, however misguided their action might have been in my eyes." He supported India resisting by arms the raiders of Kashmir and make it a Thermopylae. He said that he would rather resort to arms to defend his country than be a witness of her dishonour. It is just confessing outright to the limitations of non-violence for a country, pitted against invaders. And yet as an exemplification of his stand, the core of it shining intact on the anvil of a major challenge, he rigidly set his face against withholding Rupees Fifty-five crores to Pakistan under the head Partition-assets, even as India, Nehru said in Parliament, was facing behind the tribal people the regular army of Pakistan. This is understandable, because, Pakistan was not at war with India and the need to localise hostilities was greater than ever. What, however, baffles understanding is that Gandhi would not reconcile to Subhas Bose leaving the shores of India to fight for her freedom in alliance with the Axis-powers; but, all the same, he paid his Indian National Army a full-throated tribute of acknowledgement. He said addressing them, "You have failed in your direct objective to defeat the British. But you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence." Dr. K. N. Katju, who got into the crux of the question as a defence advocate in the I.N.A. trial, said over the All-India Radio, "The final decisive blow to the British Raj was dealt by Netaji Subhas Bose."

Boiled to the concrete, this tampering with the loyalty of the military is the orthodox

technique of violent revolution. What justification then can there be for Gandhi cying askance at the Revolutionary Movement unless, of course, on the ground of inexpediency or prematureness, such as the old school leaders of the Swadeshi Movement did?

In any case, the great historian Hallam's dictum that Revolution as it succeeds is the highest virtue but the meanest crime when it fails remains unchallenged. But despite these obvious contradictions in Gandhi, nobody ever thinks of him, as Morley thinks of Cromwel, that the contradictions of life came forth with the fluctuations of his fortune. That credit is ungrudgingly conceded to Gandhi for the simple reason that no political leader of any country at any time had stinted himself for the people to the extent he did. Even if difficult as it is sometimes to follow the full implications of his non-violence, it is pretty certain that he is pre-eminently the man to have energised the conscience of the world to work steadily to evolve a code of conduct between nation and nation such as it obtains between two gentlemen. It is again true that Gandhi has not added to the ethical teachings of the world, but he has, beyond controversy, lived them, striving sleeplessly for perfection, such as the other heroes of liberation have done for power.

By his untiring insistence on spirit above matter even in dissolving moments of India's fight for emancipation, he has wrought a change in the outlook of a riven, distracted world. To him in an immeasurable degree the world owes the conviction that brute reciprocity must not be the last say were civilization, built up in the length of ages, to survive.

Churchill and those, who believed that between Gandhi and the English rule in India there was no choice left but that one must perish, called him a 'crank,' a 'charlatan,' a 'maniac,' a 'half-naked fakir.' They charged him of 'sanctimonious insincerities' and spoke of his method as 'hypocrisy masking intensified hatred.' But as Gandhi replied to the charge or discussed the subject-matter on the boil, he never used a harsh word, far less a banter. In the political world it is a phenomenon without a parallel. It is again inconceivable that anybody doing politics would so

scrupulously shy at a subterfuge and exercise limitless charity to appreciate the opponents' point of view. Stuck up in a gruelling fight for national ends, he was as much for a federal adjustment of all sovereign states. These are precisely what won him such transcendence that Bishops and Prelates openly acknowledged that he had given life and meaning to Christianity, just as the songs of the other heathen were sung in many a Sunday School and recited from many pulpits of Christendom.

Tagore hailed Gandhi into the field of Indian politics as 'a living truth'; but did not spare him for his hasty, spectacular promise of 'Swaraj within six months.' Later on, when Gandhi was to him 'a lesson for ages to come,' he did not hesitate to back and hew him for ascribing the earthquake of Bihar to the sin of untouchability in Madras. I visualise the prince of intellectuals reading a homily on sin and superstition in terms of his encyclopaedic learning to Gandhi, admittedly thin academically but dowered with his 'I am a man of faith', smiling his limpid smile. In 1939, Subhas Bose was elected President of the Congress for the second time in the teeth of Gandhi's truculent opposition. Gandhi did not attend the Congress on the plea of an illness, he arrived in a small, benighted native state—and this could easily afford to wait for a few days. It is no less strange as it is painful that he did not move his little finger to bridle the excesses

of the two Congress-provincial Ministers bestirring themselves to humiliate the duly-elected President Subhas Bose. Rabindranath, even if so ill at the time, chafed at the unseemliness of the position and wrote Gandhi to beware of the 'rude hands which have deeply hurt Bengal with an ungracious persistence.' Gandhi wrote to Subhas Bose, "The more I study it (Govindaballav Pant's Resolution) the more I dislike it." There was not, however, enough punch to disturb his valiant proteges. And it remains a moot point if Gandhi, who suffered no idleness in his words, stretched himself to the full length of his dislike.

In a close-up study, Tagore and Gandhi complement each other in their dedication. And in between them they represent India. One reflects in him her art and literature, her composite culture and the philosophy of universalism; the other her agonised soul activated for redemption. Both lived intensely for India but to fuse the world into one. With the hard days of a nuclear challenge ahead, mankind fares ill if it is loath to devote to the cause for which they gave the full measure of devotion. Would it yet read aright what answer they have given to the question: Why civilization after civilization has broken down? Either has insisted on the answer: Because, the political power, which bore it, deteriorated in human value.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

An Outline History

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

II

FOURTH CONGRESS

The Fourth National Congress of the Communist Party was held in Shanghai on January 11-12, 1925 and was attended by twenty delegates representing 950 members in all. The congress correctly stressed the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character of the Chinese revolution and succeeded in evolving a correct policy towards the KMT. It recognised the

leading role of the Party in the revolution and adopted correct measures for mass work.³⁰ The congress further "made organizational preparations for a new wave of mass struggle"³¹

But the Fourth Congress as well failed to note the importance of the role of the peasantry

30. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congresses of the CCP," cited, *Current Background* No. 410, pp. 11-12.

31. Hu Chao-mu: *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

in the Chinese revolution and made the wrong decision restricting the initiative of the peasants.³²

A nationwide anti-imperialist movement swept all over China beginning with May 30, 1925 when student demonstrators were fired upon by the foreign-controlled police in Shanghai.³³ In July, 1924, the Nationalist Revolutionary Army under the overall command of Chiang Kai-shek set out on the famous Northern Expedition³⁴ for the unification of China under the Kuomintang. On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, Supreme Commander of the National Revolutionary Army, betrayed the revolution and attacked the Communists.³⁵

FIFTH CONGRESS

In this context the Communist Party met in its fifth national congress in Wuhan on April 27, 1927. The congress was attended by eighty delegates representing 57,967 members. According to the Chinese Communist historians, Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, the congress discussed and adopted the following resolutions and documents: Resolutions of the Communist Party of China on the acceptance of the resolution of the seventh plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on China Problem, a resolution on the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party, a resolution on the agrarian problem, a resolution on the workers' movement, and a Manifesto of the Fifth National Congress.³⁶ The

resolutions were, however, never put into effect.³⁷ Though Mao Tse-tung was present at the Congress he was deprived of the right to vote and his historic report of *An Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan*³⁸ written in March, 1927 was suppressed.³⁹

The Kuomintang-Communist relationship suffered further setbacks in the meanwhile and the position of the Communists became untenable even in the Left Kuomintang Government at Wuhan (the triple city of Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang) where the Revolutionary National Government had been transferred from Canton on January 1, 1927, and from which Chiang Kai-shek had treacherously broken away on April 1, 1927. The Left Kuomintang Government under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei demonstrated its unwillingness to arm the workers and peasants and, in fact, ordered the massacre of workers and peasants on the contrary.⁴⁰

The conciliatory policy of the Communist leader, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, was partly responsible for the failure of the party to assert its leadership in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 but a larger share of the failure was ascribable to the confusing leadership of the Communist international which was then torn by Stalin-Trotsky rivalry. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, for example, wrote: "The International asks us to implement our

37. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: *Op. Cit.*, *Current Background* No. 410; p. 13. The Fifth Congress was dominated by the Comintern delegate Shri M. N. Roy, see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank: *Op. Cit.*, p. 92.

38. For text see Mao Tse-tung: *Selected Works*, Bombay, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 21-59.

Robert C. North (in his *Moscow and Chinese Communists*; p. 117) points to certain omissions in the latest Chinese version of the texts of Mao's Hunan Report. The points omitted stressed the importance of the role of the peasantry in Chinese revolution.

As to the importance of Mao's Report see Hu Chiao-mu (*Op. Cit.*, p. 17) who writes that "this work has become a classic document for the Chinese Communists in leading the peasants' struggle." Also see Schwartz: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 73-74; Chen Po-ta: *Notes on Mao Tse-tung's 'Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Movement, Hunan,'* Peking, 1954; *Notes on Ten Years of Civil War, 1927-1936*; Peking, 1954, p. 47.

Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson writes that Mao's Report "contained some views that could hardly be accepted by an orthodox-Marxist" (*From Lenin to Malenkov*, New York, 1954, p. 150).

39. *People's China*, September 16, 1936, p. 19.

40. Epstein: *From Opium War to Liberation*, pp. 92-95. The KMT launched a "white terror"—see Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 97.

32. *People's China*, Peking, Sept. 16, 1956, pp. 18-19.

33. C. P. Fitzgerald: *Revolution in China*, London, 1952, p. 53; Arthur Clegg: *The Birth of New China*, Allahabad, 1944, p. 47; Israel Epstein: *From Opium War to Liberation*, Peking 1956, pp. 86-88.

34. Tang Leang-li: *The Foundations of Modern China*, London, 1928, p. 169.

35. M. N. Roy: *Revolution and Counter-revolution in China*, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 490-528.

Robert C. North: *Moscow and Chinese Communists*, pp. 85-97; Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*, New York, 1944, pp. 52-54, 82. Israel Epstein: *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, Bombay, 1917, pp. 46-48; *From Opium War to Liberation*, pp. 88-93; Kenneth Scott Latourette: *A Short History of the Far East*, New York, 1954, pp. 477-478, 593-594; Tang Leang-li: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 186-190; Fitzgerald *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-66; Hu Chiao-mu: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-13; Clegg: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 46-54.

36. For an unofficial summary of the resolutions of the Fifth Congress see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank: *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 93-97.

own policies. On the other hand, it will not allow us to withdraw from the Kuomintang. There is thus no way out."⁴¹ Indeed, as the leading authority on early Chinese Communism notes, "Whatever may have been the private inclinations of Ch'en and the 'right-wing,' however, in the implementation of policy they bowed to the superior wisdom of the Kremlin."⁴² Discussing the charges accusing Ch'en as an arch-appeaser of the Kuomintang, Professor Schwartz concludes that during the years culminating in the defeat of the Communist Party in 1927 there was "little discrepancy between the specific directions of the Comintern and the official policies of the Communist Party leaders where such discrepancies did exist, where the Comintern did recommend a more 'radical' course than the Chinese leadership was pursuing, it was impossible for this leadership to implement such recommendations since the stipulation was constantly added that they be implemented through a political apparatus (Kuomintang—S.C.S.) which the Communist Party did not control."⁴³

On August 1, 1927, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Yeh Ting, Ho Lung and others led the Communists in an armed uprising at Nauchang⁴⁴ which, however, proved abortive. The first phase of the Chinese revolution thus closed with a defeat for the Communist Party.

In such circumstances the party called an Emergency Conference on August 7, 1927 (the famous August 7 Conference)⁴⁵ which was

41. Ch'en Tu-hsiu: "Letter to Our Party Comrade," p. 10, quoted in Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

42. Benjamin I. Schwartz: *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, p. 64.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68. For Mao Tse-tung's evaluation see Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, p. 166. For an interesting and authoritative discussion of Soviet-Chinese relations during the period, see Louis Fischer: *The Soviets in World Affairs*, Vol. 2, London, 1930, pp. 632-679.

44. There were four Communist uprisings during 1927: (1) The Nauchang uprising of August 1, 1927; (2) Autumn harvest uprising led by Mao Tse-tung on August 15, 1927; (3) The Canton commune of December 11, 1927; and (4) The South Hunan revolt led by Chu Teh on January 1, 1928. See Nym Wales: *New China*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 50-51; Robert C. North: *op. cit.*, pp. 113-121.

45. For an account of the conference, see Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the Important Conferences held by the CCP Central Committee" in *Jen Min Jih Pao*, Peking, September 15, 1956, reproduced in the *Current Background* No. 410, p. 410, pp. 36-37; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-96, 98; Robert C. North, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-112.

attended by twenty-two delegates,⁴⁶ including Mao Tse-tung, Chu Chin-pai and Teng Chung-hsia. The Conference removed Chen Tu-hsia from the position of the Secretary-General of the party and appointed Chu Chin-pai in his place. While correcting the "rightist" opportunism, the conference sowed the seeds of "Life" deviationism.⁴⁷

In October 1927, Mao Tse-tung established the first revolutionary base in the countryside in the Chingkangshan area on the borders of Kiangsi and Hunan provinces where he was joined by Chu Teh in April, 1928.⁴⁸

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in June-July, 1928. This time, however, the Congress had to meet outside China, in Moscow to be precise. It was attended by eighty-four delegates representing more than 40,000 party-members. The Congress, we are told, "took place under instructions and leadership of the Communist International."⁴⁹

SIXTH CONGRESS

The Sixth Congress adopted resolutions on the political situation, the peasant movement, the agrarian problem, workers' movement, propaganda and several other subjects. It laid down the Ten great demands⁵⁰ of the Chinese Revolution (the Ten Demands included a call for the overthrow of imperialism, confiscation of foreign capital, unification of China, overthrow of Kuomintang rule, distribution of land to the tiller, various other economic demands and a call for unity with the proletariat of the

46. *People's China*, September 16, 1956, p. 19. According to Robert C. North (*Op. Cit.*, p. 110) only thirteen party-members were present at the conference of whom again only there were members of the Central Committee of the party.

47. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

48. An account of the struggle in the Chingkang mountain is given in Mao's report to the Central committee, CCP in November, 1928. See *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 71-104.

49. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the National Congress of the CCP", cited, the *Current Background*, No. 410, p. 13. Prof. Schwartz (*Op. Cit.*, p. 227) notes that the Sixth Comintern Congress, meeting after a month of the Sixth CCP Congress, had based its resolutions on China on those adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist party. See also *ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

50. Text in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, p. 132.

world and Soviet Union). As a marked departure from previous Congresses greater attention was paid to the land problem of China and the Congress discussed in relative detail the agrarian problem and called for a total expropriation of all landlords as representatives of feudalism which, it was held, was being maintained in China by imperialism.⁵¹ A revised constitution for the party was adopted by the Congress.⁵²

Summing up the achievements of the Sixth Party Congress Hu Chiao-mu, historian of the Chinese Communist Party, writes that the Congress "reaffirmed that the Chinese revolution was a democratic revolution in character," "worked out the various aspects of the programme for the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship and put forward the task of founding a Red Army, establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside and carrying out land redistribution."⁵³ The Congress further decided that the Party would adopt a defensive strategy⁵⁴.

The shortcomings of the Congress were its "lack of correct appraisal of the protracted nature of the democratic revolution, the role of the intermediate classes and the contradictions within the reactionary forces." The Congress failed to point out that the Party should make a tactical retreat as well. The "Left" deviation involving rash and adventurist moves still persisted.⁵⁵

Mao Tse-tung was not present at the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party; he was however elected to the 36-man Central Committee. Hsiang Chung-fa was elected Secretary-General of the Party.

Following the Sixth Congress the Party under Li Li San's guidance, became involved

in adventurist "putschism" in his futile efforts to activate the city proletariat in the Communist struggle against the Kuomintang⁵⁶. In 1929 Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh established the first Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi. On February 7, 1930 the Kiangsi provincial Soviet Government was organised. On May 30, 1930 a conference of delegates from Soviet areas in China was held in the suburbs of Shanghai in which it was decided to set up a Central Soviet Government in China. The First All-China Congress of Soviets convened at Juichin on November 7, 1931 and the Chinese Soviet Republic was established with Mao Tse-tung as Chairman, Chang Kuo-tao and Hsiang Ying as Vice-Chairman, and Chu Teh as Commander-in-Chief⁵⁷. The Central Committee of the Party which had been functioning from Shanghai was then transferred to the Soviet areas in January 1933 and elbowed aside Mao's leadership in the Soviet areas⁵⁸. The Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek launched a series of five "annihilation campaigns"⁵⁹ designed to crush the power of the Communists. But Chiang could not succeed in completely defeating the Communists. Japan

56. Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 32-33; *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 165-216. Schwartz, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 127-163.

57. It is interesting to recall how little the Comintern or for that matter, Stalin kept himself informed of Chinese developments. The organ of the Comintern, *International Press Correspondence* in March, 1930, carried the news of the death of Mao Tse-tung. See Schwartz, *Op.Cit.*, p. 136. The very idea of the establishment of Soviets in China was anathema to the Stalinists. See *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, p. 99, Chapter VII, pp. 127, 148-49.

Nym Wales (*Op. Cit.*, p. 232), however says that the first Chinese-Soviet Congress was probably not held on November 7, 1931, the appointed day, because of the delay in the arrival of the delegates. She gives the date of the Congress as December 11, 1931.

About the 'Soviet' Revolution in China, see Brandt, Schwartz and Fairbank, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 217-239; Nym Wales: *New China*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 42-45; Arthur Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 68-75; Robert C. North, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 148-160.

58. *People's China*, September 16, 1956; Arthur Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, p. 72. Clegg's statement that the Central Committee had moved to the revolutionary bases in 1931 and had elected Mao as its leader is apparently not correct. See also Schwartz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 185-186.

59. For an account of the annihilation campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek, see Edgar Snow: *Red Star Over China*, pp. 182-188, 191-195; Clegg, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 69-74; Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 30, 34.

51. Schwartz: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 122-123.

52. Text of the Party Constitution adopted by the Sixth Party Congress is given in Paul M. A. Linebarger: *The China of Chiang Kai-shek*, Boston, 1943, pp. 359-370.

53. Hu Chiao-mu, *Op.Cit.*, p. 25.

54. On the subject of strategy and tactics as looked upon by Communist, see Joseph V. Stalin: "The Foundations of Leninism" in *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 67-80.

55. Prof. Benjamin Schwartz (*Op. Cit.*, p. 116) considers that the Moscow Congress of the Communist party was designed (by Stalin) to get rid of the 'heretical elements' within the Chinese Communist party.

in the meanwhile had attacked China on September 18, 1931 and had been fast overrunning Chinese territory.

In February 1932 the Chinese Soviet Republic declared war on Japan and called upon all groups and classes in China to resist Japanese aggression. In April 1933 the Communist Party issued the "Manifesto on Anti-Japanese United Front." The Second All-China Soviet Congress was held on January 21, 1934, attended by about seven hundred delegates. Mao Tse-tung was re-elected Chairman of the Soviet Republic. Meanwhile Chiang's successive attacks combined with intra-Communist dissensions had greatly weakened the Chinese Soviets in Kiangsi so much so that on October 1934 the Communists decided to leave the base and embarked on their historic 8000-mile long March from Kiangsi to Yenai⁶⁰.

Even during the period of the Long March the Party was not free from intra-party strife; this fact necessitated the calling of an extended conference of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The conference was held at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, in January 1935⁶¹. "The great historical service of the Tsunyi conference," says an authoritative Chinese Communist account⁶², "consisted in correcting military and organizational errors, which were of decisive significance at the time; in bringing to an end the predominance of the 'leftist' line in the Party centre and in establishing the

leading position of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the whole party."

In December 1935 the Communist Party decided to set up Anti-Japanese National United Front. In the following December (1936) the Communist Party established its headquarters at Yenai⁶³. Mao Tse-tung's leadership of the party was confirmed. As second period of Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation⁶⁴ followed the Marco Polo Bridge Incident⁶⁵ of July 7, 1937 which heralded the all-out Japanese invasion of China. The Central Committee of the Communist Party met in another conference at Loehuan in August 1937 and adopted a Ten-point Programme⁶⁶ for National Salvation and Resistance which remained the Party's main plank throughout the period of the Anti-Japanese war. The Ten Great Policies were drafted by Mao Tse-tung⁶⁷ and called for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism, total military and political mobilization of the country in the struggle against Japan, political reforms in China including the convocation of a representative National Assembly and for the adoption of various political, economic and cultural measures to strengthen anti-Japanese solidarity of the Chinese people. As earlier, the second period of Kuomintang-Communist Co-operation was also very uneasy and reached almost a breaking point after the New Fourth Army Incident⁶⁸. However, the United Front somehow lasted up to the end of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945.

(Concluded)

60. An interesting account of the Long March is given by Edgar Snow, *op.cit.*, pp. 189-218. See also Robert C. North, *op.cit.*, pp. 160-167; Hu Chiao-mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-36; Robert Payne: *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China*, London, 1951, pp. 139-156.

61. Hu Chiao-mu: *Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China*, p. 33; Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung: "A Brief Sketch of the Important Conferences held by the CCP Central Committee"—*Jen Min Jih Pao* (People's Daily), Peking September 15, 1956, reproduced in the *Current Background*, No. 410, pp. 37-38. Mao Tse-tung's own account of the conference which established him in the position of leadership of the Communist party is given in Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, pp. 187-188; see also Robert Payne, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-146.

62. Hsiao I-ping and Chang Kung, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38. See also Mao Tse-tung: "Resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party", adopted on April 20, 1945, by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee of the CCP in *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, page 188.

63. An account of the Communist government at Yenai is to be found in Harrison Forman: *Report from Red China*, pp. 55-75.

64. An excellent and fully documented account of this period is given by Lawrence K. Rosinger: *China's Crisis*, New York, 1945 and *China's Wartime Politics*, Princeton, 1945.

65. H. F. Macnair and D. F. Lach: *Modern Far Eastern International Relations*, New York, 1951, p. 415; Kenneth Scott Latourette: *A Short History of the Far East*, New York, 1954, pp. 600-604.

66. Text of the Programme in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 242-245.

67. Hu Chiao-mu, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

68. For an account of the incident, see Israel Epstein: *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, pp. 109-111; Theodore H. White and Annalce Jacoby: *Thunder Out of China*, New York, 1946, pp. 75-76; Robert Payne, *op.cit.*, pp. 169-170.

THE SHRINE OF JALPESWAR

By PARIMAL KUMAR BHATTACHARYA

THE temple of Lord Siva at Jalpeswar has marked itself with importance for sundry weighty reasons. It is an antique shrine, which underwent many vicissitudes through the passing of years. There is no authentic annal of its origin and development. There are many stories current among the village-folk regarding the origin and development of this noted temple. Some of the popular ones are presented below.

The story is also in vogue among the village-folk that getting a trace of this seat of Lord Siva in dream, Maharaja Prannarayan initiated the constructive activities of the present shrine. He made provisions to defray the daily worship. The Maharaja passed away prior to the completion of the construction and it was concluded by his worthy son Maharaja Modenarayan.



The shrine of Jalpeswar

It is a difficult question to indicate the exact date of its erection. It is believed by the people that getting a glimpse of this seat of Lord Siva in his dream Raja Jalpeswar Barman of Pragjyotishpur built a temple on it. This sanctuary was devastated by foreign invaders during the aggression of the Tibetans. After this invasion this seat of Lord Siva was deserted and a dense forest covered the area. After many years Maharaja Prannarayan of Cooch-Behar came here for hunting. He was told by local people that a *kamadhenu* coming from the hamlet area pours milk every day on a particular spot in the wood. One day following the *kamadhenu* the Maharaja entered the forest and detected the Anadilinga Jalpeswar Mahadev in a heap of ruins.



The main entrance

Besides these, some maintain that, when Kalapahar was advancing in the northern direction after devastating all sacred places of the Hindus, to avoid his attention this temple was designed as a mosque, and the deity was preserved in a deep big hole in the floor. Even today, the deity is in the hole and a scrutiny of the shrine discloses an analogy to a certain extent with a mosque.

It has been written in the Tantras, the Puranas and some other religious books that Anadilinga Sri Jalpeswar Mahadev resides here through the ages. Sri Upendranath Barman in his book on the history of the Rajbansis has convincingly shown it by citing proofs from different sources.

One of the striking features of this temple is that, due to the inflow of water, the deity stands submerged during the period of June to October every year.

Jalpeswar is a centre of pilgrimage to the religious-minded Hindus, which attracts thou-

sands of pilgrims specially on the night of Sivaratri festival. There is a sacred pond contiguous to the temple in which pilgrims take an ablution. Admission to the sanctuary is restricted by 25 Naye Paise per head during the Sivaratri festival. An image of a bull stands at the entrance of the temple, which bears the stamp of a beautiful sculpture. Of course, it is not very ancient. The main gate is also of recent origin. The dexterity of the artist has been manifested in the gate. There are many temples of different deities around the main shrine. All of them are worshipped regularly. During the Sivaratri festival all the shrines are decorated in an imposing manner.

A month-long fair is held here annually beginning from the Sivaratri night. The fair is held on an extensive ground. A rivulet divides the temple from the fair. To facilitate

the movement of pilgrims, every year a couple of bamboo bridges are stretched over the brook.

Jalpaiguri is originally peopled by the Rajbansis. The king and the common people of this tribe in a large number visit the fair. Encircling the main shrine minstrels specially from this tribe squat and sing songs relating to God Hari on the Sivaratri night.

Jalpeswar is a hamlet, eleven miles distant from Jalpaiguri town. The communication of this place is far from satisfactory. Its celebrity rests on its historic shrine. A Post Office and a Charitable Dispensary have been set up at a stone's throw from the main shrine.

The Partition has resulted in a considerable decline in the number of pilgrims. Despite that, the adjoining areas are all a-stir with enthusiasm from a month before the commencement of this fair.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR VILLAGES

MANIPUR is reckoned as the second State in India in respect of people's contribution in cash and labour to community development programmes. We had a great curiosity to find out the secret underlying the remarkable achievement of this tiny State (area—8,629 sq. miles and total population 577,635) on the eastern borders of the country. Our eagerness was richly rewarded by our recent visit to Thoubal Block in the heart of the Manipur valley.

The headquarters of this Block lie on the Indo-Burma road, 14 miles from Imphal, capital of Manipur. The road, which is one of the finest in eastern India, runs right across the Block and has made no small contribution to smooth progress of development work in the region. We were, therefore, not surprised to discover that in the hearts of some devout Manipuris, the Indo-Burma road is an object of as much reverence as the munificent river Imphal, which has turned the Manipur valley into one of the greenest and most fertile tract of land in the whole of India.

Manipur's biggest asset, however, is its people. Heirs to a complex culture, the Manipuris combine in their character the sturdiness

of the hills, from which long long ago their ancestors must have descended, with the graces of a rich and refined court life which flourished in the valley for unbroken centuries. They are among the gentlest and the most hardworking people one is likely to meet anywhere.

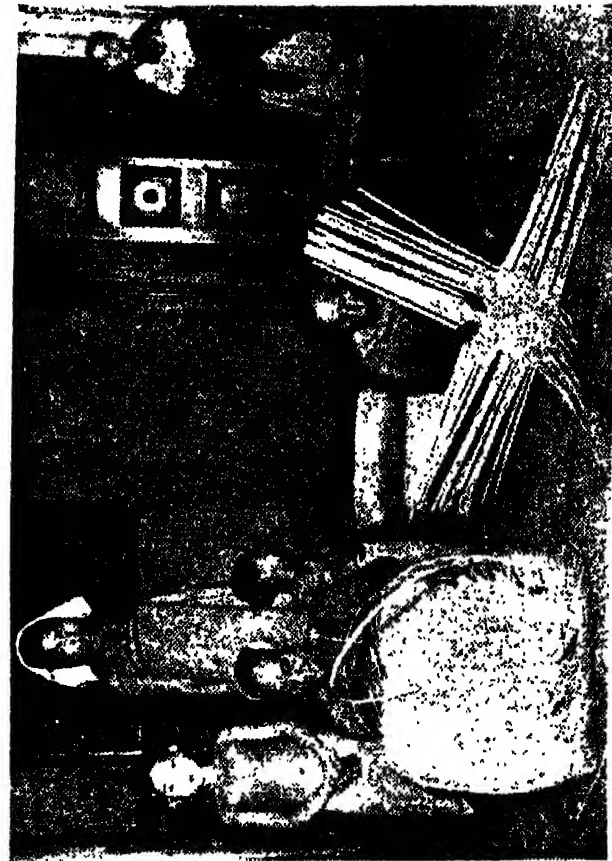
COLOURFUL KAKCHING

These qualities are clearly reflected in the way these people live and work and earn their living. Look at their villages. Kakching, where we spent a full day, could please the heart of the most fastidious town-planner. In the centre of the village is a big *maidan*, which serves as a recreation ground for children and adults alike. The Community Project people have enhanced its usefulness by building a small library and community centre on one side and a playground and water-tank for the children on the other.

A little away from the *maidan*, in front of the old Vaishnava temple with its elaborate Mandapa, is the market lined with five or six rows of wooden stalls which, every evening, as is the custom in all Manipur villages, are



A lady instructor with two of her pupils at a Handloom Weaving and Spinning Centre at Kakching village



A family of basket weavers in a Manipur village



A group of Manipur villagers is enjoying a feast of dance and music after day's work



At a women's social centre at Kakching, village girls are taught the useful art of embroidery

full of goods of all kinds—rice, fish, handloom stuff and salt and with women, because it is they who handle most of the small trade in Manipur. (On that particular evening we were the only males in the Kakching market and were the bashful objects of much mocking attention.)

The houses in Kakching are a tribute to their builders' realism and fine aesthetic sense. They prove that cleanliness could be combined with colour and that simplicity need not be reduced to dreariness.



A group of cheerful fishermen from Pumlan is at work

All this can be attributed to the fact that a Manipuri is a born perfectionist. His is an artistic temperament. He is restless and likes to remain busy. Throughout our stay in the Thoubal Block area, we were conscious of something going on all the time. It was like being inside a bee-hive.

The most striking feature of life in Manipur was that women appeared to be doing most of the work. If they were not working in the fields, they were pounding rice or tending the cattle at home, or drawing water from the tank, or visiting the market to barter a little rice for a fancy pair of bangles. If they were doing none of these things, they would be sitting behind their handlooms, which is as indispensable a part of a Manipuri household

as the ubiquitous Mandapa or the ceremonial outhouse.

ROLE OF BLOCK WORKERS

This could, however, have been very frustrating for the Block workers at Thoubal, particularly Miss Gambini Devi, Thoubal's energetic little Social Education Organiser. "There is precious little you need teach these people in the way of community development.

What they do not know about building a richer and better life is not worth knowing about," she said, and added, "Consider the B.D.O., myself and the rest of us as so many articles of decoration."

The young lady was unduly modest. What she and the group of young Block workers have done for Kakching and other Thoubal villages cannot be dismissed as merely ornamental. Two instances will suffice: one that of the Small Industries' Institute at Athokpam, and the other of the Co-operative Society for Fisheries at Pumlan.

There has always been a very good scope in Manipur rural areas for the development of cottage industries, particularly the handloom industry. Manipuri handloom textiles have

always been famous for their colours and designs. Statistics show that there are more than one lakh of handlooms in the valley itself, and that more than three lakh people find employment in this craft. Until October 1952, when the first Community Development Block was launched at Thoubal, practically no organised effort had been made to put this industry on any sound economic footing. Supply of yarn was irregular, and the articles produced were sold in the narrow confines of the local markets at uneconomic prices.

The people at the Block headquarters thought they could do something about it. As necessary ground work, they started by organising little spinners and weavers' co-operatives in as many villages as possible. When these

co-operatives started functioning satisfactorily, there arose the need for a central training and marketing organisation. This is how the idea of a Small Industries Institute for the Block area took its shape. Help was forthcoming from the top in the form of finance and technical guidance; it came from the bottom in the form of an enthusiastic response from the industrial co-operatives in various villages.

Today, this institute, which is situated about a mile's distance from the Block headquarters, provides training to more than a hundred persons at a time in various crafts, ranging from weaving and spinning to manufacture of small tools and agricultural implements. It also serves as a supply centre for raw material and a link with traders in big towns in the region, like Silchar, Gauhati and Imphal.

PUMLAN FISHERIES

The second instance of the way in which the community development movement has helped the Manipuri villagers in improving

their economic and social condition is not as spectacular or far-reaching in its impact as the first, but it has greater human appeal.

Pumlan is a small fishing village situated on the lake of the same name. Here the small community of less than forty fishing families had long been exploited by contractors from Imphal, who would acquire the fishing rights in the lake from the Government and then lease it out to the poor fishermen on the most oppressive terms. The Block people at Thoubal, naturally, wanted to end this state of affairs.

The obvious solution was a co-operative of fishermen themselves. It was not, however, an easy task to build this co-operative up from a small group of characteristically individualistic fishermen into what is today one of the most flourishing institutions in the valley of Manipur; it took nearly three years and much painstaking persuasion and effort. Three days after leaving Thoubal, on the train journey from Dimapur to Gauhati, we were delighted and surprised to find a Pumlan fish served with our lunch.—*PIB*

THE UNITED STATES INDEPENDENCE DAY

THE Fourth of July is celebrated in the United States as the nation's birthday anniversary. On this date in 1776 the thirteen American colonies adopted the Declaration of Independence and declared their determination to protect man's unalienable rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is a day when hot weather of mid-summer attracts vast numbers of people to outdoor activity. The whole nation appears to become mobile as 45 million automobiles take to the highways, and aircraft, trains and buses carry people to picnics, resorts, sports events or family re-unions. Major League Baseball is in full schedule and the nation's waterways and seacoasts are alive with boats and swimmers. In the evening there are displays of fireworks.

At national monuments, those who wish to, gather to hear speakers read the Declara-

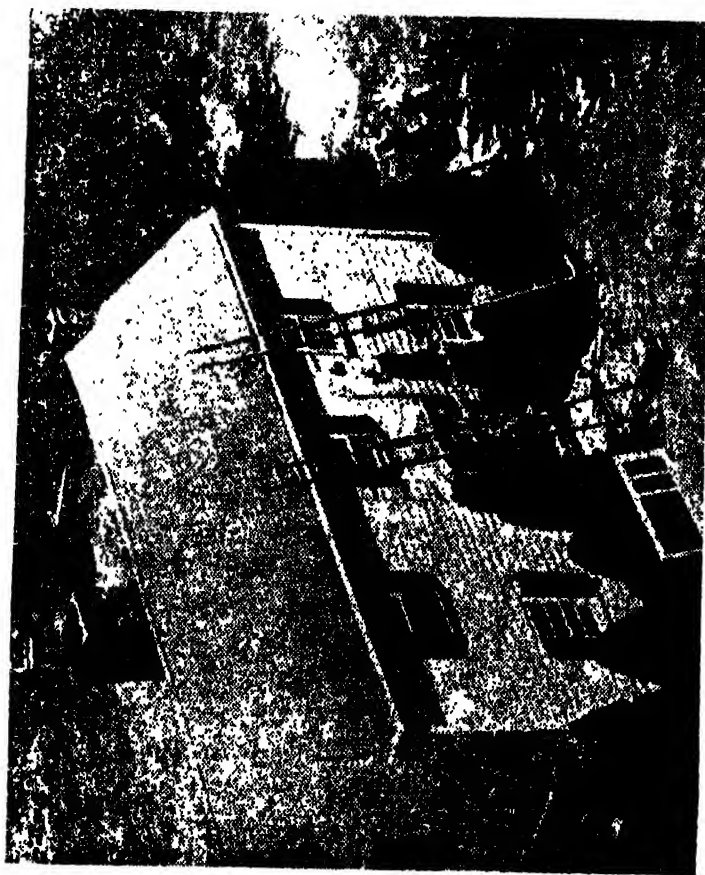
tion of Independence and review the country's history as a free nation—the listeners are reminded by the orators that freedoms can vanish unless guarded by constant vigilance.

A bird's-eye view across the United States on July Fourth shows a great diversity of activities by individuals, families and groups. These people, or their ancestors, have come from every part of the world bringing with them their own concepts of freedom. They have received from their new country a firm belief in those rights so ably set forth in the city of Philadelphia 182 years ago when the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence.

These pictures, taken from a number of low-flying helicopters over different parts of the United States, show a typical Fourth of July.—*USIS*.



Sunbathing and relaxing under beach umbrellas is the way to spend the Fourth of July



The 'pursuit of happiness' may mean putting a new coat of paint on the house



Fast-stopping racers in a harness race attract crowds in Bushville, Illinois



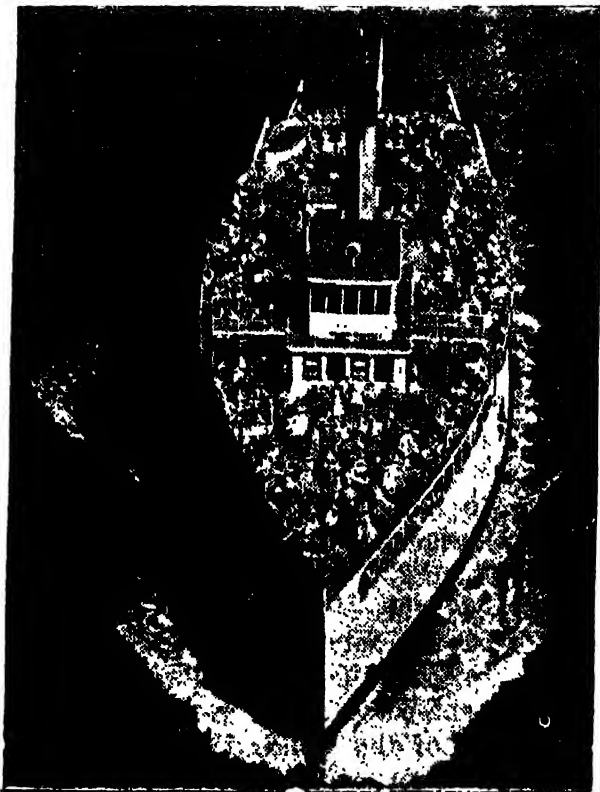
Children on bicycles ride in a parade at Davis, California



A display of fireworks at the Washington Monument



Families and friends gather in a shaded grove to picnic



To those people from Providence, Rhode Island, the Fourth of July is a day for excursion by boat



Veteran and patriotic organizations march in a Fourth of July celebration

THE JAUNSARI PEOPLE OF U.P.

By BINOD BEHARI GOSWAMI, M.A.

JAUNSARI Bawar is a vast stretch of mountainous and rugged area in the hill district of Dehra Dun, U.P. The tehsil Jaunsari Bawar forms one of the two tehsils of the Dehra Dun district. It is a wedge of mountain and gorge thrust between Sirmur and Tehri States. The whole pargana is bounded by the Jamna (Kalindi) river on the east and by the river Tons (Tamosha) on the north-west. Mother nature has endowed her with all scenic beauty and has shown all her skill to create it as a wonderland. Roughly speaking, Jaunsari consists of Chakrata, which is the headquarters of the tehsil, and the southern portion of the tehsil, while Bawar forms the wider area between Chakrata and the Tons valley on the north. It lies between north latitude $30^{\circ}31'$ and $31^{\circ}3'30''$ and east longitude $70^{\circ}45'$ and $78^{\circ}7'20''$.



Typical style of the Jaunsari women greeting each other

The unbroken high ridges stretch out rib-like in a curious way to cover its area of 446 square miles having 436 villages. According to the census of 1951 there are 32,704 males, 25,765 females out of the total population of 58,499. The increase of population during the last sixty years is very negligible as would appear from the census figure after the year 1891 which stands as 50,697.

HISTORY

Though the tehsil is situated in U.P., to most of the people of U.P. it is a land of

strange customs and practices. The pargana was annexed by the British from the Gorkhas in the year 1815, and it became a part and parcel of the British Empire. They declared Chakrata as a cantonment area, and nothing has been done even after independence in developing the area as a hill station. Before the annexation of the area by the British, the people had been totally isolated. They had no contact with the people of the plains. Under the British they came into contact with the outsiders, but still they retained their own indigenous customs and beliefs.

THE PEOPLE

The Jaunsaris are handsome, tall, fair-complexioned, having good physique with fine nose, thin lips, slanting forehead and prominent chin. According to anthropologists, they are a branch of the Nordic people who came here via Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh and have been living here since then in complete isolation. The average height of a man is five feet eight inches and of a woman five feet six inches. The men are muscular, sturdy, well-developed with straight and agile body. Their economic condition is well-balanced. Being a hard-working people, who practise terrace cultivation and keep cattle and poultry, they are not dependent on anybody. They also know weaving and spinning.

In the year 1815-16, when the British annexed the area, a sum of Rs. 1,800 was collected as land revenue. Thenceforward the revenue collection increased steadily. The present land revenue of the tehsil is Rs. 27,98,525 which is recovered from 67 Sayanas who are authorised to collect the money from their own area, in four instalments, which fall due on 15th November, 15th February, 15th May and 15th August.

Most of the Jaunsaris call themselves Khas. They are actually Rajputs by caste. There are also Brahmins, Koltas and other castes and sub-castes. The Koltas are in the lowest rung of the social ladder, while the Brahmins occupy a top place in the social hierarchy. The social and economic condition of the Koltas has reached a very deplorable

THE SHRINE OF JALPESWAR

stage. The Koltas have a fairly big population, which is one-fifth of the total population of Jaunsari Bawar. These are the most unfortunate people, as according to the customary land-law Dastur-ul-Amal and Wezib-al-Arz, they have no right to their own land. The social set-up of the Jaunsari people is such that the Koltas are regarded by the Brahmins and the Rajputs as born agricultural serfs.

EDUCATION

The education among the Jaunsaris is very poor. It is only after Independence that the Community Development Project and other private agencies of social work like the Ashok Ashram are trying very hard to drive out illiteracy. The result is not very encouraging. At present in the whole of the tehsil there is only one High School, five Junior High Schools and 84 Primary Schools. If the quantitative facts are the only criterion for a successful planning I have nothing to say; but if the quality of the staff and the institution and their output are the pointers, then it is an open secret that the problem of education in this part of the country has not received the slightest attention. The attendance in these schools is below general expectation due to two factors, first the lack of incentive in the primary school teachers who are ill-paid and are from the 'Gahrwal' District which is far more advanced in comparison to Jaunsari Bawar. The teachers suffer from superiority complex and seem to be the least interested in the quick spread of education among the Jaunsaris. And secondly, the economic pursuits of the Jaunsaris are difficult to accomplish, and they cannot afford to spare their children of school-going age from giving them a helping hand in agricultural processes and from looking after the cattle.

DISEASES

The highest percentage of venereal diseases occurs in the Jaunsari Bawar area. The incidence of V.D. according to the census estimate of 1931 is over seventy-five per cent. From my personal observation during my field-work among them in the year 1956-57 I have a feeling that most of the Jaunsaris have been affected by this awe-inspiring disease. Moreover it is gaining ground and getting a greater impetus from their social custom of polyandry and from the double standard of social, econo-

mic and sexual morality of a woman. There is only one hospital. There are four allopathic and five Ayurvedic dispensaries which are not at all sufficient in this mountainous area.



All husbands of one woman taking their dinner

The problem of water scarcity has been boldly and efficiently tackled and solved by the Community Development Administration of the area.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

According to the Jaunsari tradition the whole area is divided into many territorial units. They are called 'Khats'. There are 34 Khats in this area. Each Khat consists of one to twenty villages. Every village has its own *sayana*, who is the headman of the village. The office is hereditary; it is inherited by the eldest son of the *sayana*. All village feuds and disputes are decided by the Sayana. If any one is not satisfied with the decision of the Sayana, he can appeal to the Sadar Sayana who is regarded as the highest authority in the Khat. The decision of the Sadar Sayana is final in their society like the decision of the supreme court. Nobody in their society can challenge the decision of the Sadar Sayana.

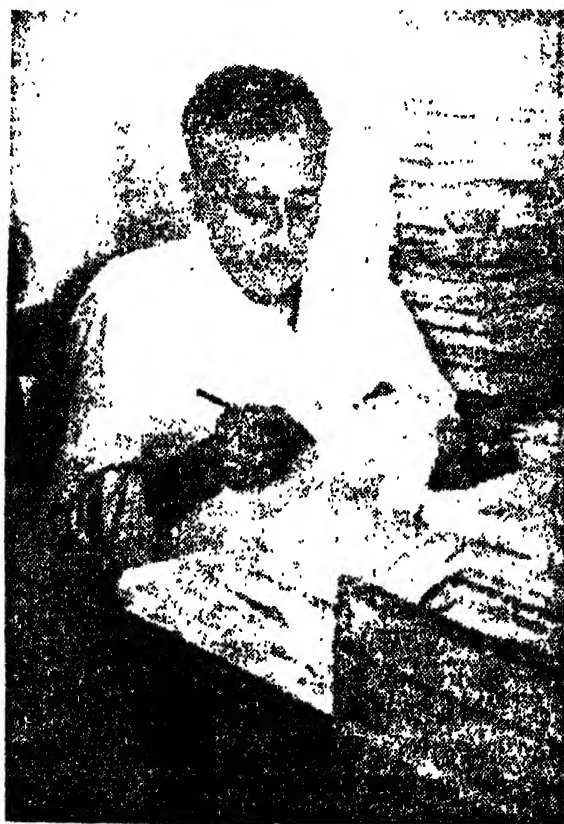
The custom of polyandry is prevalent among the Jaunsaris. A group of brothers marry one woman; thus all brothers share the common wife and live together under the same roof. The average age of marriage for girls is nine and for boys 12. But there are cases even now when boys and girls are married in the earliest stage of infancy, i.e., before they can speak. The bride price is high and is paid in cash.

RELIGION

The Jaunsaris trace their descent from the Pandavas, and they put the polyandrous system as an evidence for their argument. Mahasu is the God who is worshipped throughout the length and breadth of this area. The biggest temple of Mahasu Deota is at Nanol. Every year the Jaunsari people visit this sacred place, and oath taken here by litigants are finally accepted. The people are very superstitious. They are always afraid of evil spirits. Every disease and calamity befalling them is always attributed to the anger of some deota or of evil spirit.

Dancing and singing are very common among the Jaunsaris as these are the best means of recreation. In every fair and during every festival dancing and singing form an important role. The biggest and most important festival is the Magh Mela. This is followed by the Bissu Mela which is conspicuous for out-door dancing and mock fight. Other festivals are Jagra and Maun. The Maun

festival (the festival of fish) is celebrated collectively by the whole territorial unit. Lunain is the festival of shepherds and is celebrated in the first week of August. This festival is important for the Brahmin and Rajput villagers who can afford to keep sheep. Then there is the Pancha festival which synchronises with Durga Puja. There are different timings for different villages in celebrating these festivals, for example, the village Lakhamandal celebrates this festival during the Puja, but in the village Laoyi, Bhatar and Ghutar it is celebrated after a fortnight. The idea behind this is continuous social enjoyment. When a particular fair or festival is held in a village, it is expected that the neighbouring villagers will come to take active part. Deepavali is celebrated for a month after a month of the Deepavali of the plains. In the village Kuanu in Bawar, Deepavali is celebrated with great grandeur. Every young boy and girl among the Jaunsaris knows singing and dancing. The colourful folk-dances of the Jaunsaris are becoming very popular in the plains of the U.P.



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DR. JADUNATH SARKAR

By DR. SAMAR BAHADUR SINGH, M.A., Ph.D.

REPLYING to my Vijaya greetings, on 10th October, last year, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar wrote, "I am suffering from weakness and certain troubles due to old age, and my wife has been bed-ridden since 8th April, 1955. Thus we are in no very happy mood, though there is no fear of any immediate breakdown." Cruel bereavements coming almost in succession had shattered his family life but the strong-willed historian was determined to live on. He had laboured long and literally spent himself out in the cause of historical research. At last the end came on 19th May, and the doyen of Indian historians himself became a part of history in the unfolding of which he had devoted a life-time.

Born on December 10, 1870, in the Rajshahi district (East Bengal), Dr. Jadunath received his education first in the Rajshahi College and later in the Presidency College, Calcutta. A brilliant student all through, there was hardly any academic honour that did not come his way. He entered the Educational Service as a Professor of English but later changed over to history which was his first love. As a teacher, he served in various institutions but major portion of his service career was spent in the Patna College. For some time he was also Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He was associated with Indian Historical Records Commission for many years.

The ambition of making original research in Indian History was planted in Jadunath's heart just after he had done his B.A. in April, 1891. In the same year he wrote his first historical paper—a narrative of the fall of Tipu Sultan. He chose the later Mughal period of Indian History (1650-1803) for his specialized research and the study which began with his *India of Aurangzib* published in 1901, continued unabated and after half a century's unremitting toil and relentless search, reached its natural conclusion in 1950, when he published his last volume of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. This historical survey based on original sources covered the events of nearly half

the reign of Shahjahan and the whole of Aurangzib as described in the five volumes of *History of Aurangzib* and a supplementary work *Shivaji and His Times*. Then follows W. Irvine's *Later Mughals* (1707-1738) in two volumes edited and continued by Dr. Jadunath and lastly, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1738-1803) in four volumes. The woodcraft that he adopted in driving 'a broad pathway through a very tangled jungle' did not ignore the side-tracks and his other works such as, *Mughal Administration*, *The Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, *The House of Shivaji* and *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign* are necessary supplements to give a complete picture of the times.

Dr. Jadunath Sarkar was never a specialist in the narrow sense of the term. His knowledge was broad-based and embraced within its fold varied subjects like Economics, Political Science and Literature. He was a master of Bengali prose. His vivid and colourful narratives in historical works bear eloquent testimony to his command over English. His *India Through the Ages* reveals his deep and thorough grasp of Indian history and culture. Lately, he was engaged in writing a Military History of India. He planned and edited *The History of Bengal*, Vol. 2 and also edited a new edition of the English Version of Abul Fazl's "Ain-i-Akbari." The correspondence of the British Residents with the Peshwa, Scindia and Bhonsle entitled *Poona Residency Correspondence* were also edited by him jointly with Shri G. S. Sardesai, the famous scholar of Maratha History. Among his other works *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings* deserves special mention.

Dr. Jadunath's approach to historical research was very scientific. "The research worker," once he remarked, "must try to reach the very fountain-head of information and he must hear all the witnesses, as far as possible, before he can attain to the true facts. . . . If the net is not thus extensively flung

and the fisher does not go down to such depths, the resulting research becomes a mockery." He never contented himself merely even with court-annals (called *namas*) for he rightly held that these were really digests of the original documents which must be fathomed into to get the correct and complete picture of the subject. For the history of the later Mughal period he used the veriest raw materials namely, the despatches and private letters of the nobles and generals and the new letters from camp and court (often daily) all in Persian and as yet unprinted. Besides, he utilized all available despatches and state papers in the Marathi language and the letters of the British residents at the Indian Princes' courts.

It was Dr. Jadunath's firm belief that without a good knowledge of the languages in which original materials were available, true research was impossible. He would always impress upon the young research scholars to provide themselves with this linguistic equipment before beginning to dig deeply. "For my *History of Shivaji*, he once said, "I had to study the original sources by learning Persian and Marathi and a little Portuguese, besides English, Sanskrit, French and a little of Rajasthani Hindi."

Dr. Jadunath earnestly wished that "full and varied research libraries" were built up in each regional circle of India where all possible facilities would be provided to research workers. His own library built up through years of persistent labour and through search contains a "life-long collection of rare books and Persian and French Mss. on Indo-Muslim History and is now unique in India in several of its contents, besides being complete for British Indian History, specially the Sepoy Mutiny." He spared no pains to encourage the young research workers and provided them with all the facilities including sometimes even boarding and lodging.

Dr. Jadunath's was a life of dedication in the truest sense of the term. Pursuit of knowledge was a passion to him. Nothing would deter him from his chosen path. No temptation could lure him to sacrifice his historical judgments and he always stuck to his prin-

ciples. An explorer, he worked ceaselessly throughout his long life collecting materials at any cost. Formidable difficulties, at times, would stare him in the face but the resourceful scholar would at last find a way out. An ascetic, he denied himself all the common pleasures of social life and remained busily engaged in his mission, unconcerned with what happened around him. He had no time to waste and an idle gossip had no place in his business-like room. He lived a very simple life and when I met him at Talegaon near Poona in June, 1951, I found him living in a small room attached to the office of the local hospital. A cot, an armless chair and a small table with a handful of books thereon—this was all the Indian Gibbon needed to revise his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. His encyclopaedic mind seldom needed a reference book and he seldom revised his drafts. But before pronouncing his judgments as a historian, he would devote a decade in collecting all possible materials bearing on the subject and another in analysing and assimilating them. To give a vivid and graphic account of his narrative he toured almost all the places connected with the theme of his historical research.

Dr. Jadunath practised what he preached. Replying to the addresses presented to him at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, on his 81st birthday on 10th December, 1950, he gave a true picture of himself when he said, "We need above everything else that pure flame of quest of truth, that fanatical devotion to our aim, regardless of fame or gain, which is the mark of the true scholar. Such a scholar will easily rise above the temptation to be satisfied with the cheap praise of his countrymen, or the recognition of one of the mushroom universities which are springing up all over India, where-ever there is a dialectical variation. The true scholar is a national of the Republic of Letters which transcends the narrow bounds of provinces, countries and languages and places its student at the bar of the world court of scholarship. Let recognition by that court be the secret ambition of every one of our research workers." In his death, India has lost one of her most illustrious sons and, perhaps, her greatest historian of modern times.

LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS

By DEBAPRASAD SINHA

THE letters of John Keats form an invaluable document for a proper assessment of his poetic genius, and judged from the standpoint of literary worth, the letters can hardly be rated as less important than his poems. In fact, the letters serve as a commentary on his poems, and for a true understanding and appreciation of some of his poems (*Endymion* for example, and some of his earlier pieces) certain letters can be taken as almost necessary. They clearly reveal those changes in his mind and temper which appear in his poetry. Written in his last four years by a man who died at twenty-six they contain abundant evidences of his immaturity and his faults, but they disclose a nature and character which command on the whole not less respect than affection, and they show not a little of that general intellectual power which rarely fails to accompany poetic genius. His letters are as much an indication of the man as is his poetry. Keats's poetry is generally criticised as being too effeminate for ordinary readers. But in his letters, with their human sympathy, their eager interest in social problems, their humour and their keen insight into life, there is no trace of effeminacy, but rather every indication of a strong and noble manhood.

The letters have been edited by several eminent men, the most important being that of Mr. Richard Moneton Milnes. The edition is entitled as *Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats* and is published in two volumes from Dover Street, London, 1848. A particular copy of this edition has attained historic significance—that in the collection of Sir Charles Dilke. Its significance has arisen out of the fact that it has been largely annotated in manuscript by his grand-father, Charles Westworth Dilke, who was a personal friend of Keats.

Another important edition is that of Sir Sidney Colvin who does not include letters written to Fanny Brawne. The letters number 164 in all and the most interesting among them are letters addressed to his sister Fanny Keats. They throw a flood of new light on his character and have also their contributions to and bearings on the mass and text of

his verse. The poetry inserted by Keats in the original is given in full, and the editor has added valuable notes. The letters which appeal most to readers for their tragic note are those written to Fanny Brawne, and they have been edited in a separate volume by Mr. H. Buxton Forman with introduction and notes.

The letters may be classified in different groups according to persons to whom they are addressed. Foremost mention should be made of those written to his sister Fanny Keats and to his fiancée Fanny Brawne who formed a very prominent figure in the poet's life during his last days. There are letters, then written to his college friend, B. Bailey with whom Keats stayed in Oxford at the Magdalen Hall. Bailey, a man whose gentle and disinterested character Keats warmly admired, was a companion of the poet at the time his famous poem *Endymion* was written. "We lead," he writes to his sister, "very industrious lives—Bailey in general studies, and I am proceeding at a pretty good pace with a poem which I hope you will see early in the next year." The poem was *Endymion*: and Keats wrote the whole of the Third Book of the poem in Bailey's rooms. In the letters written to Bailey, we hear of towers and quadrangles, cloisters and groves: of the deer in Magdalen Park and many other unmistakable associations of Oxford. In the letters written to Bailey, can be traced many of the most characteristic ideas of Keats, to which we propose to refer a little later. The other letters are written to Reynolds, Clarke, Leigh Hunt, George and Georgiana Keats, and to his counterpart in poetic genius, P. B. Shelley.

The letters of Keats make an anthology full of intuitions of beauty, even of wisdom and are in the words of Sir Sidney Colvin 'unrivalled for zest, whim, fancy, and amiability.' Throughout his life, one of his main activities was friendship, and hence his multitude of letters: they were letters written to a circle of friends, always written for their enjoyment—which explains their frequent non-sense. The letters bristle with mis-spellings, faulty grammar and inadequate punctuation—these are Keats' own, and represent the losing race

that his pen ran against his fun and friendliness. It is said that Keats was unlucky in his friends, and true it is that he had no such friends as Tennyson had at Cambridge or as Arnold had at Rugby and Oxford, but how lucky his friends must have been in Keats. Bored with Dilke's doctrinaire radicalism, he writes to his brother George Keats on 24th September, 1819: "Dilke thinks of nothing but Godwin's *Political Justice*. Now the first political duty a Man ought to have a mind to is the happiness of his friends." Keat's friendship was almost as often the 'love of benevolence' as it was the 'love of complacency': he ministered to the indigence of Haydon as willingly as he acclaimed his genius. His letters to his brother George and to George's wife, and to his sister Fanny, are in a class by themselves: he is the perfect elder brother.

Particular mention should be made of the letters addressed to his school-girl sister Fanny Keats, who was eight years younger than he. Keats, as we see him in 1817 and 1818, in the first half of Mr. Colvin's collection, was absorbed by an enthusiasm and ambition which his sister was too young to understand. During his last two years he was, besides passionately and miserably in love and latterly, ill and threatened with death. His soul was full of bitterness. He shrank into himself, avoided society, and rarely sought even intimate friends. Yet, until he left England, he never ceased to visit his sister when he could; and, when he could not, he continued to write letters to her, full of amusing non-sense, full of brotherly care for her, and of excellent advice offered as by an equal who happened to be her senior; letters quite free from thoughts of himself, and from the forced gaiety and the resentment against fate which in parts of his later correspondence with others betray his suffering. Where almost all his letters are so regarding, perhaps none is more admirable than that in which he helps his young sister with the questions she must answer in her confirmation class. I am referring to the letter dated the 31st March, 1819. "The best way," he writes, "for you to learn to answer these questions, is to read over the little book, which I sent from a Bookseller's in town, or you should have had a letter with it. Tell me whether it will do; if not I will put down the answer for

you. Perhaps if I just give you the heads of the answers it may be better—though I think you will find them all in that little book." Keats then gives the answers under eleven heads. This shows how Keats took a keen interest in the affairs of his sister. The letters to his sister are, in one sense, the least remarkable in the collection, yet it would lose much by their omission. They tell us next to nothing of his genius, but as we come upon them the light in our picture of him, if it had grown for a moment hard or troubled, becomes once more soft and bright. Of Keats' character, as the letters manifest it, Arnold has written. While speaking plainly and decidedly of the weakness visible in those to Miss Brawne, Arnold brought together the evidence which proves that Keats 'had flint and iron in him,' and he has selected passages, too, which illustrate the 'admirable wisdom and temper,' and 'the strength and clearness of judgement,' shown by Keats, alike in matters of friendship and in his criticisms of his own productions, of the public and of the literary circles, the 'jabberers about pictures and books,' as Keats in a bitter mood once called them. We may notice, in addition, two characteristics. In spite of occasional despondency, and of feelings of awe at the magnitude of his ambition, Keats, it is tolerably plain from these letters, had a clear consciousness of his genius. He never dreamt of being a minor poet. He knew that he was a poet; sometimes he hoped to be a great one. He never felt himself the inferior of any living poet except Wordsworth. With Keats, poetry and the hope of success in it were passions more glowing than we have reasons to attribute to his contemporaries at the same time of his life. These passions were in his last two years overclouded at times, but they remained to the end. When, in the bitterness of his soul, he begged Severn to put on his tombstone no name, but only 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water', he was thinking not merely of the reviewers who had robbed him of fame in his short life, but also of those unwritten poems, of which 'the faint conceptions' in happier days used to 'bring the blood into his forehead.' The letters remind us that compared with his poetic passions, he was at a disadvantage in intellectual training and acquisitions. Everywhere in the letters,

we feel the presence of an intellectual nature, not merely sensitive and delicate, but open, daring, rich and strong; exceedingly poetic and romantic, yet observant, acute, humorous, and sensible. Fundamentally, and in spite of abundant high spirits and a love of non-sense, the mind of Keats was very serious and thoughtful. To quote Professor Bradley, "In quality the mind of Shakespeare at three and twenty may not have been very different."

We would now show how one of the most characteristic ideas of Keats, which has almost become a household word, can be traced to his letter. I am referring to that famous line in the "Ode on a Grecian Urn," 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty. That is all ye know on earth, and ye need to know.'—The idea can be traced to the letter written to Bailey on Saturday 22nd November, 1817. I would just quote a few lines. "I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of Imagination, what the Imagination seizes as beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not—for I have the same idea of all our Passions as of Love, they are all in their sublime, creative of essential Beauty." Continuing he writes, "The imagination may be compared to Adam's dream,—he awoke and found it truth." To Keats it was Imagination and not reasoning that can lead the way to truth. He writes, "Can it be that even the greatest Philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections. However it may be, 'O for a life of Sensations rather than of thoughts.' It is 'a Vision in the form of Youth,' a shadow of reality to come." The last sentence mentioned is oft-quoted as a specimen of Keats' characteristic bent of mind. Almost no readers nowadays think that it was a sensualist who exclaimed, 'O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts'; he meant what a later poet has called the 'sweet sensation of the truth', what Newman called 'real apprehension' as transcending 'notional apprehension.' As much as anything else, it is this intellectual activity, the speculative thought of Keats that make his letters so very important. Occasionally the thought is difficult from Keats' own difficulty in self-expression, but to look through his prose in a dictionary of quotations is to realise that it has a distinction that has made it almost as familiar as the verse.

I shall now quote a few lines which show the unmistakable origin of the "Ode on Indolence." I am referring to letter number XCII in Sir Sydney Colvin's collections. Keats writes, "This morning I am in a sort of temper indolent and supremely careless. I long after a stanza or two of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. My passions are all asleep, from my having slumbered till nearly eleven and weakened the animal fibre all over me to a delightful sensation. If I had teeth of pearl and the breath of lilies, I should call it languor, but as I am I must call it laziness. This is the only happiness, and is a rare instance of the advantage of the body over-powering the mind." "This is the only happiness"—the sentence will surprise no one who has even dipped into Keats' letters. It expresses a settled conviction. Happiness, he feels, belongs only to childhood, and early youth. A young man thinks he can keep it, but a little experience shows him he must do without it. The mere growth of the mind, if nothing else, is fatal to it. To think is to be full of sorrow, because it is to realise the sorrow of the world and to feel the burden of the mystery. We may connect with this idea Keats' feeling of the inferiority of poets (or rather such dreaming poets as himself) to men of action. In this same letter, he copies out for his correspondents several recently written poems, and among them the ballad "La Belle Dame Sans Merci." He copies it without a word of introduction. He could not say, 'Here is the record of my love and my despair,' for on this one subject he never opened his heart to his brother. But when he has finished the copy, he adds a few lines referring to the stanza (afterwards altered):

She took me to her elfin grot,
And there she wept and sighed full sore
And there I shut her wild wild eyes
With Kisses four.

"Why four kisses, you will say, why four? Because I wish to restrain the headlong impetuosity of my Muse. She would have fain said 'score' without hurting the rhyme: but we must temper the Imagination, as the critics say, with judgement. I was obliged to choose an even number that both eyes may have fair play; and, to speak truly, I think two apiece quite sufficient. Suppose I had said seven, there would have been three and a half apiece."

—a very awkward affair, and well got out of on my side." This poem was not published in the volume of 1820.

There is a decided difference between the Keats of the earlier letters and the Keats of the later. The tour in Scotland in the summer of 1818 may be taken with sufficient accuracy as a dividing line. The earlier Keats is the youth who had written the sonnet *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*, and *Sleep and Poetry*, and who was writing *Endymion*. He is thoughtful, often grave, sometimes despondent; but he is full of the enthusiasm of beauty, and of the joy and fear, the hope and the awe that accompanied the sense of poetic power. He is the poet who watched with rapture the billowing of the wind through the trees and over meadow-grasses and corn, and looking sometimes like a young eagle and sometimes like a wild fawn waiting for some cry from the forest depths. This is the Keats, who wrote 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever', who found the 'Religion of Joy' in the monuments of the Greek spirit, in sculpture and vases, and mere translations and mere handbooks of mythology; who never ceased, he said, to wonder at all that incarnate delight, and would point out to Severn how essentially modern, how imperishable, the Greek spirit is a joy for ever.

But in the letters written after the tour of Scotland, there is manifest in Keats a decided change, doubtless hastened by outward events. *The Blackwood and Quarterly* reviews of *Endymion* appeared, followed by his brother's death. Then came the most important event in the poet's life, when a few weeks later he met Miss Brawne. Fanny Brawne was a flirt and played with the passions of the poet. She affected as if she had a soft corner in her heart for Keats, only to disappoint him, and the disappointment was fatal.

I would like to make one digression here to state something very interesting. We find Keats writing from London to his brother and his sister-in-law in America; and he tells them of a young lady from the East, whom he has just met. "She is not a Cleopatra, but she is at least a Charmian. She has a rich Eastern look. When she comes into a room she makes an impression the same as the beauty of a leopardess. She kept me awake one night as a tune of Mozart's might do. The very 'yes' and

'no' of her lips is to me a banquet. I believe, though she has faults, the same as Charmian and Cleopatra might have had. Yet, she is a fine thing, speaking in a worldly way."

On reading the above passage, a word may be ventured. This lady was not Miss Fanny Brawne; but less than a month later on meeting Miss Fanny Brawne, he immediately became her slave. When we observe the fact, and consider how very unlike the words I have quoted are to anything in Keats' previous letters, we can hardly help suspecting that he was at this time in a peculiar condition and ripe for his fate. An idea suggests itself which, if exceedingly prosaic, has yet some comfort in it. How often have readers of Keats' life cried out that, if only he had never met Miss Fanny Brawne, he might have lived longer and prospered! Does it not seem at least as probable that, even if Miss Fanny Brawne had never existed, what happened would still have happened, and that the fever of passion which helped to destroy him was itself a token of incipient disease?

Now to return to our original discussion. On his meeting with Miss Fanny Brawne, Keats' youth had vanished, his brother's death deepened his sympathies. The reviews gave him a salutary shock. They quickened his perception already growing keen of the weaknesses and mannerisms of his own verse. Through them, he saw a picture of himself as a silly boy, dandled into self-worship by foolish friends and posturing as a man of genius. He kept his faith in his genius, but he felt that he must prove it. He became impatient of dreaming. Poetry, he felt, is not mere luxury and rapture, it is a deed. In one year, he writes six or seven of the best poems in the language, but he is little satisfied. "Thus far," he says, "I have a consciousness of having been pretty dull and heavy, both in subject and phrase." Two months later, he ends a note to Haydon with the words, "I am afraid I shall pop off just when my mind is able to run alone." And so it was.

I would conclude my essay with a mention of Keats' conception of beauty as revealed in his letters. Keats worshipped beauty and the beauty he worshipped was not 'intellectual', but visible, audible, tangible. He was an artist, intent upon fashioning his material until the outward sensible form is perfectly expressive

and delightful. In all this he was at the opposite pole to Shelley, to whom Beauty was intellectual and archetypal, something like the antecedent idea or conception of beauty in the mind of the Artist prior to its manifestation in any individual object. The poet who cried, 'O . . . for a life of sensations' was consoled as his life withered away, by the remembrance that he 'had loved the principle of beauty in all things.' And this is not a chance expression; it repeats for instance, a phrase used two years before, 'the mighty abstract idea I have of Beauty in all things.' I would just refer to the letter No. XLI in Sir Sydney Colvin's collections where there occurs a passage ending with

the words, they are able to "consecrate whatever they look upon." Is not this a quotation from Shelley's Hymn to Intellectual Beauty:

*"Spirit of Beauty that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon?"*

According to Professor Bradley this is the only quotation from Shelley's poetry in the letters of Keats.

To conclude, the letters of Keats give a complete story of Keats' friendships, his poetry and his thought. We know that the story ended in defeat, but for us his pen had "gleaned his teeming brain"; his poems and his letters "hold like rich garnerers the full-ripened grain."

PUBLIC CONTROL OF STATE ENTERPRISES

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THE recent inquiry into certain happenings of a public corporation caused a big stir in the political life of this country and resulted subsequently in a ministerial resignation. Apart from being branded as a major event in the short history of the State enterprises of this country, it was also an eye-opener to the public that all is not well with the State's policy towards these undertakings. Soon it was realised that these happenings were in a major measure due to the lack of a clear-cut line of demarcation between the controlling functions of the concerned ministry and the functions of self-management of the so-called autonomous corporations. Following the principles laid down by the Chagla Report a vigorous and sustained public opinion was created demanding a clear definition of autonomy. Parliament also rose to the occasion and pointed out to the inevitable necessity of adopting a clear policy towards these undertakings. Replying to the debate the Prime Minister said the Chagla Report will be given due consideration. Closely following this statement on its heels came certain changes in the organisation and appointments of the members of the boards of some undertakings while some changes are still in the air. Thus there appears to be evolving though slow and painful, but along right and legitimate lines, a serious and sober attitude on the part of the Government towards these undertakings.

This is a welcome sign—but it must be remembered that there are always opportunities for an abuse of the powers on the part of the autonomous corporations and chances for the Government for being unduly complacent about the autonomous corporations' affairs, thus keeping itself aloof. Visualising such a situation, will not a legitimate fear creep into the minds of all concerned that how the accountability of the corporations is ensured and to what extent?

In a private undertaking the principle of control by the shareholders is crystal-clear. It is the duty of the directors to account to their shareholders who in their turn judging their degree of success or failure by studying the report on accounts can accord or refuse confidence in their directors.

But a State undertaking offers a different picture. Here the account is due no longer to a specific body of shareholders but to the whole community which includes not merely the shareholders but consumers and employees as well, with its diverse interests, direct and indirect in the concern, represented by Parliament.

Where does the Minister come in the picture? Entrusted with a great responsibility of playing a pivotal role he comes in between the Parliament and the undertaking. His position has a three-fold aspect. To the particular undertaking he is the person to call for an account; to the Parliament he is another

person who can be called to account for and he has also an independent responsibility of guiding and controlling the undertaking from the view-point of social policy.

Degree of control, both ministerial and parliamentary, varies according to the forms of enterprise. For example, in the case of departmentally organised undertakings like Chittaranjan Locomotives and Integral Coach Factory, the budget occasion affords an opportunity to the Parliament to discuss the efficiency of the undertakings and the minister to defend the day-to-day and long-term policy of the said undertakings. But in the sphere of corporations and companies the case is different. For the statutes lay down a measure of autonomy to the corporations thus leaving only the long-term policy to be discussed and decided by the Parliament. Parliamentary control is exercised in these ways—through questions on the floor of the House and through discussions on the balance sheets and annual reports presented by the corporations and the companies to the Parliament.

In the case of corporations, often confusion and inconsistency characterise the practice of the minister to play his indefinite role thus affecting the parliamentary control. The Minister has both positive and negative powers. He appoints the members of the board or the members are appointed after consulting the concerned Ministry. He has positive powers of giving directions of a general character in relation to the matters appearing to the Minister to affect the national interest. He has negative powers in that his approval is required to the lines on which the concern is to proceed in reorganisation and development and his approval is also required to raise funds by borrowing. Thus it is assumed that a responsible corporation acting in the public interest and a responsible Minister acting in the national interest will be able to preserve a proper degree of autonomy for the corporation without any clash. This does not mean that only when the corporation is at fault the Minister is answerable to the Parliament. As Ernest Davies remarks:

"Public Corporations are indirectly public investments and Parliament is finally responsible for public money. To argue that so long as the boards are not in default the

Minister is not responsible is unconvincing, because it is the national interest to ensure the default does not arise. It would appear that if a member of Parliament thought the board was pursuing a policy that would prevent compliance with the statutory requirements that the public corporation should operate on a financially successful basis over a period of years, he should have the right to raise the matter in Parliament."

But we have seen the Minister on many occasions refusing to answer questions on the ground they are related to day-to-day functions and not to the general policy to which alone the Minister is said to be responsible. But it must be remembered there is no convenient line between general principles and directions and day-to-day particular orders.

"As any administrator knows the process of policy formulation takes place at a number of different levels . . . it becomes almost impossible to see where the 'general' ends and the 'day-to-day' begins. General principles of policy are not always specifically formulated at the highest level but may quite often arise from a host of small decisions of day-to-day orders which collectively constitute something of general public importance."¹

There is also another extreme case where the Minister is alleged to exert undue pressure on boards and at the same time feels not responsible. This happens in this manner: Before any ministerial action is felt necessary there is always some kind of consultation between the Minister and the corporation, which subsequently eliminates the necessity of any such action.

"In practice consultation is the chief way in which the Ministers have exercised their influence on the boards."

Ministers then come to the Parliament and decline to reply to questions on the grounds that their responsibility is non-existent. When they come before Parliament Ministers draw a curtain over the board's activities and stand before it with sealed lips. "They may fulfil

1. A. H. Hanson: *Public Administration*, 1951, pp. 52-53.

the letter of the statutes but not their spirit."²

Thus it is seen influence behind the closed doors dilutes the whole conception of public responsibility.

After the indeterminate relationship between Minister and the corporation which has been singled out as an organisational weakness, let us come to the role of Parliament. Even at the outset it must be made clear that to dismiss its role flippantly doubting the capacity of the Parliament, as it is a curious mixture of diverse interests and non-experts is to strike at the very roots of democracy. There cannot be any doubt that from exceedingly a large bulk of reports, accounts and statistics which the State Undertakings render, the Parliament faces an inherent difficulty in trying to answer those critical questions—what success the undertakings has achieved and what confidence its management deserves. But one need not be reminded of the fact that Parliament is an infinitely more experienced debating body, despite being large and busy, than the shareholders of any industrial concern.

Following are the particular ways in which Parliamentary control is exercised. The opposition can select a public corporation for a debate on a supply day; individual members can discuss the corporation on an adjournment motion; discussion can be conducted on the Report of the corporation when presented; and finally, if a corporation introduces a private bill it can be discussed on second reading. Apart from these, Public Accounts Committee can examine accounts after expenditure has been incurred. But it is a *postmortem* in any case. The same principle applies to Estimates Committee.

It has been suggested since these two Committees of Parliament are overburdened with existing work, a select committee of Parliament permanently staffed must spend three months in a year on each corporation and submit a report to the House. But there are some serious objections. First the members are not experts. Second they may not get the assistance provided by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. Even then this superior-body will have a paralysing effect on the public corporations. "The results obtained from such investigations might on

occasions be beneficial but might well be out-balanced by the Committee's frustrating influence."

Similar objections may be raised against the proposal that these corporations can be audited by a special organisation created for the purpose of efficiency in auditing. It is better and desirable that these corporations arrange themselves for efficient auditing.

Herbert Morrison, the most important influence on the form which nationalisation has taken in U.K. during the Labour Government, suggested periodical enquiries on the line of the enquiries in the case of B.B.C. at an interval of seven to ten years. Some measures suggested by Herbert Morrison like the creation of Consumers' Councils and similar machinery for market and consumer research deserve careful consideration. "This sort of arrangement though certainly a part of the same general problems of public control is distinguished from the political control."³

Creation of public relations organisation in each corporation will go a long way to remove all undue fears and doubts about the working of the corporations. "Nothing can dispel public suspicion and build up confidence as much as continuous supply of unbiased, factual and truthful information"⁴ which must be one of the duties of such a public relations organisation within a corporation.

These remedies suggested by various experts are in no way designed to affect the sovereignty of the Parliament. Parliament's control is supreme and must remain so in spite of its apparent defects and weaknesses. As a member of the British National Coal Boards stated: "Parliament has an unlimited general power of control in that it can alter the law; but that it has no specific power of control as distinct from its right to receive an account. But, on the other hand, it has far more opportunity than a body of shareholders to express its views, its criticisms, its apprehensions, even its confidence and satisfaction."⁵

3. H. Morrison: *Public Administration*, 1951, page 6.

4. Leslie Hardern: *Problems of Nationalised Industry*, Ed. Robson, p. 175.

5. Geoffrey Vickers in an address to the "Administrative Staff College." Reprinted in *Public Administration*, Vol. 1952, p. 71.

2. Ernest Davies: *Problems of Nationalised Industries*, Ed. by W. A. Robson.

ORGANISATION OF COTTON PIECEGOODS TRADE IN CALCUTTA

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CALCUTTA, India's commercial metropolis and the largest city of the country, is situated on the left bank of the river Hooghly, about 80 miles from the Bay of Bengal. It is the terminus of Eastern and South-Eastern Railway and is linked by roads, railways and airways with all the important cities of India. The port of Calcutta which extends for about five miles along the banks of the river Hooghly, is the biggest port of India and accounts for an appreciable value of India's foreign trade. Its hinterland consists of rich, fertile and densely populated areas of Indo-Gangetic plain, industrial belt of Hooghly and mining areas of Raniganj. The concentration of industry and trade has been instrumental in bringing the offices of many banking and insurance companies in the city. Another fact that adds to the economic significance of Calcutta is the vastness of its population which was 4,578,071* according to 1951 census.

It is, therefore, no wonder that Calcutta is one of the important textile marketing centres of India. During the British rule, when the Lancashire and Japanese piecegoods could be freely imported in large quantities, Calcutta was indisputably the premier textile marketing centre of India as the entire bulk of textiles used to be distributed from here to all parts of the country. With the dwindling of imports and expansion of the indigenous cotton textile industry, Calcutta has now become an important marketing centre of Indian cotton piecegoods. It supplies piecegoods to the neighbouring states of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and East Pakistan by importing from the producing centres of India. On an average, it imports about 25,000 to 30,000 bales every month. The textile industry of West Bengal contributes to the production of coarse and medium varieties of cloth and many of the mills sell yarn to the handloom industry. There are about 40 cotton mills and powerloom factories round about Calcutta in the districts of Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas which are equipped with a little over 500,000 spindles and 10,000 looms. The

mills produce about 260 million yds. of cloth annually, mainly *dhotis*, *sarces* and hosiery. It may be interesting to note that roughly 68 per cent of the *dhotis* and 66 per cent of *sarces* that pass through the Calcutta wholesale market are supplied by the West Bengal mills. The mills, therefore, hold key position in respect of these varieties and it is particularly for fine and superfine yardage cloth that the trade depends on Bombay and Ahmedabad mills. The West Bengal mills are not so well-equipped with post-loom finishing processes as the mills of other centres are.

Calcutta is also an important marketing centre for handloom cloth, readymade garments and hosiery cloth. Since the people of Bengal have a liking for handloom cloth, the products of not only Bengal handloom centres but also those of Bihar, U.P. and Madras are marketed here. *Sarees* of Mau (U.P.) and Madras easily find markets here. The number of handlooms in the State of West Bengal is estimated to be 1.25 lakhs producing about 154.5 million yards of cloth annually. Some of the famous handloom centres are Santipur (Nadia), Santiniketan (Birbhum), Rajbalhat and Dhaniakhali (Hooghly). The cotton mill industry and the handloom industry provide employment to about 45,000 and 300,000 workers respectively.

LOCATION OF TRADE

The wholesale and semi-wholesale trade in cotton piecegoods goes here in full swing on both the sides of Harrison Road, in Cotton Street, Pageyapatti, Cross Street, Noomull Lohia Lane, Mullick Street, etc. Apart from the main streets, there are about ten 'Kattras' which house the business offices of mills' selling agents, commission agents, wholesalers and semi-wholesalers dealing in textile goods. Some of the prominent Kattras are named as Manohardas Katra, Sadasukh Katra, Bilas Rai Katra, Keshoram Katra, Punjabi Katra, Gopi Ram Bhagat Katra, Chet Ram Katra, Shyam Deo Gopiram Katra, etc. To some extent, these 'Kattras' are noted for specialization in sorts. For example, Manohardas Katra is marked for the wholesale business in fine and superfine yardage cloth while

* The figure relates to Greater Calcutta.

Sadasukh and Bilas Rai Katras specialize in semi-wholesale and retail business of fine and superfine *dhotis*, *sarees*, prints, longcloth, etc. Keshoram Katra is noted for the trade of shirtings and longcloth and Punjabi Katra is noted for coarse varieties. Wholesale trade in full bales is carried on in Mullick Kothi and Bank Kothi. An important wholesale market for readymade garments and all varieties of handloom cloth takes place every Tuesday in Howrah, a close suburb of Calcutta. This market, which is popularly called Mangalhat market, consists about 2,000 shops. It has different sections for children's wear, hosiery, ladies wear, *dhotis* and *sarees*, furnishing cloth, lungies, blankets, handkerchiefs and socks, etc. According to a rough estimate, the weekly turnover of the market amounts to about a crore of rupees.

NUMBER AND TYPES OF DEALERS

All types of cloth dealers, i.e., mills' selling agents, importers, commission agents, wholesalers, retailers and hawkers are required to take licence from the Directorate of Textiles under the West Bengal Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1948. This is in addition to the licence which has to be taken from the Municipal Corporation. The licensing system which has been abolished in some States, is still executed in the State of West Bengal not only because it is a source of revenue but also, because it facilitates the enforcement of various measures like West Bengal Commercial Taxes Act, Bengal Shops and Establishment Act, etc. An idea as to the number of dealers in Calcutta can be made from the number of licences issued and renewed by the Directorate of Textiles during the year 1956-57 which is as follows:

Mills' selling agents	55
Commission agents	352
Importers	1,718
Dealers other than mills' selling agents, commission agents and importers	3,969
Hawkers and Hat dealers	3,549

These figures, however, can only be partly relied upon primarily on account of a defective classification and secondly due to the fact that unauthorised trade also goes on in some

parts of the city. The number of *bona-fide* importers in Calcutta is estimated to be about 100 according to experienced trade circles. It is, therefore, quite possible that the number of importers disclosed from the above statistics includes in majority those wholesalers who import very infrequently a few bales. On the other hand, the number of hawkers and hat dealers is estimated to be much more than what these figures tell. This is due to a general defiance of the cloth control order by the moving hawkers. The class "dealers other than mills' selling agents, commission agents and importers" is again ambiguous in that it means wholesalers, semi-wholesalers and retailers. In fact, the figure given against it seems to give the number of retailers and a few semi-wholesalers only. According to reliable sources Calcutta has about 2,000 retail cloth shops and over 20,000 hawkers. The remaining figures relating to mills' selling agents and commission agents are not suspected to be 'mixed' and as such can be depended upon.

TRADE PRACTICES AND CHARGES

The local cotton mills* with daily production not exceeding 25 to 30 bales (excepting one or two big mills) get their bales cleared in Calcutta market through brokers and do not generally take the botheration of exporting or supplying to upcountry centres. Only a few of them have appointed regional agents in neighbouring States, or have a system of travelling agents in important parts of the country. The mill brokers are paid at the rate of 6 annas to 8 annas per cent while the regional agents get commission of 1½ per cent to 2½ per cent. Some of the Bombay mills have their regional agents or have established their own offices in Calcutta. The mills of Ahmedabad have their own salesmen whose functions are more or less the same as of regional agents. In the absence of any standard contract between the mills and the dealers, the terms of contract differ widely. Among the local mills, there are a few which sell on cash basis or allow hardly 2 to 4 days' credit while others grant credit for as long as 15 days. The Bombay mills insist on R/R being sent

* The word 'local' should be taken to imply the mills situated in the suburbs of Calcutta and having their head offices in the Calcutta city.

through bank but some mills of Ahmedabad grant a few days' credit. In either case the selling agents or salesmen stand in the mills and are responsible for the goods. They fail to return R.R. from the mills. The mills pay on delivery. The mills do not grant any discount. The mills do not allow a discount on early payment. The orders are generally entertained for ready stock. It is complained that very often Bombay and Ahmedabad mills dictate their terms and violate the terms of contract on account of their virtual monopoly in regard to yardage cloth. Either the goods are not supplied within the stipulated time or they are supplied when the market is on the slacking tendency.

In a marketing centre like Calcutta, the commission agents, popularly known as 'Chalaniwalas' have a significant role to play. In fact it is the liberal financial accommodation afforded by these 'Chalaniwalas' to the upcountry dealers which has served to protect Calcutta's importance as a textile marketing centre. Their number is about 350 and their 'gaddis' (offices) are found in the multi-storeyed buildings on Cotton Street, Mullick Street, Harrison Road, etc. The 'Chalaniwalas' keep a close eye on the trends of market and render necessary advice to their clients in connection with the purchases they make through them. They allow easy credit facilities to their customers and charge between 6% to 7% interest on the sum due. For all the services rendered by them, they charge about 1 1/2% to 1% commission apart from the actual expenses incurred by them in respect of packing, forwarding, charity, etc. A leading firm of 'Chalaniwalas' publishes a weekly pricelist of all important varieties of cloth produced in India. The 'Chalaniwalas' make their purchases from the local wholesalers either directly or through market brokers. Generally they are not allowed any discount from the side of local dealers as is the case in Bombay and Ahmedabad. It is, however, complained that some Chalaniwalas take undue advantage of their strong financial position and charge from the upcountry dealers not only the interest due but many other petty items like postage, storage, charity, wages, etc.

The wholesalers in Calcutta are known as 'Munim,' 'Gumastha,' 'Takadgiri,' etc. The 'Takadgiri' is concerned with the work of credit collection. The wholesalers give an allowance called 'Katai' at Re. 1 per bale to local dealers to provide for the damage caused to the bales during the transit. Within the market area the rates of cartage are fixed at 9 as. per bale which includes one anna per bale for Calcutta Pinjrapole Society--a charitable institution. The market brokers who intervene between two dealers or between wholesalers and 'Chalaniwalas' are paid at 4 as. to 12 as. %. It is however, a peculiarity of Calcutta market that the brokerage is paid by the purchaser and not by the seller as in other textile centres.

The retail trade in cotton textiles is scattered all over the big city but it has also a tendency to concentrate in crowded localities like Shambazar, College Street, Bhowanipur, etc. At some places, there are 'katras' of retail dealers. The increasing suburbanization has made it necessary for the retailers to have their branches in different localities. 'Harlal-kas,' for examples, have three branches at Dharamtalla Street, College Street and Bhowanipur. Among important retail cloth dealers having branches, the names of Basanailaya, East Bengal Society, Ishwarprasad Gangaprasad Paul and 'Traders Assembly' are worth mentioning. 'Kamallalaya' Stores is one of the famous departmental stores of Calcutta, which runs a well-organized department for textiles. Moreover, there are mills' retail depots, co-operative sale depots of handloom cloth and State Government Sales Emporiums which also constitute the retail trade. It has been marked that the salesmen employed in the retail stores learn their job through experience and are not imparted any specialized training in the beginning.

In any study of the marketing of cotton textiles, one cannot ignore the valuable part

played by hawkers and this holds good all the more in our present study because there are about 20,000 hawkers in Calcutta. The number of hawkers has gone up considerably after the partition when many refugees of East Pakistan migrated to India and took up this business. The State Government has constructed suitable buildings to rehabilitate them at some places like Esplanade, College Street, Deshapriya Park, Gariahat, etc. The hawkers enjoy advantages of mobility, close contact with consumers, affording to sell on credit, display of products, exemption from State laws applicable on retail trade and comparatively smaller marketing cost. With these advantages, they are in a position to compete successfully with the retailers and sometimes the latter have to avail their services for the disposal of unsold stock.

PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE

The wholesalers and semi-wholesalers generally have their own godowns to store the piecegoods. If more accommodation is needed, godowns under private management like Bengal Bonded Warehouse Association Ltd., Cox & Kings Ltd., are taken on hire. Space in bank godowns is also availed of when financial accommodation is sought from them. The storage facilities as given by the clearing agents of Bombay are not available in Calcutta. In emergency, the dealers utilise each others' godowns also. One, however, finds a striking absence of godowns being established by the State Government or by Calcutta Corporation. If this is done, the trade will be greatly benefited firstly because the storage charges will be reasonable and secondly the godowns receipts will gain more negotiability.

In the matter of finance also, the dealers depend on their own resources. Only big wholesalers can seek financial accommodation from the banks. Inter-loaning, i.e., loans from one dealer to another is also common at the current rate of interest which is in the neighbourhood of 6½%. In the interests of semi-wholesalers and retailers, i.e., traders of limited means, an institution of finance needs to be established by the Government. No doubt, these people have nothing to hypothecate, loans can be advanced on the guarantee of a reliable third party and the power to cancel the licence of a

dealer can be exercised to deal with the cases of default.

The wholesalers and commission agents export the goods to other states generally by rail and roads. Sometimes air and river transports are also used particularly for Assam side because Assam railway link has a limited capacity. During the Puja days when the trade is unusually brisk, great congestion is created in the two goods sheds of Howrah and Shalimar which have capacity of 1,600 and 6,000 bales respectively. It is felt that the shed capacity for storage of textile goods should be at least 10,000 bales and this quantum of capacity should be reserved for textile goods. Difficulty is also experienced in securing booking for stations on N. E. Railway but the same will be done away with when the construction of a railway bridge at Mukamahghat on the Ganges is over. Another problem relates to the carriage of bales within the local market. The local porters cause considerable damage to bales by the hooks they use for lifting bales or putting them on the carriage (Thela). No doubt individual efforts are being made to check this mal-practice but the problem as a whole can be solved only when mutual negotiations are made through the representatives of both the parties.

We cannot lose sight of the problems of retail trade in this context. Firstly the trade does not welcome the increasing intervention of manufacturers as well as the government in the retail marketing as many people are attracted to make their purchases from a mills' retail shop or a Government Sale Depot and this adversely affects the business of retailers. Secondly, hawkers who enjoy many privileges as discussed earlier, often come in the way of retailers and snatch a good deal of business from them. In our opinion, these problems can be solved by retailers themselves in that they should mend their trade practices, charge reasonable prices, follow the policy of fixed prices and make all such efforts which provide satisfaction to the consumers. It need not be emphasised that competition is the very life of trade and business does not come of itself; efforts have to be put to secure it.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Among a number of trade associations

which are directly or indirectly interested in the well-being of the cotton piecegoods trade, names of Bharat Chamber of Commerce (Estd. 1900) and Merchants' Chamber of Commerce (Estd. 1901) are worth mentioning. The two chambers have respectively about 650 and 220 members. An appreciable number of the members of both the chambers belongs to the textile trade. The members of Bharat Chamber of Commerce which was formerly known as Marwari Chamber of Commerce, are mostly wholesale and semi-wholesale dealers in cotton piecegoods. The Merchants' Chamber, on the other hand, derives its membership chiefly from 'Chalaniwalas' (commission agents). Since the very inception, these two chambers have proved to be strong representative bodies of the textile trade and have left no stone unturned in creating feelings of unity and amity among the traders.

Two important matters which are engaging serious attention of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce are firstly—preparation of a standard contract between the dealers and cotton mills and secondly drafting of arbitration rules for the settlement of disputes arising from the cotton piecegoods trade. Moreover, the Chamber has always been extending her unstinted co-operation with the railway administration in solving various problems of transports particularly in removing congestion of bales in the goods sheds.

The Merchants' Chamber of Commerce is generally looking to the interest of *chalaniwalas*. One of the important functions of this chamber is in relation to *hundis*. The chamber undertakes the noting and registering of dishonoured *hundis* and tries to settle the disputes connected with the dishonour of *hundis* for a small fees of annas 8 per *hundi*.

Besides these two chambers, there are a number of trade associations of wholesale and retail dealers engaged in the cotton textile trade. Most of these associations were organized during the Second World War to ensure smooth flow of cloth from the State nominees to the traders and ultimate consumers. With the removal of control on prices and distribution, these associations have ceased to be of any material assistance to their members and the membership has thereby gone down considerably. For example, Bengal Textile Dealers'

Association, Retail Textile Dealers' Association and Calcutta Cloth Shops' Association, all were established in the year 1944 to facilitate the wartime distribution of cloth. Now, they are looking after the general interests of their members and, in fact, their utility is no more appreciated by the trade.

As regards the marketing of handloom cloth, we cannot omit the mention of a recently founded organization known as "West Bengal Weavers' Co-operative Marketing Society Ltd." (Estd. October 1, 1954) which is an apex body of about 926 registered co-operative societies of handloom weavers. Out of 151 co-operative sale depots in the State of West Bengal, 20 are under the direct supervision of this apex body. It also serves as an agency to supply handloom products of the State to All-India Handloom Fabrics Marketing Co-operative Society and also arranges for their display in various exhibitions through the Director of Exhibitions, Government of India.

It is evident from the foregoing study of Calcutta's piecegoods trade that the trade is conspicuous by the absence of an all-pervading and well-representative organization which is devoted exclusively to the interests of piecegoods dealers. Before January, 1949, the Bharat Chamber of Commerce (then known as Marwari Chamber of Commerce) had served mainly as an association of piecegoods dealers but now it has members from all branches of trade and as such it is not able to concentrate on the problems of the piecegoods trade. If an association on the pattern of Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association is established in Calcutta, the dealers will gain strength to insist on reasonable provisions in contract and mills will not be able to dictate their terms. It is, indeed, praiseworthy that Bharat Chamber of Commerce has been putting all its efforts in the direction of evolving a standard contract form and drafting rules for arbitration.

The trade in Calcutta is at once marked with superfluity in the number of dealers. This is due to a gradual shifting of trade towards Bihar side. The partition has also been responsible for this state of affairs. We have already emphasised the fact that the credit latitude that is available to the upcountry dealers from Calcutta is the main factor which is maintain-

ing Calcutta's importance as a marketing centre.

An investigator is further struck with a glaring lack of uniformity in the trade practices and charges. There are, for example, no uniform rates of brokerage, commission of *challaniwalas*, commission of selling agents, bank and insurance charges, etc. Similarly, trade practices widely differ from mill to mill and from dealer to dealer. In the absence of a standard contract, all mills do not adopt similar terms pertaining to the period of credit, delivery, arbitration, etc. The dealers and *challaniwalas* do not enforce payment after a fixed period nor the charges claimed by *challaniwalas* from the outside dealers have uniformity. This state of affairs is bound to improve by the establishment of a strong dealers' organisation.

Another feature of the piecegoods trade in Calcutta is that the retail shops store mostly handloom cloth and readymade garments and the sale of yardage cloth forms a very small proportion of their total sales. This is in response to a general liking of the people to wear handloom cloth particularly the Bengali ladies who prefer handloom *sarees* very much. Similarly, readymade garments are preferred to untailored cloth by thousands of people belonging to moderate income groups because it is economical as well as labour-saving. Centres like Domjur (Howrah Dist.), Santoshpur and Metiabruj are famous for large-scale tailoring of handloom cloth. Moreover, the people of Bengal still like to wear grey cloth despite a growing demand for bleached and Calcutta is, therefore, India's biggest market for grey *dhoties*.

There is one peculiarity regarding brokerage also. In Bombay and Ahmedabad, and possibly other centres also, the brokerage is paid by the sellers but according to an old convention the system is reverse in Calcutta and here the buyer who is generally a commission agent pays the brokerage. It is believed that the system has been in vogue since the days when the Calcutta market used to be flooded with Lancashire goods.

Calcutta market is experiencing a severe set back since the inception of the Second World War and the volume of trade has been showing a downward trend. This can be borne out by the following figures:

Year	Mill made imported (bales)	Cloth moved out of Bengal State (bales)
1954	3,02,800	97,906.5
1955	3,10,070	67,256
1956	2,56,492	62,488
1957 (Up to) May 1,	1,17,288	12,917

(Source: Directorate of Textiles, West Bengal Government).

The reasons for this gradual deterioration are not far to seek. As a matter of fact, the dislocation of trade started with the imposition of controls on the prices and distribution of cloth by the State Government. Consequently, the trade relations of Calcutta dealers with those of other States broke off and the latter learnt the lesson of direct dealings with the producing centres, thanks to the marketing machinery instituted by all State Governments. The withdrawal of concessional railway freight to Calcutta and the partition of Bengal were also responsible for taking away markets from Calcutta dealers. The levy of inter-State Sales Tax imposed recently by the Central Government will again hit hard the trade of Calcutta which is essentially distributive in character. This will result in double taxation on Calcutta dealers once when the bales are imported from the producing centres and again when the same are despatched to the neighbouring States. It is, however, presumed that the merger of sales tax with the excise duties is under active consideration of the Central Government and has been approved recently by the State Finance Minister in a conference held on November 18, 1957. This decision, when implemented, will greatly relieve both industry and trade and at the same time it will increase the revenue of the Government because in that case the chances of evasion will be minimised.





Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

EARLY HISTORY OF KASHMIR: By Sunil Chandra Ray. Published by the author. Calcutta, 1957. Pp. 241 and 8 plates and a map. Price Rs 20.

The land of Kashmir is especially fortunate in having a chronicle (the well-known *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana) tracing the course of its history from the legendary epoch down to the author's own life-time (middle of 12th century A.D.), a chronicle which was continued down to the 15th century by his successor Jonaraja. The original sources of the early history of Kashmir otherwise are the same as those for the rest of India comprising literary and archaeological as well as indigenous and foreign material. All these original authorities along with the most important recent works (including articles in periodicals) from the pen of Indian and foreign scholars have been utilised by the author of this excellent monograph which ranks among the best of the regional histories appearing in increasing numbers in our country for some time. Its comprehensive scope dealing with every aspect of history and culture of the land is sufficiently indicated by the list of its chapters dealing successively with geography and chronology, political history, social life, economic conditions, public administration, religion, literature, archaeology and the life of the people. The author's descriptions gain in value because of his critical approach towards sundry topics. Witness his ingenious explanation of the rise of the *Damaras* or feudal landlords, of the importance of the class of *Kayasthas* or officials and of the evil reputation earned by the officials as well the merchants (pp. 91, 94, 96) as also of the withdrawal of the gold currency by the kings onwards from the 9th century (p. 120). Witness also his acute criticism of the authoritative views alleging systematic

persecution of Buddhism by the Kashmir kings between the 9th and 11th centuries (p. 147) and pointing to the prevalence of the pre-historic Chalcolithic culture as also of the later northern black-polished ware in the land (pp. 190-91). The author's statements are expressed in a clear style, and the book is remarkably free from printing mistakes.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work, we may offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p. 86) that intermediate castes between the Brahmanas and the lower orders did never exist in the Valley does not fit in with his subsequent description of the role played by the classes of nobles as well as merchants who must almost certainly have claimed *Kshatriya* and *Vaisya* status respectively. In the chapter on religion one misses, except for a short notice in a footnote, any reference to the *Tantric Saiva gurus* whose hypocrisy and immorality were censured by Kalhana in his accounts of the reigns of Kings Yasaskara and Kalasa and satirised by Kshemendra in his *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*. The chapter on Sanskrit literature is silent about Medhatithi (the great commentator on the *Manu-smriti*) belonging almost certainly (as Buhler showed long ago in his learned Introduction to the translation of this work) to Kashmir. The author's statement (p. 143) that Menander eventually abdicated his throne to join the *Samgha* and at last became an Arhat rests on the sole evidence of the author of the *Milinda-panha* which cannot be taken at its face value, as has been proved by Tarn in his work *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

The work is appropriately enough prefaced by a map of ancient Kashmir (evidently based upon the one prepared by Sir Aurel Stein) and is brought to a close by a valuable bibliography, a good Index and a list of eight plates. Sardar K. M. Panikkar contributes an appreciative Foreword.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

JAMSETJI NUSSERVANJI TATA: By F. R. Harris with a Foreword by J. R. D. Tata. Blackie and Sons (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Second Edition. Illustrated. Pp. xxviii + 339. Price not mentioned.

We have read the first edition of this biography with much pleasure and profit. This edition has been enriched with the masterly Foreword by J. R. D. Tata and a few new illustrations concerning mostly the life and work of J. N. Tata. We have in this book a connected account of the life and activities of Jamshetji; from small beginnings Jamsetji rose to be an industrial and commercial magnate by sheer honesty and enterprise. He jumped into the new with the confident belief that he would succeed. He was pioneer in many subjects of industries. It was Jamshetji who first utilised electricity in cotton industry. He thought of establishing iron plant in Central India. But it was not found practicable after due investigation because of want of coal mines in that region. But a short time before his death he learnt from a letter from Pramatha Nath Bose, the great geologist, that Gorumahisani, now Jamshedpur, in the Mayurbhanj State, abounds with natural iron ore, and coal was also available within a little distance, and the Calcutta port was not also far-off. Alas, he did not live to see the starting of investigations on the strength of the above letter and the subsequent events. The Tata Iron Works of Jamshedpur is now the largest iron plant in the whole of Asia. Jamsetji was equally conscious of the correlations of scientific researches and industrial progress. It was for this reason that he founded the Science Institute at Bangalore. This Institute has rendered immense service for the industrial development of the country. We fully share the view that Jamsetji contributed largely to the industrial and scientific renaissance of the country. He was a true patriot. We commend this well-written and properly illustrated book to every lover of India.

JOGESH C. BAGAL.

LIFE OF BUDDHA: By Kashinath. Published by K. B. Dhavale, Phoenix Publications, Karnataka House, Chitra Bazar, Bombay-2. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 1/8/0 only.

In the severe winter of 1954 the author of the book under review happened to meet a French Buddhist monk in a temple of the Jaku Hill at Simla and enjoyed a hearty talk with him on the Buddha and Buddhism. The said monk quoted some memorable verses from Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" and feelingly

observed, "Your country is great. Tathagata was born in this land 2500 years ago. Gandhi was also born in the same country. . . You are doubly blessed." These words uttered with emotion touched the tender heart of the author and transformed it. After this meeting he began reading books on the life and message of the Buddha, visiting Vihars and meeting savants interested in the matter. As a result this book was written on the eve of the Buddha Jayanti especially for students, printed in bold type on glazy paper and got up with beautiful pictures almost on every page. The frontispiece contains an excellent likeness of the Buddha. The book comprises thirty small chapters on the godly life of this Light of Asia. It is written in such simple style that even the girls and boys of High Schools can easily understand it. It is indeed a book of pictures and parables and can be suitably used as a book for prize or presentation. "In a country like Bharata" observes rightly the optimistic author at the end of the book, "Buddhism was assimilated in Hindu Religion itself and thereby Hindu Religion was richer. . . In political fields today Buddha's moral principles are coming from the individual plane to the international plane in the form of Panchasila in opposition to Hydrogen Bomb."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM: By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii + 173. Price Re. 1.

First published in 1951, the present volume is the first reprint (1957). Gandhi's socialism is explicit in his definition of independence. "Independence," he says, "must begin at the bottom. Thus every village will be a republic having full powers." It comes to this that power and authority now centred in metropolitan cities should get distributed to the villages. There is no way of reaching such independence, i.e., socialism, except by the way Gandhi so clearly pointed out during the last 30 years of his life beginning in India in Champaran in 1917. Here is an account of how he would tackle the various problems confronting a socialistic order of society. The book falls into eleven sections. The reader shall badly miss in his collection Gandhi's view on land and land-distribution which is so basic a gear of Indian national economy. The editor should have added another section under this head or he might conveniently make this a sub-section of

Section Three: Equal distribution. A glaring weakness.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

BAPU: CONVERSATIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH MAHATMA GANDHI: By P. Mary Barr. *International Book House (Private) Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4-50 N.P.*

A great life is a source of inspiration to all. People of different countries, castes and creeds find a common meeting-ground herein. The writer of this book is an English lady who spent several years in India in charge of a mission school. She felt inquisitive to know something about Gandhiji and on a voyage back to India she happened to be a co-passenger with him. At the first acquaintance she was struck by his loveable personality. "Indeed the general impression which I very soon got was of an intensely human individual, and not of the saintly but fanatical person of whom I had read." Her interest in his ideas and activities grew more and more and she gradually became one of his ardent admirers. Here she gives us a true, unexaggerated, respectful account of this great man. In his Foreword, Sri K. G. Mashruwala says: "The book is full of small details carefully observed and records of talks not perhaps reported elsewhere. It throws interesting light on the character and routine life of Gandhiji and brings out those virtues which endeared him to every one who entered his family circle and enables those who never saw him from near to understand why he was the most respected man of this age."

D. N. MOOKERJEE

SANSKRIT

KALIDASA: By Walter Ruben. *Akademie—Verlag, Berlin. Sole Distributors in India: The Popular Book Depot (Regd.), Bombay-7. Price Rs. 6.*

We have here an English translation of Ruben's work, originally written in German, which gives a critical analysis of the works of Kalidasa—"The Human Meaning of His Works" as the sub-title has it. The translation is from the pen of Joan Becker. The book is divided into ten sections, six of which are devoted to the review of the six well-known works of Kalidasa and four deal with topics like the story of the migration of the works of Kalidasa to Germany, the life and times of the poet and his influence up to Rabindranath Tagore. Incidentally the learned author seeks

to show, though not convincingly, how Rabindranath's 'Ship-wreck' was considerably influenced by the 'Birth of the War God' of Kalidasa. As a matter of fact, however, scarcely any influence worth mentioning appears to be perceptible. The book, on the whole, is interesting and pleasant-reading, if we leave aside the occasional references to Indian society and customs thereof, which are neither accurate nor sympathetic. A number of printing mistakes, rather unusual in books of this type, were noticed. The get-up of the book is fine.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI
BENGALI

JIBANER JHARA PATA: By Sarala Devi. *Sahitya Samsad, 32A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 4.*

Daughter of Swarnakumari Devi, the greatest woman-litterateur of Bengal, and niece of Rabindranath Tagore, Sarala Devi Chaudhurani was one of the pioneers who helped to usher in the great nationalist movement which surged throughout the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Born in 1872, she was a child of renaissance Bengal. A poet, patriot, writer, editor, composer and singer; and an organiser of great ability she was a versatile genius. The Tagores of Jorasanko, Calcutta, were the fore-runners of many great changes that brought about the transformation of Bengal. As a grand-daughter of Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, Sarala Devi was brought up and spent the early part of her life in the Jorasanko house of the Tagores. And as such she came into contact with all the great people, not only of Bengal but also of other provinces, who were moulding the history of the time. Thus she was destined to live an eventful life in a critical period of history. It was a romantic life. But from another point of view it was a life of unfulfilment. Had she responded to the call of Vivekananda she would have been the earliest woman-ambassador to carry the message of India to Europe. Had she responded to the call of Aurobindo she might have become the first and foremost revolutionary leader of India. But that was not to be. Destiny and the force of circumstances gave a new direction to her life. Her life may be divided into two parts. Her youthful days, when she was connected with the various national movements—social, political and cultural, were spent in Bengal. She was married to Pandit Rambhaja Datta Chaudhuri, a Punjab Arya leader. She lived her married life in the Punjab. The period of her stay in the Punjab was from 1905

to 1923. And after her husband's death when she returned to her own province, it was not the Bengal she had known before her marriage, it was a new Bengal. The reminiscences come to a close with her marriage. Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal takes up the cue at this point. He has given a short but informative sketch of her life and activities in the Punjab. He has also added notes in the Appendix on the various events and persons to be met with in the book. As a research-worker he has spared no pains to make them accurate and worth-knowing. Sarala Devi's "Ahitagnika" and her "Atta Gauraba-bahini mama bani" are pieces of very fine patriotic lyrics. As a prose-writer she has got a style of her own. *Jibaner Jhara Pata* reads like romance. It will enrich Bengali literature as one of the great books of reminiscences.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

CHAMPARAN MEN MAHATMA
GANDHI: *By Rajendra Prasad. Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 5/-.*

Champaran, in Bihar, was the first laboratory, in India, so to speak, in which Gandhiji tested and re-tested his technique to have public grievances redressed in strict keeping with the fundamental philosophy of non-violence.

For, the highly strained relations between the indigo-planters from abroad and the indigenous labourers represented a type of relationship, based on denial of the most elementary justice and amenities to a large majority of the people. The book under review, thus, is an "epoch-explaining" book.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SOHINI: *By Ratilal Kashilal Chhaya, Porbandar. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ltd., Ahmedabad. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 3.*

Seventy-eight poems, some of them, above the common level, and comprising both characters, some, such as can be read, and some, such as can be sung, are published in this collection. Porbandar is a sea-port on the Indian Ocean, and seamen belonging to it have roved the seas, right up to Africa. Mr. Chhaya is impressed by this phase of Porbandar life and his imagination has run riot in describing various aspects of the sea, smooth and turbulent. Waves become sea-horses and their gallops dances. Umashankar Joshi's comprehensive introduction brings this out. K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

The Irish Writing on the Wall

In the course of an article in *The Argonaut* R. M. Fox observes :

Everywhere in the world there are signs today that people are growing more and more restive under the threat of annihilation by means of the atom bomb. Pressure is being put on statesmen to try a new way of peaceful negotiation to bring harmony in place of conflict into world relations.

The attitude of the Republic of Ireland towards the present world crisis is a pointer of some importance as showing the drift of public opinion. Ireland has been admitted only recently to the United Nations. From the war period onward the country held a position of detachment in world affairs. But it was assumed by many that Irish statesmen would support the American line, not only because of close ties and sympathies with the United States but also because Ireland is determinedly hostile to the *regimes* in Russia and in China.

Yet Mr. Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, who represented Ireland at a recent United Nations meeting in Geneva, advanced the view that military forces of the East and West blocs should be withdrawn from Europe so as to create a peace belt in place of the existing centres of irritation where hostile forces, bristling with arms, glare suspiciously at each other. He condemned the armaments race as one of futility, danger and stalemate, urging that a new start would have to be made with a new international policy.

Not only did Ireland take this firmly independent line but Mr. Aiken also supported and voted for the Indian proposal that the question of the representation of the Chinese Republic in the Assembly should be placed on the agenda for discussion. Both in Ireland and in Irish-American circles this stand came under criticism, but the Minister and the Government held firm.

Everyone knows that the Irish Republic is flint-like in its opposition to Russia and China. Yet the fact that it is detached from present world conflicts, has no Imperialist aims and has only just entered the United Nations makes it possible for Ireland to take a more objective view of the world situation than those who are more closely involved in the long-standing controversies of the post-war years and so find it harder to accept a new approach,

This Irish peace policy put forward at Geneva had been carefully deliberated by the Government, which was not responsive to any left trend or bias. It is clear that from an objective survey of the present situation the Irish Government was convinced that world peace could only be advanced by reversing the existing bellicose policy and creating a neutral zone which would foster a peaceful atmosphere and no longer stress competition in armaments. That, in fact, was Mr. Aiken's submission when he replied to criticisms at home, and in this he was supported by Mr. de Valera, as head of the Government. From their largely conservative position they defended their decision as wise and logical.

It is true that Mr. Aiken argued that to vote for putting the question of the Chinese Republic's representation in the Assembly on the agenda did not necessarily mean that Ireland would support its admission. From a purely formal standpoint this is quite accurate. But unless Ireland believes that there is a strong case for the Peking Government's admission it was hardly worth while to urge a discussion. It is common knowledge that Chiang Kai-shek, with his American-supported and subsidized Formosa base, does not and cannot represent the 600 million Chinese people of the mainland,

Britain conceded this in principle when she recognized Peking. In Shanghai, over a year ago, I saw notices on buildings in the old Concession quarter, signed by the British Consul, stating that these were the property

of British citizens (the Cathay Land Co.) and asking that care should be taken of them. Such a relation between London and Peking underlines the ridiculousness of the claim that Formosa can continue to usurp the representation of China in the United Nations and to call for war—which can only mean total world war—to try to regain control over China. In Canton my interpreter showed me, with a smile, the place where Chiang Kai-shek had abandoned most of his baggage before he fled precipitately from that mainland which he now claims to represent.

Yet, important as that issue is, it is really secondary as compared with the New Deal recommended by Ireland to bring world peace nearer and to place international relations on a higher plane than the present wretched condition of menace and threat. In Ireland it was noticeable that hostile critics of the Government's attitude—during the Dail debate—took the line that Ireland should have supported their friends in America and in the West. This appeal meant that they were unwilling to discuss the realities of the case. They merely attempted to cash in on the prejudice against Russia and China. The Government was able to brush all this aside, for there was no case to meet.

The real question is whether the policy urged by Ireland is calculated to bring world peace nearer and to put world relations on a more secure and friendly basis. Long-standing friendship and matters of ideology are quite irrelevant. Government spokesmen made this clear. With the present stalemate between East and West, they urged, a new line was obviously needed in international affairs if progress was to be made. Ireland, they said, had both the right and the duty to take an independent line and to voice the world's need for peace in the Assembly. That Ireland, without the slightest sympathy with Russia or China, should adopt this realistic attitude is surely the writing on the wall.

Concept of Lila in Abanindranath Tagore's Aesthetics Examined

Dr. S. K. Nandi writes in *The Philosophical Quarterly*:

Having a different intellectual and cultural context from that of Kant and Schiller, Abanindranath Tagore, the master of the

present generation of Indian artists, formulated the principle of Lila as contradistinguished from the concept of Khela on the one hand and work on the other. In attempting a proper appraisal of the genesis of art, aestheticians have delved deeper into human psyche, and some are of opinion that art has its origin in the region of the 'silent mind' as opposed to the 'verbal mind'. There are others who think that the urge for artistic creation is conscious, and as such art is brought forth as a result of the artist's conscious effort. If we consider art as a conscious creation or as some form of active creation, then certainly the question remains to be answered: What urged this creation? The motive of the artist remains to be explained. If the artist has any motive extraneous to the nature of art, then art suffers in its virtue as art. Masters like Tok-tōy who believed in the missionary activities of 'People's art' are no more heard with interest now-a-days. So a principle of explanation had to be found out quite consistent with the autonomous nature of art. The Play theory was formulated. It may be noted that there were objections raised against the identification of art and play or against the consideration of art as play. But play looked upon as the mysterious activity which occupies the working and waking hours of children has great resemblance to art, considered not as magic art nor as amusement art. Children play and this play is mysterious. So the artists also play with their different art-forms with a purpose, undefined and indefinable. Kant's paradoxical characterisation of this purpose is 'purposiveness without a purpose'. Freedom from practical ends binds together art and play. Their common tendency to simulation, or in the very largest sense, the ideal treatment of reality, links them together. The play impulse, writes Bonanquet, is in short only aesthetic where its primarily negative freedom is charged with a content which demands imaginative expression, and any impulse which takes such a form is aesthetic.

Abanindranath considered art to be play (Lila), and he distinguished this Lila from Sport (Khela). According to Tagore, Khela or sport is not the true characterisation of art, as men take to different types of sport at different age-levels. Sport has a reference to age-group, and a fondness for a particular sport at an earlier age is overcome at a later age. Thus Self-transcendence is the character of sport, whereas Lila or play in Tagore's view has a stability through changes and a universal appeal. Art as sport (Khela) has been decried by pedants. Even there were religious sanctions

against painting, as it was considered to be some form of sport prompted by a love for frolic. This crusade against fine arts has been a recurring feature in human history. How then art survives the onslaught of all these opposing forces? In Tagore's opinion, this crusade against art is a crusade against art as sport (Khela), and not against art as play (Lila). When art is looked upon as a favourite pursuit to fill up one's leisure, it is not the Lila or play in Tagore's sense; it is mere Khela or sport, as it implies no inner necessity, the necessity that makes the artist restless and without peace. The classic example of this restlessness may be found in Valmiki, the epic poet, when he was blessed with the maiden rhyme. Pursuit of art as sport might be a temporary phase in the individual life, but art as play-impulse is laid deep in our nature and its roots have struck into the very being of our existence. That phenomenon explains the survival of art through the ages. Appeal of art is universal and this universality in art also distinguishes this play-form from other forms of sport. The spirit that prompts human hobbies is absent in Lila, whereas it is the guiding force in all forms of Khela. Lila is characterised by internal necessity, whereas Khela may be prompted by a necessity external to it.

Tagore's 'Lila' is not the spontaneous outburst or overflow of excessive energy, as has been sought to be proved by Schiller and Herbert Spencer in their play theories. This Lila of Abanindranath is all-consuming. It bears within itself the eternal dissatisfaction of the artist with the existing limited forms. He seeks to express the eternal all-abiding forms of Beauty. Any recognition of his failure leads him from old forms to newer forms of expression. He is always experimenting with newer techniques of externalisation of his subjective feelings. This failure is accompanied by a feeling of pain, the pain that paradoxically sustains the artist through all his failures, past and present. This pain characterises all great works of art. Man's intense thirst for beauty aches and it inspires his creation. The primitive men, Tagore points out, in the Aurignacian age drew human faces in order to satisfy this urge for creation. They were specimens of crude drawing. This primitive art-tradition came down to us through the Solutrian and Magdalenian ages and underwent radical changes in course of human history. This evolution in art was mainly due to conscious human enterprise.

Tagore admits an element of conscious effort as a logical corollary to his theory of art

as play. Art is active: he calls it *Sadhana*. It ceaselessly aims at creating beautiful forms wherein he wants to instal his response to the call of the Real. So Tagore's Lila is characterised by some inner necessity which makes the production of artistic forms inevitable.

This inner necessity in Lila is not contrary to the artist's freedom. If self-determination is considered compatible with freedom then certainly Tagore is not inconsistent in his play theory by the postulation of this internal necessity. His theory of Lila makes artistic creation an intensely conscious activity. We must bear in mind that Tagore's play theory stood for proper aesthetic detachment without which no artistic creation was possible. Tagore distinguished between interested and disinterested outlooks on life, and in his opinion, the artist's outlook was disinterested or detached. This disinterestedness is a handmaid of Tagore's Lila theory. Lila is unmotivated. The instinct of possession and other self-regarding instincts are totally dormant when the artist creates. Self-interestedness is contrary to the nature of art as a free activity. Art, according to Tagore, is a conscious activity characterised by supreme detachment. This detachment and absence of self-interest in art on the part of the artist do not save him from a gripping pain of frustration and failure when his artistic forms look inadequate to the prototype in his imagination. Curiously enough, this sense of intense pain due to his failure sustains him and inspires him to take to fresh experiments. Thus art evolves new forms and all these transitions from one form to another are fraught with painful tales of the agonised mind of a Picasso or an Abanindranath. Rabindranath, the illustrious uncle of the master artist, gave mighty support to Abanindranath's theory of 'artistic pain' when he wrote:

"This is no mere play,
This is the intense pain
When my heart burns."

The artist's eternal thirst for beauty makes him unhappy.

The Ideal treatment of reality by the artist helps this identification of art and play. Tagore considered the content of art to be the result of much selection and rejection from the storehouse of nature by the artist. Art does not present nature in all her ruggedness and grandeur but represents nature in the Aristotelian sense.

Artists present an 'ennobled nature,' a 'real idealised.' Freedom that is the essence of play cannot live stifled and oppressed. If art were mere copy of nature, servility to crass matter would have taken away the last vestige of freedom from the domain of art. That is why Tagore was emphatic in his denial of copy theory in art. The artist is like an adept gardener whose skill rests on selecting the right type of flowers for the bouquet and for the garland. The artist is selective and interpretative. He creates 'artistic reality' and this creation entails much of intense work in proper selection. Beauty is the realm of play and appearance. It is the unification of the spiritual and the sensuous. The 'sensuous' comes from nature whereas the 'Spiritual' is the significant form given by the artist to the selected and embellished nature. Tagore's unqualified acceptance of the '*Niyati krita niyamarahita*' dictum finds in him the unification of Kantian necessity and freedom. Tagore's Lila theory is a guarantee of this freedom so essential for

art. Schiller, another great exponent of play theory, writes in his 'Letters upon the Aesthetical Education of Man' guaranteeing this freedom of art and of the artist: The idea of an instructive fine art or improving art is no less contradictory, for nothing agrees less with the idea of the beautiful than to give a determinate tendency to the mind. This determinate tendency of mind is alien to the autonomy of art. That is why Tagore spoke against mimicry in art repeatedly. Even set rules for the artist did not find favour with Tagore. He said that set rules were not for the artist but for the art-students in the class-rooms. Tagore believed in art for art's sake theory, and it was his considered opinion that art should not entertain such questions as to whether art should subserve national, religious or social interests, whether it should hold up a mirror to nature or should take to some other similar mission. For they were redundant for art as an autonomous free activity or Lila.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Asian and African Literature in China

Pa Jen, a contemporary Chinese writer, writes in *The People's Republic of China Bulletin*.

The Asian and African countries have a long history and over the centuries their people have created a great number of magnificent literary works. Besides the many outstanding classics which form an invaluable legacy in the treasure-house of world culture, there are many works of the last century and particularly of the last twenty years bearing the theme of opposition to colonial rule, which are equally brilliant. All these works are deeply appreciated by the Chinese people; the works of many Chinese writers show their influence.

The introduction of Asian and African literature into China dates back to the early years of the Eastern Han dynasty (first century A.D.) when the first of the Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese. In the Tang dynasty, the famous monk and translator Hsuan Tsang (596-664) conducted the translation of 1,335 volumes of Sanskrit scriptures and commentaries. The classical literature of India, Persia and Arabia appeared in Tibetan translations hundreds of years ago. From the Tang dynasty onwards, Chinese literary style developed greatly; there appeared the *pien wen* (ballads), romances, *hua pen* (short stories written in the vernacular) and stories that more or less resemble the modern novel. The flourishing of handicraft industries and commerce in China and the growth of the urban class were the chief causes; but the introduction of the Indian Buddhist literature and mythological legends also played a part. In *Pilgrimage to the West*, the great Chinese novel, for instance, we come across scenes somewhat reminiscent of those in the Indian epic *Ramayana*.

After the "May the Fourth" Movement of 1919, more Asian and African literature found its way into China. Many Chinese writers were at the same time translators. Lu Hsun, for instance, translated many Japanese literary works; Kuo Mo-jo translated Omar

Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*; Cheng Chen-to and Hsieh Ping-hsin translated some of the works of Tagore. All these works brought their influence to bear on modern Chinese literature.

Since the founding of New China, the traditional friendship between China and the Asian and African countries has further developed and more cultural exchanges are taking place. As one of the best ways to get to know more about these countries, their struggles and construction, is to read their literature. Translation of the literary works of the Asian and African countries is being conducted on an unprecedented scale. In the past nine years, anything up to two hundred Asian and African literary works have been translated into Chinese. Those published in the field of classics include the *Arabian Nights*, *Book of the Dead* and *Burda* of ancient Egypt; *Shakuntala*, *The Cloud Messenger*, *The Clay Cart* and *Vagvananda* from India; *Kyogen* (farces) from Japan; and *The Story of Chun Hsiang* from Korea. Of modern and contemporary works, we have published the works of Rabindranath Tagore, Iqbal, Prem Chand, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chandar, Manik Bannerjee, H. Chattopadhyaya, K. A. Abbas, Kobayashi Takiji, Shiga Naoya, Tokunaga Sunao, Miyamoto Yuriko, Noma Hiroshi, Han Sul Ya, Li Ki Yung, Cho Ki Chun, To Huu, D. Natsagdorzhi, T. Damdinsuren, Nazim Hikmet, S. Ustungel, Sabahattin Ali, Abdul Moeis, Khalil Gibran, Mahmud Teimur, Jorzh Ianna, Zuh-Nun Aiyub, Delavar and many others. Other classical and contemporary works that will soon be published include *The Rose Garden* by the Iranian poet M. Saadi, *Kalila and Dimna* by the Arabian writer Ibn Muqaffa, the Japanese writer Natsume Soseki's *I Am a Cat*, *The Land* by the Egyptian writer Abdarrahman ash-Sharkawi, *Sitti Nurbaja* by the Indonesian writer Marah Rusli and the Algerian writer Mohammed Dib's *The Fire*.

Before liberation, Chinese translations of Asian and African literary works were mostly based on those in the English, French, Japanese or other languages; but now, since the

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Chinese government and the people attach importance to Asian and African literature, many translators are working from the original, as, for instance, the new Chinese version of *Shakuntala*, formerly translated from the French, now from the Sanskrit original. Many other works from Indonesia, Mongolia, Vietnam and Korea are also translated from the original.

We have, however, hardly touched upon the greater part of Asian and African literature. A long-term plan has now been drawn up by the state publishing houses to acquaint the Chinese readers with the literature of Asia and Africa on a more systematic basis. They will issue selections of famous writers, including such works as the two great epics and *Panchatantra* of India, the Japanese *Manyoshu*, *Genji Monogatari*, the Iranian *Shah-nama* and others.

The peoples of the Asian and African countries are now united as one in their common struggle against colonialism and to defend world peace. With the steady growth of cultural exchange among these countries, yet more literary works will be introduced into China in the future, and these undoubtedly will help the Chinese people to know the life of the Asian and African peoples and to enrich the socialist culture in this country.

Nuclear Weapons and the Human Community

Norman Cousins in an article in *The New Leader*, April, 1958, emphasizes the inestimable destructive character of the Nuclear Weapons:

The principal shortage in the United States today is not a shortage of uranium or petroleum or plutonium or manganese or iron or cobalt. The principal shortage in the United States today is a shortage of survival knowledge about the rest of the world. Unless we develop that kind of knowledge, we will not earn and keep the overwhelming support of the majority of the world's peoples. We can fill the skies with intercontinental ballistic missiles and saturate the air with the products of nuclear tests. But we will be left all dressed up with our nuclear weapons, with no place to go, if the Soviet Union ever speaks for or represents the majority.

Can you imagine the situation that might exist three years from now or five years from now, if the United States should find itself cut off from Asia and Africa—not so much because

of what the Soviet Union has done in Asia and Africa but because of what we have failed to do? Yes, we would still have our allies in Europe. How long would they be able to resist the gravitational pull of the rest of the world?

That is why I say that our first front today is not ICBMs but people. The world is looking to us not so much to put up bigger and better satellites but bigger and better ideas that are directed toward a workable peace. Also, there is one problem of even greater importance than figuring out a way to make the ICBM and that is the need to figure out a way to get rid of it—wherever it may exist. For in the age of the ICBM the United States and the Soviet Union will be 12 to 18 minutes apart. There is no defense. Talk of retaliation, or limited retaliation, in the context of an ICBM with a hydrogen bomb in its nose is not the talk of sanity.

Sometimes we tend to overlook the cruder simplicities because of our fascination with the grand complexities. And the crudest simplicity of all is that we are rapidly moving into a situation beyond control. The absolute weapons are becoming the absolute masters. Not rational decision but accident could lead to their use.

A 20-megaton hydrogen bomb has been tested by both Communist Russia and the United States that is 1,000 times more powerful than the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, Japan and killed 230,000 people—not 75,000 people, as we had supposed, but 230,000 people.

It is important to understand exactly what a hydrogen bomb is. Just think of all the cities that knew bombing in the last war:

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What, then, do we say to the world's peoples?

We can say that we pledge everything we have to the cause of a meaningful peace on earth—that there is nothing we will not give, nothing that we will not sacrifice in helping to create a planet safe and fit for human habitation.

As concerns nuclear explosions, whether with respect to their use in war or their use in tests, we can say:

That we would rather die ourselves than use these explosives on human beings.

That no nation has the moral right to contaminate the air that belongs to all peoples.

That there is a serious question about the effects of nuclear testing on human tissue, and that we are, therefore, suspending our own tests at once and are calling upon the United Nations to institute immediate compliance by all nations.

That an abolition of testing does not by itself dispose of the critical problem of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, nor does it assure the world that fissionable materials for military purposes will not be made. But abolition of testing is a good place to begin.

Marriage and the Family in Korea

Miss Un Sun Song, a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland, has given in *Korean Survey*, April, 1958, an interesting account of the marriage and family system in Korea:

From the time that a child was born in Korea the parents were concerned about finding a mate for him or her. Although sometimes a child was "engaged" at a very young age

this custom has passed away. Today, by the time the daughter is about eighteen and the son is twenty-two, the parents probably have already picked out some mate for them. It is interesting to note that the future spouse's family background and name is much more important than whether or not he is wealthy. Naturally, every family is anxious to get the best possible match for their children, but if it is a question of whether to marry a person with excellent family background and little money or poor family background and much money, they will choose the good family background.

Aside from family background, there are traditionally several other things which will determine whether or not a couple should be married. To begin with, there is a taboo which prohibits two families with the same sur-name and genealogy from marrying among themselves. In addition, the signs of the zodiac were consulted and the year, month, day, and hour of the couple's birth dates were compared and if they were found to be harmonious it was a good omen that the marriage should take place.

After the parents have chosen some likely candidates they show their son or daughter

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several pictures of them. The children are usually given an opportunity to pass judgment on whether or not they like the looks of the spouse-to-be, and choose the one they would like to marry. Then the parents make arrangements for their children to meet. Usually it is the girl's parents who send an "invitation" to the boy's family. Although in some cases this is the first time that the boy and girl have ever met, it often happens that they have gone to school together or were neighbors. At this formal meeting the two young people have a chance for a brief conversation and can learn something about each other. If the boy and girl want to know each other better, they may, with the approval of both families, see each other more often. In general, however, the couple will become engaged after the first meeting and will marry as soon as possible, usually as soon as the girl's trousseau is ready. The interval between the first meeting and the wedding ceremony may be anywhere from several weeks to six months or more.

It often happens that if the parents are unsuccessful in finding a suitable mate for their child, they consult a *Chung-mai*, or professional match-maker. This marriage broker is usually a widow who is well acquainted with a number of families; or it may be an old and respected member of the community, one's employer, or a person of influence or position. They all fulfil the same function, however, in that they seek to find the most eligible mate for their client or friend. If the *chung-mai* is professional, then it is customary to give her some kind of reward for her services. She receives commissions of money or gifts from both the families, which are given according to their financial situation. It is said that if a *chung-mai* succeeded in finding a good wife for a rich man's son, she would have no worries for the rest of her life.

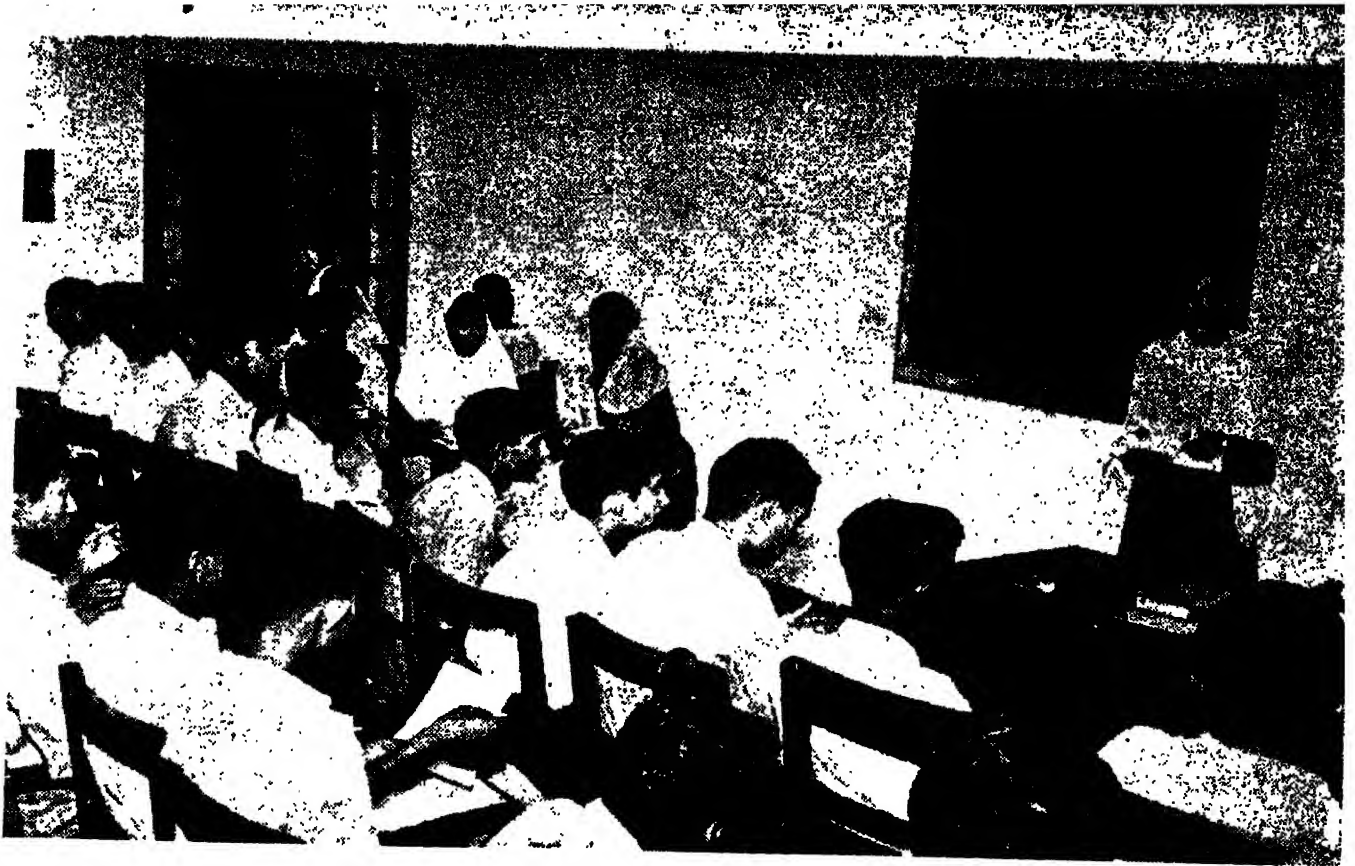
Going back somewhat to the engagement period, one might ask just what the young couple may do while they are waiting for their marriage day. Well, here again there is much variation from place to place and from time to time. Generally speaking, the husband-to-be may visit his fiancée at her home, where they may talk to each other, have dinner together, or play cards with each other under the strict eye of some third party. This is a custom which is not unfamiliar in Spain where the *duenna* acts as chaperone for the young people.

During this brief engagement period the girl's family is busily preparing her trousseau, and she is brushing up on her house-keeping. She is taught to take over such duties as cooking, sewing, and home management. Usually this is not too difficult for her, since she has been helping her mother keep house since she was very young. The mother, female relatives and friends, meanwhile, are preparing the things that she will need in order to set up housekeeping—kitchen utensils, furniture, and clothes or fabrics. This is a very expensive undertaking for the bride's family, especially if there is more than one daughter. In fact, Koreans have a proverb: "No thief attempts to rob the house of a man who has three daughters."

But when the time for the wedding finally arrives it is a time of great rejoicing. In fact, the marriage is probably the most important celebration in Korea. The traditional wedding ceremony is filled with color and symbolism and ritual, but the Western influence has been introducing many Christian aspects to the marriage until today many people have a Christian religious marriage. In any case, whether the ceremony itself is traditional or modern, it is always followed by a sumptuous feast to which many guests are invited. Everyone enjoys going to a wedding feast because there is such a variety of tasty delicacies—several meat dishes including beef, pork, and chickens; fish, both smoked and dried; fruits, pastries and candies; vegetables and rice; and, of course, plenty of wine. The number and variety of dishes varies with the financial status of each family; but it is said that some rich families often have between sixty and seventy-five dishes at one feast.

If their families are well-to-do, the bride and groom may decide to go on a honeymoon to the famous hot springs at Onyang or Paik-chon. If they decide not to go on a honeymoon then the couple will settle down to live with the parents of the husband, for according to tradition it is the responsibility of the son to live with his parents and take care of them in their old age. Although this custom is not practised extensively among modern families, it is still prevalent among the majority of people and will probably reflect the ancient concept of filial piety for years to come, in spite of the passing of many folkways in the face of growing modernization and secularization.

(To be continued)



A class in progress at the Jamia Millia Rural Institute (one of the rural Institutes of Higher Education) near Delhi



A meeting of the Young Blood Club led by a student of Jamia Millia Rural Institute at Khanpur village near Delhi

THREE FRIENDS
By Prabhat Neogy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta]

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER.



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NOTES

DEMOCRACY AND BLACKMARKETS

We have to apologise to our readers, and ask them to bear with us, in consideration of the critical conditions we are passing through, for the continued late publication of this review. The critical conditions we refer to are the conditions in the paper and printing supplies markets. Paper has almost completely gone into the black market and as a result we can only secure it in dribblets from reputed dealers, who are very few indeed in Calcutta, and secure the rest from the black markets. The same is the condition with regard to other printing supplies, with the exception of ink.

This is a condition we never experienced during two World Wars and the riots and killings of 1946-47. Difficulties there were even then, but as black marketeers were neither the pets of the higher administration, nor had they nominees in the Central or Provincial Ministries, there were measures to keep their inroads within limits. Today they have all those advantages and to top all there is an Utopian form of written Constitution which has provided the wrong-doer a hundred lanes of escape and completely rendered the common citizen helpless.

We do not know what benefits the nation will reap from the Second Five-Year Plan. Judging from the First Five-Year Plan, nothing very tangible in the form of a higher standard of living or in the lowering of the stresses and strains of life in this afflicted land. We use

the term "afflicted" after due and deliberate consideration in view of the almost total negation of moral values, throughout the length and breadth of the Union of India.

Our omniscient and over-loquacious High Command in its wisdom is proceeding to build in the terms of ferro-concrete and steel a nation that is an infant in democracy. On paper and on the platform we have had roseate pictures of a future filled with milk and honey. But the crisis of the formative years, which we are now trying to endure and survive, is something that was neither foreseen nor provided against. This is criminal negligence on the part of those who have taken the reins of the union in their hands, and there cannot be any other term for it.

There were the lessons of history to take into account when planning for democracy. The birth of Fascism in Germany and Italy and of Stalinism in the Soviets, was a direct consequence of the evils that afflicted lands and peoples that were passing through a similar—though far more intensified—crisis in democracy, as a result of War and liberation.

We are no prophets, but we make bold to prophesy that democracy in India will not survive in India unless sanity dawns in Pandit Nehru and in that very limited handful of honest men amongst his associates. Democracy cannot be planned for a great nation by men rendered drunk and recklessly over-confident through unlimited power and total lack of experience or historical perspective.

Discipline and Railway efficiency

An official review of railway accidents in India during the past twenty years offers an analysis of 277 "serious accidents" on the Indian Railways since 1941-42 and says that 41.8 per cent of the accidents were due to the failure of the railway staff. Other major causes were the failure of rolling stock and permanent way 19.8 per cent, train wrecking 11.2 per cent and fires 10.5 per cent. Steps taken to minimize the accidents relate, among other things, to better supervision and control, watch over the nature of accidents, steps to minimize failure of equipment, measures to guard against defective maintenance of tracks and bridges and precautions against floods and washaways.

The decision to tighten up control and supervision to minimize accidents on railways would be widely welcomed. However, from the summary of the deliberations of the General Managers of Indian Railways held in New Delhi it would seem that this "control and supervision" is to be exercised more upon the employees of the lower ranks than upon those in higher positions. Yet, as the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay says in a thoughtful editorial note: "In the economic milieu of poorly-paid workers in the lower rungs of service, manifestations of laxity, indifference, indiscipline and even mental aberration, however deplorable, would nevertheless take on a more understandable significance than in the case of better-paid higher officials." In a properly-administered enterprise all the workers, or even a majority, cannot normally be at fault. Any general lowering of the standard would suggest the need for an examination of the conditions of service and a mode of administration. The situation would thus call as much for a sympathetic consideration of the difficulties as for punitive measures. On the other hand if the better-paid people are found to be lacking in the fulfilment of their duties it would suggest something seriously wrong with the entire administrative set-up of the Indian Railways.

Moreover, as the *Economic Weekly* rightly raises the point, "It may well be asked whether it was so much the lack of disciplinary authority in the past as the arbitrary exercise of that

authority over the more helpless that gave rise to the conditions in which the evils, duly castigated in public now, thrive. Indifference, indiscipline and particularly mental aberration may as often be the offspring of excessive disciplinary power, arbitrarily exercised, as of inadequate authority weakly wielded. In the circumstances, the powers now vested in the General Managers, unless desperately required by the situation and unless assumed of fair and wise use, may be a cause of aggravation rather than of improvement."

This warning is timely.

Firing in Ahmedabad

Serious disturbances broke out in Ahmedabad following police firing on August 12 when a mob resisted the police efforts to remove the martyrs' memorial, an unauthorised structure put up on August 8 by the Mahagujarat Parishad opposite Congress House. The Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, declared that the Government would not permit the memorial. On August 19, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation unanimously decided to permit the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad to set up a martyrs' memorial in the traffic circle opposite Congress House. The Government responded by imposing a 22-hour curfew around Congress House. The Mayor of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, Mr. Chinubhai Chimanlal, also resigned his post. In another resolution the Municipal Corporation condemned the Government's action in removing the memorial set up on August 8 as "interference by the Government in the rights and duties of the Corporation."

The Ahmedabad agitation was strengthened when the Sanjukta Maharashtra Samiti indicated its support to the movement. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad on its part in a resolution asked Bombay city to be given over to Maharashtra on the event of the division of the present bilingual state of Bombay.

Referring to the disturbances in Ahmedabad the *Hitavada* writes: "The local authorities at Ahmedabad might have done well in ignoring altogether the provocation and leaving the matter of the removal of the 'martyrs' memorial' to friendly negotiations between the ruling party

and the opposition, if the memorial concerned had interfered with traffic regulations."

Decrying the acts of arson, looting and lawlessness with all the emphasis the newspaper writes that the leaders of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad cannot disown their responsibility in the matter. The *Hitavada* correctly traces the roots of the disturbances to the present constitution of the State of Bombay and writes: "Law and order over such explosive issues like the future of Bombay State cannot be maintained only by police bayonets. Peace and harmony can be maintained only on the basis of common consent since the extremist elements both in Maharashtra and in Gujarat are in a mood to force the question of unilingual States to a decisive conclusion. It may be useful for the Congress organisation to assist such a settlement in which event, we trust, the Government of India and the Congress organisation will give its special attention to Vidarbha's forlorn views on the subject. If a settlement is to be sought, it must be an early settlement, because in conditions of uncertainty, with one part seeking partisan advantage over unfortunate and stray events, there are bound to be regrettable scenes. Bombay, since States Reorganisation, has done remarkably well as the principal State which has maintained efficient standards of administration and orderly economic progress. It would be a sad day if this great achievement is submerged by festering sores of grievance and anguish arising out of the actions by the police to put down these disturbances."

The Food Situation

The food situation is causing great anxiety to the nation. The Government's handling of the problem has been anything but satisfactory and the nation's mood was revealed when on August 20 both Congress and Opposition speakers showed a remarkable unanimity in denouncing the official performance. According to press reports, it was not easy to distinguish between Congress and Opposition speakers and not one had a word of praise for the manner the problem had been handled by the Government. Shri Asoka Mehta, who headed the Food-grains Inquiry Committee last year, charged the Government with utter incompetency. He said

that the recent White Paper gave a completely unreal picture of the situation. Even Pandit Nehru's personal intervention in the debate could not stem the flood of criticism. Pandit Nehru in his efforts to shield the Food Minister, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, referred to obstacles of overpopulation, underdevelopment, over-dependence on the Government and the "extremely ill luck" in the last few years.

The Food Minister tried to defend himself by pointing out that many of the complaints should really be directed against other Ministries,—the Ministry of Irrigation and Power was responsible for utilizing water potential, Community Projects for increasing production, Finance for limiting fertilizer imports, Commerce and Industry for putting up more fertilizer plants, Health for controlling increase of population, Railways for transporting stocks, and finally, the State Governments for execution of most policies on food. He did not mention the Planning Commission. Mr. Jain's defence of his department did not accord with the Prime Minister's statement that the entire Government was giving first priority to food.

Strong dissatisfaction at Government food policy in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal was voiced also in the meeting of the Congress parliamentary party at New Delhi on August 28.

Appraisal of the Monetary Developments

The Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ended June 30, 1958, makes a brief survey of major economic developments in the country during the year. It contains a detailed account of the measures taken in the fields of credit policy, banking developments and legislation, and supervision of banks. The Report states that the economic situation in India during the year under review was characterised, on the one hand, by an accentuation of the serious stresses in the economy which have been in evidence since the launching of the Second Plan, and on the other, by signs of a slackening of economic activity in certain sectors. Prices, which took a welcome downturn early in the year (from August), once again moved up, particularly in respect of foodgrains, as a

result mainly of a reduction in output. Likewise, the drain on foreign exchange reserves, which had eased in the second and third quarters, again worsened from April, partly owing to the fall in export earnings. In the context of the above economic trends, the keynote of credit policy was vigilance in operation directed to maintaining the general restraint which was dictated by the basic inflationary trend of the economy and, simultaneously, selective encouragement to sectors where development was constricted by lack of credit.

The Report points out that while agricultural production in 1956-57 recorded an increase of 6 per cent, it shows a decline in 1957-58 in cereals and jute according to the provisional estimates. Industrial production was characterised by a slowing down in the rate of increase, the general index (base: 1951=100) advancing only by 3.6 per cent to 137.2 during 1957 as compared to over 8 per cent in each of the previous two years. In the opinion of the Board of Directors, this may be ascribed to two reasons: the fact that spare capacity having been largely utilised, there is less of it now available for use, and smaller additions to plant and machinery and shortages of raw materials and components on account of import cuts.

As regards commodity prices, in contrast to the rising trend throughout the year 1956-57, the year 1957-58 witnessed three phases—a rise in price till August 1957, a continued fall till February 1958 and a rise again thereafter, the net rise during the year being 2.3 per cent. The recent rise is largely accounted for by the rise in food articles and to a lesser extent in industrial raw materials. The element of vulnerability in the present price situation arises from the rise in prices of cereals, particularly rice, mainly on account of the estimated decline in output in the year under review, rather than a rise in demand.

The diminished tempo of economic activity during the year, states the Report, also reflected itself in the sphere of money and credit. The expansion in money supply with the public was considerably smaller at Rs. 34 crores as compared to Rs. 155 crores in the previous year. This sharp decline in the rate of increase, occurred despite the much larger budgetary

deficit, due mainly to a contraction in bank credit, as against its considerable increase in 1956-57, and a remarkable rise in time deposits of banks. The balance of payments deficit continued to be the main contractionist factor. There was a substantial increase (Rs. 241 crores) in the deposit liabilities of banks, the bulk of it in time deposits. The growth in time deposits was due partly to the accrual of rupee balances of the U.S. Government with banks arising from the payments for imports of food-grains under P.L. 480 and partly to a shift from demand deposits as a result of higher interest rates. There was a decline of Rs. 16 crores in scheduled bank credit as against an expansion of Rs. 147 crores in 1956-57. The easing of the strain on the banking system enables banks to have a higher level of investment in Government securities and to liquidate borrowing from the Reserve Bank.

Coming to the Second Plan, the Report observes that the increase in the Plan outlay from Rs. 635 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 861 crores in 1957-58 is reflected in an increase in the combined budgetary deficit of the Centre and the States from about Rs. 250 crores in 1956-57 to about Rs. 500 crores. For 1958-59, Plan outlay is placed at Rs. 960 crores, while the budgetary deficit is placed much lower at Rs. 220 crores because of anticipated improvement in loan receipts (including small savings) and foreign aid. The report also refers to the recent scaling down of the target of Plan expenditure from Rs. 4,800 crores to Rs. 4,500 crores and remarks that the reappraisal is in keeping with the flexible character of the Plan.

According to the Report, the net borrowing of the Centre and States during 1957-58 amounted to Rs. 71 crores as compared to Rs. 141 crores in 1956-57. However, if account is taken of the substantial sales of Government securities from the Reserve Bank's portfolios (as against net purchases made by the Bank in 1956-57), absorption of Government securities by the public during the year was larger than in 1956-57. The market borrowing in 1958-59 would be much larger than in the previous two years. The collection of small savings during 1957-58 at Rs. 69 crores was below expectations, as compared with the budget estimate of

Rs. 80 crores, though it was higher than the receipts of Rs. 62 crores in 1956-57.

The high and continuing deficit in balance of payments noticed in 1956-57 persisted during the year under review also, the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank declining by Rs. 242 crores as compared to Rs. 230 crores in 1956-57; and the foreign exchange reserves, including gold, stood at Rs. 372 crores at the end of June 1958. The average weekly rate of loss of foreign exchange assets progressively declined from Rs. 7.93 crores in the quarter July-September 1957 to Rs. 2.01 crores in January-March 1958, but rose to Rs. 5.8 crores (excluding an extraordinary receipt under the U.K.'s Pension Annuity Scheme) in April-June 1958. The deficit in balance of payments was due partly to lower receipts from exports and invisibles and partly to the higher level of investment in the public sector. A number of steps have been taken during the year to stimulate exports.

During the year, the Bank's monetary and credit policy continued to be one of general restraint but there was a continuous adaptation to the changing economic context, and the needs of development have continued to temper the policy of restraint. It is, however, emphasised that the monetary policy is not in general very restrictive. The report observes that the working of the selective credit controls which have been mostly operative in the field of advances against food-grains has been flexible enough not to hinder genuine requirements of marketing of crops, industrial requirements and branch expansion, nor have interest rates risen to disincentive levels as in many other countries. The Report states that the character of slackness in the economy has been such that there was not much that monetary policy could mitigate. However, consistently with the maintenance of general restraint in credit policy, liberal extension of credit facilities to particular sectors which have been relatively hard hit by recession has been encouraged by the Bank.

In regard to measures of credit restraint, the Bank used both general and selective controls. Towards the close of June 1957, the Governor advised the Banks to pursue a cautious lending policy. In July and August, the Governor asked the banks to bring down their outstanding credits. As for the central issue of

resources for planned development, the Report states that while the immediate stepping up of the rate of foreign assistance is imperative, the problem of resources must be considered in its fundamental aspect of increasing the rate of savings in the community to match the higher rate of investment. The claims of further expansion or investment in new directions have to be carefully balanced with those of the maintenance of current economic activity.

In this connection mention must be made of the monograph entitled "The Reserve Bank of India: Functions and Working," recently published by the Reserve Bank. A similar publication was first issued in 1941. The present monograph will be helpful in giving an indication of the role played by the Reserve Bank in the monetary structure of the country. The publication has been entirely re-written and is now presented to the general public in the hope that it will enable them to understand the broad working of an institution which is so closely concerned with their general welfare.

The Bank's present functions are wide and varied, representing the super-imposition of new lines of activity on orthodox central banking functions. The Bank's responsibilities comprise in addition to the traditional functions of the regulation of currency and credit, the development of an adequate and sound banking system for catering to the needs not only of trade and commerce but also of industry and agriculture. The Bank's responsibility in the field of rural finance has been occasioned by the predominantly agricultural basis of the Indian economy and the urgent need to expand and co-ordinate the credit facilities available to the agricultural sector. The Bank has also played an active part in the setting up of specialised agencies to purvey term credit to industry. Also, by virtue of its position as the regulator of currency and credit and banker to the Government, its role as adviser to the Government on economic matters in general and on financial matters in particular has been of growing importance.

The monograph states that although the period of about a quarter century during which the Bank has been functioning is by no means a long period for a central bank, these years have been eventful for the Reserve Bank. More

than half of this period was taken up with problems of organisation in the early years, then the global war and finally with the aftermath of the Partition. It is only during the last ten years or so that the Bank has been able to attend vigorously to the work of building up of a sound and adequate banking structure. An outstanding task for the Bank in the coming years remains to promote the building up of a banking structure, adequate in scope and range, at the same time as it is improved and strengthened in quality, with diversified enough forms of financing institutions to meet the various kinds of credit needs, and much more widely extended than it is today in geographical coverage to the rural hinterland of the country.

Pangs of A Growing Economy

India today is feeling the pangs of a growing economy. The launching of the planned economy has almost thrown the entire economy of the country out of gear and the country lacks that machinery of regimentation which is essential for keeping the economy in order. Prices are progressively soaring, cost of living is increasing, the availability of consumer goods is decreasing, inflationary spiral is mounting ever and ever and black-marketing and racketeering have become rampant. People today are at a loss to find whither they and the country are moving and whither is moving their economic future. Frustration among the educated class is widespread on account of growing unemployment. While the man in the street remains mostly uninformed about the economic plans, the better informed remains puzzled as to the ideas and the objects of a Plan that brings hardships to the people.

It is a poor consolation to say that these are just inevitable consequences of a developing economy. The country faces a very dismal picture in the prospects of economic prosperity and no amount of high thinking or presentation of brighter picture will be able to mitigate the suffering that today pervades all aspects of our national life. Certainly we do not blame the Plan, but the way it is being pursued reveals that it must be defective somewhere and in some way. The prosperity of the few on account of the Plans should not be regarded as enrichment of the country as a whole.

The sufferings of the common people are increasing day by day without any prospect of amelioration in the immediate future.

The authorities are bent upon spending crores and crores of rupees in varied fields of economic developments and the money is got either by taxing the people or by borrowing from abroad. Mere huge spending is not a criterion of achievement nor can it be construed as a sign of economic prosperity.

That the Plan has not been able to bring about the desired result calls for a searching outlook into its very foundation. Planning in an underdeveloped economy should be directed towards adding to the net capital formation of the country in the shape of new productive projects. The increase in output is essential to keep the rising price-level in check, otherwise in a developing economy the rising money-income of the people will cause a sharp spurt in the price level which will ultimately cause the failure of the planned projects by raising the cost of production at a much faster rate than the monetary resources can be marshalled to keep pace with the rising costs. The maintenance of a ceiling in expenditure in the face of rising costs will inevitably result in cutting down the physical targets and in other words it will mean lowering the tangible output. Had the Plan been directed towards raising the output in specific industries which are vital both from the national view-point as well as from the view-point of export possibilities, then the crisis that faces the Plan today could have been averted.

The main defect in the Plan is not the Plan itself nor in the amount of outlay fixed for it. The defect lies elsewhere and it is that the Plan has launched projects in too many fronts all at a time thereby resulting in the dissipation of efforts, frustration of projects and wastage of money. It has further resulted in reducing physical achievements by diverting resources to unproductive projects which involve expenditure without increasing the output of the country. The outlays on River Valley Projects, on Community Development Projects, on many small-scale and cottage industries, on unnecessary projects in the transport system, particularly in the railways, are examples of national resources being diverted from produc-

tive projects to unproductive ones. These are necessary, no doubt, but they could have been deferred for later periods of planned economy. In the initial stages production must rise at a faster rate than the monetary outlays and that is the only way to keep the Plan as a going concern.

The projects that do not contribute to raise the physical output of the country are unnecessarily increasing the costs of the Plan and thereby causing an inflationary spiral which calls for early check otherwise it will plunge the country and its economy into the vortex of monetary crisis. The authorities and the Planning Commission have erred in that they have failed to realise the real implications of an economic planning in an underdeveloped economy. In such economy, only projects which are able to contribute to the output of the country should have been started in the initial stages. As for example, instead of so many Plans, India should have pinned her resources to the development of basic and large-scale industries, like the iron and steel industry, the ship-building industry, the locomotive manufacturing industry, and the like. The development of these industries not only would have added much to the national resources of the country, but they would have also made the country self-sufficient in many respects and would have also increased the export potentialities of the country. In another way they would have also reduced the country's external indebtedness and her liabilities in so far as with the development of basic industries, India would not have required to borrow from foreign countries and institutions and the need for foreign exchanges would have perhaps been minimised. The frittering away of valuable foreign exchanges on unproductive projects and wasting assets like the purchase of locomotives has been a folly on the part of the authorities. The result is that projects like iron and steel industry and other machinery building industries are handicapped today for want of necessary foreign exchanges.

Unless India develops her productive industries, her want of foreign exchanges will continue to rise in the face of increasing imports and falling exports. It is time that India calls a halt to all her projects which will not contri-

bute to augment the output of the country in the immediate future. India has borrowed a large amount of foreign exchange for financing her River Valley Projects whose contribution hitherto to the economy of the country is insignificant. India should have taken a lesson from West Germany in the matter of economic development. In the post-war years, the war-devastated West Germany reconstructed her large and basic industries in the initial stages and the result was that she became an exporter of capital goods to world markets and her foreign exchange problems are solved within a very short period.

India should have developed her industrial potentialities first, that is, the basic and key industries should have been developed and had that step been taken earlier India could have today solved her foreign exchange problems and she need not have to depend today on foreign countries for her economic developments. Neither in the agricultural sector nor in the industrial sector, India has been a self-supporting country and a period of ten years, although a short one, still that provided sufficient enough time to regiment potential resources. The First and Second Plans have opened too many fronts all at a time and the result is that resources are now found to be inadequate to feed all the projects simultaneously.

For shortage of foreign exchanges, India has become desperate today, particularly in view of the fact that our exports are not increasing in the proportion our imports are mounting. The inevitable result has been chronic deficits in the balance of payments position and this has reduced the real income of the country. The trade deficits have become a real burden on the country and the authorities now frantically resort to import cuts so much so that they may now be viewed as friends of black-marketeers. The import cut is called for no doubt, but the Government has ignored the basic needs of some of the goods whose imports have been totally prohibited, as for example, those of foreign drugs and medicines. The authorities have been penny wise and pound foolish in that while unnecessary expenditures mostly remain undiminished, expenditures on essentials have been drastically cut on ground

of saving foreign exchanges. The result has been that the people are subjected today to untold sufferings and patients are at the mercy of racketeers who are criminally anti-social elements. By their imprudent policy of import restrictions, the authorities have been helping the black-marketeers at the cost of the people in general.

Recently in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nanda declared that the Plan stood at Rs. 4,500 crores, "unless more resources are raised." According to the Planning Commission, an additional outlay of Rs. 150 crores would be required to implement the "core" and other inescapable schemes of the Plan. In other words, the Second Plan will stand curtailed by about Rs. 300 crores in the Public Sector and that is on account of shortage of foreign exchange. India should give up the hope of securing sufficient foreign exchange either by way of loan or assistance. India must try to increase her exports by all possible means. To encourage exports, export duty should forthwith be withdrawn from major commodities like tea, jute manufactures, etc. The earning of foreign exchange is much more vital at the present time than the earning of export duty. For the short-period gain, the authorities are sacrificing the long-period gain which will accrue in increased earning of foreign exchange.

Some members in the Lok Sabha during the recent debate on the Plan suggested the shifting of the emphasis from industrialization towards rural development. This is a most retrograde suggestion and any step away from large-scale industrialization will further aggravate the situation. India is still a country mainly of rural economy and industry and our poverty lies in our too much bias in rural industry. All prosperous countries of the West have achieved prosperity with the development of large-scale industries. India had so long been a country of rural economy and India had enough of rural industries. But they did not make India prosperous in modern times. They had their days before the machine age. Now the role of rural economy and industries in this country will be complementary and subsidiary to the large-scale industries. The present fault is not that India has embarked upon developing her large-scale industries, the fault is that

India has not developed her large-scale industries sufficiently in time so as to absorb the rapidly-increasing number of population in the country. From the view-point of export possibilities as well as from the view-point of employment potentialities, the large-scale industries needs must be developed for national prosperity.

The Problem of Population

Sir Julian Huxley, the well-known English scientist, writes in the latest issue of the bi-annual *Population Review* of Madras that time has come when the countries of the world should take heed of the enormous growth of population and agree upon an integrated population policy. He exposed the fallacy in the belief that science could be used to step up production to meet the needs of an increasing number of people. The race between population and production is a very unequal one. "Production is severely handicapped," he writes, "because it starts far behind scratch: . . . nearly two-thirds of the world's people are under-nourished. Production has to make good this huge deficiency as well as keeping up with the mere quantitative increase in human numbers."

According to Dr. Huxley, the only way to future human happiness lies through population planning. People should stop thinking in terms of a race and begin thinking in terms of a balance between population and resources. It is also necessary to give up the fallacious belief that an increase in the number of human beings is necessarily desirable. The production of population also should be controlled like other natural production. This calls for basic research and practical application and a change in the existing value-structure of mankind.

Dr. Huxley refers to the great disparities between the standards of living of the Western and other nations. Such inequalities, when brought into the world's consciousness, affect the world's conscience. "The under-privileged are feeling an increasingly strong sense of injustice, while the over-privileged are beginning to experience a sense of shame." While the Western nations have made a gesture to bridge this disparity, Dr. Huxley does not consider the steps taken to be enough. "We need a World

Development Plan on a scale at least ten-fold greater than all the existing schemes put together, a joint enterprise in which all nations would feel they were participating and working towards a common goal. To achieve even the roughest of justice for all peoples, the favoured nations of the world will have not merely to cough up a fraction of their surpluses but voluntarily to sacrifice some of their high standard of living, and to qualify for aid and need for membership of the international development club, under-developed countries would have not only to pledge themselves to hard and intelligent work, but also to be willing to restrict populations by initiating effective policies of birth control and family planning," Dr. Huxley writes.

The observations of a scientist of Sir Julian's eminence certainly deserves the closest attention. He would perhaps excuse us if we ventured to suggest a modification of the concluding sentence in the above quotation so that restriction of population growth does not become the obligation of the under-developed countries alone, but of *all the countries including the developed ones*. This modification suggests itself by the very logic of Sir Julian's article and more so by the fact that the *rate of growth of population* (as distinct from absolute numbers) on which he gives so much emphasis is decidedly higher in the high-income countries.

Political Dissensions in Rajasthan

The *Hitavada* writes:

"A political crisis is brewing in Rajasthan. The dissident Congressmen led by Mr. Jai Narayan Vyas are reported to be making efforts to oust Chief Minister Sukhadia from power. The dissident Congressmen claim that they have the support of the majority of Congress legislators. On the other hand, Mr. Sukhadia is confident that he will be able to defeat any efforts to remove him from the Chief Ministership. It is also reported that Mr. Sukhadia may seek a vote of confidence from the Congress Assembly Party in the near future. It is unfortunate that Congressmen in Rajasthan are divided into two groups, one working against the other. The Congress High Command has strongly disapproved the existence of groups within the Congress and

Mr. Dhebar had visited Rajasthan sometime back to resolve the differences between the two groups. But the recent move of the dissident Congressmen in Rajasthan shows that Mr. Dhebar's efforts have not been fruitful."

Kerala State Language

The *Hindu*, Madras, reports:

Trivandrum, August 16.—The official Language Committee appointed by the Government of Kerala has recommended the adoption of Malayalam as the official language at all levels of administration by 1965, it was learnt today.

To begin with, the Committee which submitted its report to the Government today is understood to have suggested that Malayalam be introduced as the official language in departments like *panchayat* which were in close contact with the masses in their day-to-day work.

The Committee has also prepared a 10,000-word glossary of administrative term in Malayalam to serve as a uniform guide for official purpose. The glossary is now being finalised and is expected to be ready in two months.

A spokesman of the Committee said that they had included universally-accepted terms from English and other languages too in the glossary.

Besides Malayalam equivalents for English words, the glossary will also contain the Hindi transliteration of the Malayalam words. This is being done, it is learnt, in response to a suggestion by the Government of India to the State Government.

This is a piece of welcome news. If the national languages of India are to be developed they must be allowed to play their part in wider spheres of the national life than has hitherto been the case. Among the measures that call for immediate attention is the substitution of the regional language for English both in the administrative and educational fields in the states such a step cannot be taken before a decision has been taken upon the use of administrative and scientific terms many of which are not available in many of the regional languages. In this context the report of the completion of the preparation of a 10,000-word glossary of administrative terms

in Malayalam must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. Contrasted against this the steps taken in West Bengal for according Bengali its due status in the life of the State must appear very halting and unimpressive. The reluctance of the State Government to move quickly in the matter is all the more regrettable as the State Assembly had unanimously asked the government to expedite the replacement of English by Bengali.

Official Pomp and Grandeur

The *Delhi Hindusthan Standard* writes:

"The Prime Minister is understood to have advised State Governors to work harder and behave better for earning their keep. If this is only one of Shri Nehru's periodic bouts of brain-washing there is nothing much to say. State Governors might be wondering what more they could do to make themselves popular as also directly useful within the constitutional limits of their office.

"The Indian Administration has always been top-heavy; also very expensively gilded at the top. No one, perhaps, can claim to know this better than Shri Nehru himself, as being at one time a stern critic of the colossal show of the British imperial administration. Much of this costly folly of grandeur persists. And it is not very amusing that near at the end of the eleventh year of freedom, the Prime Minister and principal architect of Republican India addresses a sermon to poor State Governors on the wisdom of shedding some of the pomp and show associated with their office. Why shed some and not all of it, why State Governors alone, people may pertinently ask.

"This is not the first time that such questions have been raised and discussed. On occasion the Prime Minister has shown himself to be extremely touchy about friendly suggestions for reducing pomp and show to a reasonable limit. He has been in the past found to be stoutly defending many of the extravagant yet meaningless official rituals inherited from the British imperial days. Such relics, he is now reported to have said, have no place in the present set-up. It is not easy to make any head or tail of this belated admission. Shri Nehru in his heart of hearts knows well enough that the present set-up is essentially the same as the

old set-up. Why then pass the blame on State Governors who have merely settled down in the well-kept grooves of the old set-up?"

We have very little to add to the above. The only criticism of Pandit Nehru that we would put forward is about the lack of that internal humility in Pandit Nehru, which made Mahatma Gandhi what he was. This led Mahatmaji to take counsel from others and correct mistakes in his own ideas. It is about time Pandit Nehru realised that omniscience is not a human trait.

The Extent of Municipal Jurisdiction

Referring to the judgment of Mr. K. T. Desai restraining the Bombay Municipal Corporation from discussing a resolution concerning the execution of the Hungarian leaders, Mr. Imre Nagy, Paul Maleter and others, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in a leading article: "From the point of view of the citizen and the civic services he is to receive from the Corporation it is of no moment if the Corporation condemns the execution of Nagy and his comrades or fails to do so. But it is the view taken of the Corporation's powers and functions in the course of the judgment that creates fresh problems or gives a new turn to what was assumed by a layman. Stated in the simplest possible terms, the court's judgment means that, as a statutory body, the Corporation's powers and functions are strictly limited by the purpose for which it was constituted. As it is not sovereign, but only autonomous in respect of those powers and functions which are assigned to it by the statute, it cannot go beyond the main purpose for which it was constituted even though there may be no specific prohibition against its doing so. This view hits at long established practice. The Corporation has for a long time been discussing almost everything under the sun, a practice which has often been criticised.

"The Corporation of Bombay has often been the forum for the expression of opinions and sentiments which transcend civic issues. Such expression of opinion may not have called for the direct investment or expenditure of Municipal Funds; but under the view now taken even the expenditure involved in calling the meeting and conducting a debate would be regarded as an expenditure made out of Muni-

icipal Funds, not authorised by the statute. There are also certain other functions, of a ceremonial character, on which the Corporation does expend money—such as the civic welcomes and addresses presented to various visiting dignitaries, Indian and foreign. There is also a convention under which delegates to important conferences held in the city have received civic honours and hospitality. It is a motley crowd that has come in for such honour, and when it has been extended too far to cover sundry sportsmen, film personalities and the like there has been a measure of public annoyance. Apart, however, from the merits of each event, all such proposals have to be subjected to the rigorous test whether such expenditure on them is authorised under any of the provisions of the Municipal Act. There is no doubt that these issues will now have to be re-examined and the Corporation's powers redefined. This will probably call for a clarifying amendment of the Municipal Act."

The implications of the order of the Bombay High Court in respect of the competence of the Municipal Corporation would seem to call for an examination of the position in Calcutta where the Municipal statute does not differ in any substantial respect from Bombay and where also the Corporation has many occasions commented upon matters not strictly falling within Municipal competence as defined in the statute.

Mismanagement of Calcutta Schools

Education in West Bengal seems to be in a state of chronic sickness. It is not always a question of money, but a question of motives and intentions. The school authorities—including the teachers also, it seems—in many cases exhibit such indifference to the students' needs and problems as must appeal to any decent citizen. In a leading girls' school of North Calcutta there is no provision for drinking water for the girls. The water supplied is most impure and the girls have to take water from their homes month after month. This particular school has ample funds to improve its internal water-supply problem even by sinking a tube-well, if necessary, but would not do so. The callousness of the authorities in attending to the primary needs of the little ones has exposed many children to a prolonged

danger of infection by various fatal diseases. Cannot the Education Department enforce even such a minimum provision for students' welfare as the supply of pure drinking water in school?

The Tram Strike

The citizens of Calcutta have had untold hardship on account of the stoppage of the tram services in the city which began on August 12. The plight of the citizens can well be imagined when it is recalled that even with the tram-cars, which carry over a million passengers daily, on the streets, people have for the greater part of the day travel on footboards for want of room inside the cars. To fill the gap created by the absence of the trams nearly 600 double-decker buses are required. The Government tried to ease the situation by allowing more than 350 private buses running on suburban services to ply in Calcutta. The Labour Minister, Shri Abdus Sattar, personally tried to induce the workers and the management to reach a settlement but failed. It is about time there was a searching enquiry into the genesis of such strikes in public utility concerns.

Mahajati Sadan Opened

After a period of nineteen years to the day of the laying of its foundation stone by Gurudev Rabindranath. Mahajati Sadan (House of the Nations), which had been conceived by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, was opened by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal on August 19, 1958. The building situated on Chittaranjan Avenue is an architectural beauty and has a large auditorium where public meetings and performances could be held. The Government of West Bengal has a proposal to start a good library to be housed there. Netaji's memory would be honoured only if the Mahajati Sadan could be turned into a centre for the study and development of national culture in its broadest aspect.

Indian National Bibliography

The first issue of the "Indian National Bibliography" was recently published by the Central Reference Library of the Government of India, now situated at the National Library at Calcutta. The Bibliography is intended to

provide a systematic and exhaustive list of all books published in India, in English as well as in the fourteen languages listed in the Constitution for the promotion of scholarship and literary developments in the country. The present issue lists the books received in the National Library, Calcutta, between October 1954 and December 1957 (under the provisions of the Deliveries of Books Act every publisher in India is obliged to send a copy of each of his publication to the National Library, Calcutta, and two other National Libraries).

Indians in India and Abroad

Indians often give vent to an wounded feeling when there is any incident involving refusal to admit an Indian into any foreign hotel or aircraft. There is nothing wrong in such protest inasmuch as every one has the right to an equal treatment as a human being. On such occasions the Government seemed to share the people's indignation at such discrimination. It was, therefore, intriguing to find a senior Indian Cabinet Minister defending discrimination against Indians in an Indian hotel run by the Indian Government at the cost of Indian tax-payers in the capital city of India. It was disclosed during the question hours in the Lok Sabha that an Indian gentleman wearing *dhoti* was treated discourteously by the staff of the Asoka Hotel of Delhi. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the Home Minister, in a written reply to a member's question tried to clarify the position and stated that there was no objection to wearing *dhoti* at the time of having dinner but for admittance into the dancing hall "more formal" dress would be required. The Minister's explanation hardly improves the matter. There can be little justification for admittance to be refused because of the Indian dress. The argument about dancing would be seen in its true colours as one would recall that Indians have made outstanding dancing performances here and abroad in *dhoties* without having to change their dresses. The people cannot allow such an insult to national tradition and culture at their own expense.

Crisis in the Far East

A renewed crisis raised its head in the Far East during the closing days of August over

the Chinese offshore islands which were now under Kuomintang occupation under American military protection. As Chinese guns pumped an estimated 50,000 shells at the Kuomintang strong-posts on the Quemoy group of island, the United States Government came out on August 23 with a warning against any move to seize the Quemoy or Matsu islands. The U. S. attitude over the China question has openly been deprecated not only by non-committed nations, such as, India and Egypt, but also by her Western allies even, notably Great Britain. If any State has any rights over the islands in question, it certainly is the People's Republic of China and there is little justification for continued American intervention in the Chinese civil war.

In this context, the American naval build up in the Far East and on the fringes of the Indian Ocean has naturally caused great uneasiness in Asian minds. President Eisenhower's statement that the one thousand U.S. marines in Singapore were there for "recreational purposes" became less convincing when read with reports of great influx of American war personnel and materials in South Vietnam in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement.

Nuclear Disarmament?

One of the welcome results of the Geneva Conference of atomic scientists, held between July 1 and August 21, was the announcement by the American and British Governments of their decision to suspend nuclear tests for one year from the date negotiations would begin with the USSR for international ban on atomic tests. The conference was attended by atomic scientists from eight countries—United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada, Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania—who discussed the feasibility of establishing a system of detecting nuclear tests secretly held in violation of any international agreement banning such tests. The experts' report released on September 3 simultaneously in the capitals of the eight participating countries recommended a nuclear test ban policing system of between 160 and 170 land stations and ten ships, scattered through all the continents and high seas, under the supervision of an international control organ. These stations, the experts believed, would detect nuclear explosions.

of more than 5 kilo tons under even difficult circumstances, and might detect explosions of as little as one kilo ton under the most favourable conditions.

The report was signed by seven Western experts, headed by Dr. James B. Fisk of the United States, and 16 members of the Communist bloc delegations, headed by E. K. Federov of the Soviet Union.

One hundred ten of the land-based control stations recommended by the experts would be located on continental areas as follows:

North America, 24; Europe 6; Asia 37, Australia 7; South America 16; Africa 16; Antarctica 4. Sixty more control stations would be established on Oceanic islands. Most of the ten recommended detection ships would be scattered through the Pacific with one or two in the South Atlantic, American officials said in amplifying the conference report.

The experts recommended that an international control organ be created to operate the detection system which would be based on the collection of samples of radioactive debris, recording of seismic, acoustic and hydroacoustic waves, monitoring of radio signals, and on-site inspection of unidentified events which would be suspected of being nuclear explosions.

The locations of control stations, U.S. officials explained, is related closely to the existence of seismic regions (areas of strong earthquake activity) around the Pacific Ocean, with the addition of the Caucasus in Southern Russia and small areas in Africa. This need for greater concentration of control stations in seismic regions arises from the necessity of distinguishing between nuclear explosions and the more than 1,500 seismic and other natural disturbances which occur each year with an intensity equal to a 5-kilo ton or more nuclear explosion.

Control stations in continental earthquake areas would be spaced about 1,000 kilometers apart, the report explained, and in aseismic (non-earthquake) areas about 1,700 kilometers apart. Ocean control posts would be spaced from 2,000 miles (3,200 kilometers) to more than 3,500 miles (5,600 kilometers) apart. Island control posts in seismic regions would be about 1,000 kilometers apart.

Officials who explained the report at a news briefing were unable to give specific figures for the number of stations which would be established in the United States and Soviet Russia. They pointed out that the determination of stations needed for satisfactory detection of violations of a test ban was made on strictly scientific considerations related to the natural seismic regions of the world, and without regard to political considerations.

Thus the six stations regarded as necessary in Europe simply reflects the fact that Europe is not a seismic region. Stations in the Soviet Union are counted in the total for both Europe and Asia, the officials explained.

The report made clear that each of the control posts should regularly be equipped with apparatus for the detection of explosions by the acoustic and seismic methods, as well as by recording of radio signals and collecting of radioactive debris.

Land stations on islands or near shores of oceans should have, in addition, apparatus for hydroacoustic detection of explosions. Ships, the report recommended, should have equipment to collect radioactive debris and to record underwater sounds of explosions.

The experts estimated that each post would need about 30 persons possessing the necessary specialties and qualifications. U.S. officials said in addition that probably 20 more might be needed for auxiliary servicing of the post. Thus, they estimated, personnel needed to operate the detection network might total 9,000.

The implication throughout the Geneva discussions was that the control posts would have to be manned in a way satisfactory to the International Control Organ, and there was no discussion of how many of each nationality would be assigned to each station.

The question of specific sites for the land and island stations did not arise at the Geneva talks, and the experts did not feel it necessary to decide on this point.

Labour and Opposition

Labour troubles are on the increase all over India. The main reason of course is the failure of the Government to control the rise in prices. But the role the groups that form the Opposition in the legislatures are playing

is that of adding fuel to the fires. This is a time of crises which concerns the very existence of the nation. This is being ignored by even the saner section of them. The following report is illustrative.

NEW DELHI, Aug. 27—Despite a concerted attack by the Opposition, led by Mr. Asoka Mehta (PSP), in the Lok Sabha today, Mr. S. K. Patil, Minister for Transport and Communications, refused to admit that the Government had rejected the Chaudhri Committee's recommendations on the dock and port workers' demands.

On the contrary, the Minister emphatically maintained that of the three major recommendations—rationalization of pay-scale, decasualization and retirement benefits—the first two had been accepted to a large extent. In the case of the third, unilateral decision would not be proper since the second pay commission was considering the issue.

The House was discussing a motion by Mr. Asoka Mehta and Mr. N. G. Goray on the Chaudhri Committee's report on port and dock workers' demands and the Government's resolution on it.

Mr. Mehta accused the Government of wholly rejecting the report through a policy of procrastination and non-fulfilment of promises given from time to time. He was particularly critical of the Government's stand that it could not extend to port and dock workers' retirement benefits which were not available to other Government employees. Was it the policy of the Government, he asked, to treat all its employees on the same level whether they were employed in a steel factory or the railways or the docks.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. Anthony Pillai (PSP), and two Communists members, Mrs. Parvathi Krishnan and Mr. Tangamani.

"Breach of Faith"

Characterizing the Government's attitude as a "breach of faith" Mr. Pillai maintained that the Government had only accepted those recommendations, which related to leave benefits and hours of work. He, therefore, suggested, in a substitute motion, that a mediator with powers of arbitration should be appointed to end the unrest among dock

workers. Mrs. Krishnan, on the other hand warned the Government that the workers could not be restrained much longer.

Mr. Patil's main argument was that the Federation did not want uniformity so much as maximization of pay-scales. It was not prepared to accept an average of all the different scales, but the highest prevalent anywhere. The Government at best could guarantee the continuance of higher scales wherever prevalent. He denied Mrs. Krishnan's charge of victimization in Calcutta port and wished that the workers were not exploited for political ends.

The Opposition did not accept the Minister's argument that it would take a long time to end all discrepancies in wage-scales, nor was it convinced of his interpretation of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Mr. Mehta, therefore, once again appealed to him to accept the recommendations of their own specifically chosen officer and not to "confuse the issue when clarity can be achieved easily."

The House rejected Mr. Pillai's substitute motion.

Initiating the debate, Mr. Asoka Mehta said he had sought this discussion because he had an impression that all was not well with the ports and docks.

"It is quite possible that unless prompt measures are taken we may once again be confronted with a situation we faced a few days ago."

Country's Loss

Mr. Anthony Pillai said that the problems of port and dock workers had not been successfully tackled for the past eleven years with the result that an increase in the productivity and output of these workers had been lost to the country. He thought the Government's decisions on the committee's recommendations was not likely to bring industrial peace.

Intervening in the debate, Mr. Raj Bahadur, Minister for Shipping, said the Government had found that it could not take a final decision on certain matters raised by the Chaudhri Committee's recommendations. For instance the committee had not fixed scales of wages for all cate-

gories of workers and had left certain matters to be settled at the port administration level. Similarly about retirement benefits the recommendations were provisional.

He regretted that the port and dock workers' strike should have become an instrument of political agitation, and said it was time that an agreement was reached among all concerned that labour unrest in the country should not be used for political ends.

Mr. Patil appealed to Mr. Asoka Mehta and other labour leaders to use their influence and see that the demands of the dock workers were dealt with in a helpful and constructive manner.

Referring to the contention that the efficiency of the dock workers had increased and, therefore, their demands should be met. Mr. Patil said the efficiency of the dock workers had increased because they were put on a piece-rate system. He also said that profits in an industry in which the Government had a monopoly were not entirely due to the results of labour.

Race Relations in the U.S.A.

The dominance of arrogant racialism in parts of the United States of America was provided by the State Governments' refusal to put into effect the U.S. Supreme Court's verdict outlawing segregation in schools. The most flagrant case has been in Little Rock, Arkansas, where the Governor, Mr. Faubus forcibly undid the integration voluntarily decided upon by the Little Rock School Board. The School Board whose keenness for integration was not very great then obtained the approval of the Federal District Judge Harry J. Lemley for a two-and-a-half-year suspension of the integration program. On August 18 this order of the Federal District Judge was overruled by the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis by a vote of six to one. Delivering the majority judgment Judge Maron C. Matthes, said: "We say the time has not yet come in these United States when an order of a Federal Court must be whittled away, watered down or shamefully withdrawn in the face of violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens." The white community in Little Rock was very much dismayed by this

order of the court insisting upon integration and applications were immediately filed for a stay of the execution of the court's order pending appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. On August 21, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals granted the prayer for a stay of the execution of its order for thirty days. The Supreme Court in its ruling on September 12 refused to grant the Little Rock School Board any delay in integration at the Central High School. Meanwhile on August 27 both Houses of the Arkansas State Legislature had approved with overwhelming majority a bill proposed by the Governor, Mr. Faubus, giving him authority to close schools rather than submit to enforced integration of white and negro children. The situation after the latest Supreme Court order was tense as would appear from the following report by *Reuter*:

Little Rock, Sept. 13.—"Deputy Federal Marshals streamed into Little Rock today from States throughout the South and Southwest, to be ready in case they are needed to help enforce order on 'school day' on Monday morning.

"Only a few hours after the Supreme Court in Washington yesterday ordered integration to be resumed at the Central High School, Governor Faubus put into operation his carefully-prepared legal machinery to forestall it.

"He signed the law passed recently in special session by the State's legislature, to close all schools if integration was ordered, and then proclaimed them closed. Later he ordered a meeting of State police in his office.

"He said he did not think the Federal Government had the power to prevent him from closing Little Rock schools. He was convinced the Government had no law under which he could be arrested because, as the head of a sovereign State, he had power to adopt measures he thought necessary.

"Plans have already been worked out by the city authorities with the co-operation of the U.S. Attorney-General's Office to prevent a recurrence of last year's violence in the city—when Federal troops finally had to be called in to escort nine negro children into the school.

"As Deputy Marshals arrived here they went straight to briefings informing them of these plans for the marshals to maintain order

in the grounds of the school, while city police attempted to keep mobs from forming in the streets around.

"Opposition to the Governor's move appeared immediately from a surprising source. A woman who said she believed in racial segregation but did not want the schools closed, instructed her lawyer to challenge the new law in a State court, asking for a judgment to void Mr. Faubus's order as unconstitutional."

Race Riots in Britain

Race riots broke out in parts of England during the latter part of August. Whites and the coloured people from the West Indies were involved in the clashes in which the coloured suffered more. Thoughtful sections of British public opinion have shown remarkable sobriety in denouncing the hoodlums in the strongest terms and the Government, which was, perhaps, not prepared for such violence at the start, eventually reacted with a stern refusal to the suggestion for the restriction of immigration of Commonwealth citizens into the United Kingdom.

Referring to these unfortunate occurrences Mr. James Cowley writes in the *Statesman*, August 31:

"Last week-end's sickening example of what can happen in a normally well-behaved English city when suppressed racial tension violently erupts has been a chastening experience for many of us. No longer can we afford to point a smugly superior finger at Little Rock. To what extent must the British themselves share blame for the disgrace that has fallen on Nottingham? Ought not more determined steps have been taken by both sides to snuff out the smouldering embers of mutual suspicion, intolerance and fear before the powder keg exploded? These are questions to which answers are now being urgently sought not only in Nottingham—which, ironically, is the last place in England where such trouble was expected—but also in larger cities like London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester, where the successful integration of strong immigrant communities with the native populations pose problems of some delicacy as well as complexity

"In London, certain areas have been heavily

populated in the post-war years by particular groups of immigrants. The Nigerians and Ghanaians tend to congregate in Clapham and Westbourne Grove. Greek and Turkish Cypriots favour St. Pancras, Islington and Camden Town. Malayans and people from adjacent parts of the Commonwealth are to be found mostly in Bayswater. The ubiquitous West Indians can be seen in all these places but more particularly in Brixton, Camberwell, Paddington and Notting Hill Gate. The Notting Hill Gate-Shepherds Bush area has been unsettled for the last three weeks, with fights and attempts to run down pedestrians with cars on Saturday nights. Between 3,000 and 5,000 West Indians live there, mostly in poor-housing conditions, among a population largely composed of people who are themselves not Londoners and have little community life. In the Hammer-smith area there has been a recent outburst by gangs of Teddy boys said to be cruising the streets on week-end evenings looking for Africans or West Indians. They are said to choose streets where only the occasional coloured person is to be seen, and then to attack in the ratio of half a dozen to one."

Evidently the cases of lawlessness in Britain, as elsewhere, are due as much to sheer hooliganism as to racial tensions.

Politics in Pakistan: Role of Civil Servants

Politics in the young State of Pakistan has tended to be spectacular. The dismissal of the various provincial governments and of Prime Minister Nazimuddin was certainly a startling development. Who were the forces behind these developments? Undoubtedly the civil servants of Pakistan have played a significant role in these kaleidoscopic political changes. "The Government of Pakistan," writes Dr. Khalid B. Sayeed in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, "may be described as a pyramid carved out of a single rock, and . . . the civil servants have captured the apex of the pyramid." Summing up the role of the civil servants Dr. Sayeed writes: "The British often used to describe the Indian Civil Service as the steel frame of the whole structure which constituted the Government of India. Today in the Government of Pakistan the civil servants often play an even more powerful role than that of their imperial

predecessors. Their ascent to power has been both steady and dramatic. Under the dominating personality of the Quaid-i-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) and his successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, the civil servants effectively controlled the entire administration in the provinces and the politicians there were kept in power subject to their willingness to obey Central Government directives." Since the death of Liaquat Ali, the power and authority of the civil servants have increased all the more. As the West Pakistanis outnumber East Pakistanis by five to one in the Central services and as practically all the key administrative posts in the provinces are manned by the officers belonging to the Central services, the Ministries in East Pakistan have always had particular difficulty in the execution of their policies which were not to the liking of the Secretaries. "Since politicians often championed the cause of provincial autonomy and stressed the uniqueness of Bengali culture," Dr. Sayeed notes, "the West Pakistani civil servants could claim that they had to act as the steel framework which maintained the national unity and solidarity of Pakistan. During the PRODA (Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act) proceedings instituted against the provincial Minister of Finance and Commerce, Mr. Hameedul Huq Chowdhury, the Chief Secretary (a civil servant) revealed in September, 1950, that under instructions from the Central Government he had effectively stopped the export of steel drums to India which had been ordered by Mr. Chowdhury. Since then it has been constantly asserted by politicians both in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly and in the Constituent Assembly that the Chief Secretary used to send fortnightly reports on the activities of provincial Ministers to the Central Government."

Pakistan's political history amply bears out the fact that the meddling into politics by the civil servants does not conduce either to political stability or to the democratic development of a nation. With the sphere of governmental action expanding at a tremendous pace in many countries there has arisen a very real danger of bureaucratic domination of national politics. Many observers have pointed to the inhibiting role of the civil servants in Free India and it can only be utter shortsightedness to be obli-

vious of the potential threat presented from this wing. Pakistan's example is too living a pointer to be overlooked.

The Limit of Territorial Waters

In recent weeks an international controversy has been raised over the limit of territorial waters. The Government of Iceland promulgated an order, effective from September 1, extending the limits of her territorial waters to twelve miles from shore. The British Government which has all along opposed the suggestion of extending the limit of territorial waters beyond three miles declared it would not recognise the new 12-mile limit and sent British trawlers to fish within the Icelandic territorial waters. The British action naturally caused much caustic reaction on the part of the Government of Iceland which has no military force. Neutral opinion everywhere has been shocked at this British aggressiveness in directly violating the declared decision of a foreign government. The British decision was all the more unfortunate as the recent Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was attended by the delegation from 86 States, adopted a Convention which clearly rejected the idea of a three-mile limit. The speeches made during the session of the Geneva Conference conclusively demonstrated that the three-mile limit was not a generally recognized rule of the Law of the Sea. As a matter of fact, it was given by the information gathered by the Secretariat of the Conference, 19 countries only had a three-mile limit, while 26 had limits varying between 3 and 12 miles. The British action in violating Icelandic territorial waters within the 12-mile limit becomes even less supportable.

Increasing International Liquidity

It is now being felt in international monetary circles that in recent years there has been a shortage in international liquidity to cope with the growing volume of world trade. It is contended that since 1937, the flow of world trade has increased fourfold in terms of money value, but the world monetary gold stocks have risen by not much more than one-half. President Eisenhower has requested the Secretary of the U.S. Treasury to propose at the forthcoming annual meeting of the IMF at New Delhi in October, that prompt consideration be given

to the advisability of a general increase in the quotas assigned to the member Governments. The idea is that by raising the quotas of member countries, the international liquidity can also be raised and this will enable the IMF to increase its lending operations for the purpose of facilitating world trade. Many member countries are short of gold or dollar to finance their imports. The problem of international liquidity is to be viewed in terms of increased holdings of gold or dollar.

While it is desirable that the volume of international liquidity is to be increased to keep pace with the growing volume of world trade, it is to be noted that increasing the liquidity is closely connected with increasing the gold holdings of the member countries. And therein lies the crux of the problem. Most of the member countries of the IMF are now short of gold holdings and they are not in a position to increase their quotas by contributing more gold or dollar to their higher quotas which may be assigned to them if this proposal is accepted. As for example, India will find it difficult to augment her gold quotas. But it is also imperative that the international liquidity should be raised. The best way to do that is to introduce the free and multilateral convertibility which was accepted in the Havana Trade Charter as the goal of the post-war world trade. But that proposal has been shelved to the cold storage ever since its inception and instead the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade was accepted thereby enabling the countries of the world to prevent the free convertibility with the help of exchange restrictions. The liquidity can be increased by introducing free convertibility of currencies, instead of raising the quotas of the member-countries of the IMF in terms of gold or dollar, both of which are in short supply at the moment.

Asian Success in the English Channel

Shri Brojen Das, 27-year-old swimmer from East Pakistan, earned the distinction of being the first Asian to cross the English Channel when on August 23, he landed just east of Dover Harbour after a gruelling 14 hours and 57 minutes' swim across the channel from Cape Gris Nez in France. While the English Channel has been crossed by many, among whom were a few girls, before Shri Das no

Asian could achieve this feat so far, mainly due to the extremely different climatic conditions over the channel. Shri Das' performance in crossing the channel has thus been very creditable and we offer him our compliments.

The *Statesman's* Dacca correspondent adds:

"Das owes a debt to one-time Indian ace swimmer, Prafulla Ghosh. It was Ghosh who in 1948 was largely responsible for re-kindling in Das an interest in competitive swimming after he had deserted the sport after a short career during his schooldays for a spell at athletics and football. He trained under Ghosh and Shyamapada Goswami in Calcutta and in the three years 1948-50 came second and third in the West Bengal Championships competing as a Pakistani. In 1951-52 and again in 1954 he won the 100 metres free style event in the West Bengal Championships which he entered this time with the permission of the East Pakistan Sports Federation.

"He placed second in the same event in the Pakistan Olympic Games in Lahore in 1953 with the then record timing of 1 min. 7 sec. and two years later in the National Olympics in Dacca won the 100 and 400 metres free style events, establishing a new record of 1 min. 6 sec. in the former. He also won the 1,500 metres event but was disqualified as he was down as a reserve and should not have raced.

"In 1956 he represented Dacca University in Karachi's Dilwar Swimming Pool, winning the 400 yards, 400 yards and 1,500 yards free style events in record timings. The following year he set up a record of 2 min. 30 sec. in the 200 metres free style in the Provincial Swimming Championships in Dacca."

The Preamble to the Visit

The following piece of news emanating from Karachi gives the preamble to the recent Nehru-Noon talks. It is reproduced in full below as later events will undoubtedly pin point it.

Karachi, Sept. 1—The Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr Feroz Khan Noon, announced in the National Assembly today that the Secretary-level conference, now being held in Karachi to resolve the Indo-Pakistani border disputes, has "almost completely failed."



As such, Mr. Noon said, he had now an "uphill task" in new Delhi when he went there for talks with India's Prime Minister on the same issue on September 9.

Explaining his statements in an interview later, Mr. Noon said the two secretaries—India's Commonwealth Relations Secretary Mr. M. J. Desai, and Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. S. A. Baig—had not been able to reach an agreement on any major border question.

"The talks, as I see them, have almost completely failed to produce any solution," he said.

Indian delegation sources refused to comment on Mr. Noon's statement. They said the talks would be resumed tomorrow.

Mr. Noon also told the Assembly that he intended to call an all party conference to evolve a national policy on Kashmir at the end of this month.

Leaders of the Pakistan-held parts of Kashmir would also be invited to the conference to deliberate "calmly and coolly" on Pakistan's next step in what Mr. Noon described as 'achieving freedom for Kashmir.'

Mr. Noon was replying to a two-hour debate on an adjournment motion tabled by an Opposition member, Mian Muntaz Dulatana, to condemn the Government's action in arresting Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas who had sought to cross the cease-fire line with some volunteers on June 29.

The motion was talked out.

Three former Prime Ministers of Pakistan—Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar and Choudhury Mohammed Ali—spoke on the motion, the latter two criticizing the Government action.

Mr. Noon said he agreed with the objective of Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas but did not approve of his action. He counselled patience and said he would not like the members to talk in bellicose terms in view of his forthcoming visit to new Delhi. He suggested a friendly approach to Indo-Pakistani problem.

"For 10 years Pakistan indulged in threats of war," Mr. Noon said, "The threats brought no result. If India is assured of Pakistan's friendly feelings, and if that can help solve the problems between the two countries, I want to give the friendly approach a chance. If a peaceful approach

and friendly attitude do not help us in reaching a solution to our problems, let us devise other methods. Let us for a little while see if the friendly approach succeeds in solving the problems.

"I am personally of the view that war will destroy both countries in the final analysis."

He told members that Pakistan's next step on the question of Kashmir should be discussed in a different atmosphere. He did not want the talk of war to be made in public. "Then, if something happens, we shall be accused of having talked of war and no friendly power will come to our help," he said.

A reception in honour of the Indian delegation to the Secretaries' talks will be given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations tomorrow.

India's acting High Commissioner in Karachi, Mr. S. N. Mitra, gave a reception in honour of the delegation tonight.

The Background of Quemoy

The New York Times has given a picture of the entire situation at Quemoy, up to the blockading by coastal gunfire. The background picture given by it, though given from the U.S. point of view, is fairly accurate in all aspects. We think this is worthy of record and as such we give it in extenso.

The Communist seizure and consolidation of power on the mainland of China a decade ago initiated an era of grave and almost continuous crisis in the Far East. Fundamentally, the crisis were caused by the expansionist pressure of the Peiping regime in co-operation with the Russia and the world Communist movement. The pressure was felt in Korea, in Indo-China and throughout South-east Asia, and even in the far western reaches of the China land mass on the borders of India and Tibet.

Within that context, the conflict between the Chinese Communist regime and the nationalist Government on Taiwan was at first largely symbolic. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had fled to Taiwan and several of the smaller offshore islands with an army of about 600,000 after his Government collapsed on the mainland in 1949. But his cause was clearly hopeless ; his threats to reconquer

China, hollow. Up to the summer of 1950, official United States policy was to deal gingerly with Chiang, discourage his notions of reconquest, and to accept the fact that Peiping would ultimately establish control over Taiwan and the smaller offshore islands.

Communist aggression in Korea in 1950 changed that policy. Washington re-evaluated the strategic importance of Taiwan—a link in the great island chain formed by Japan to the north and the Philippines to the south—in the light of the clear evidence that the Communists were ready to pursue their Far East aims by force. President Truman ordered the U. S. Seventh Fleet to patrol the waters in the 100-mile wide stretch between Taiwan and the mainland and in 1953 President Eisenhower announced a policy generally described as “unleashing Chiang Kai-shek.” In purely military terms, the “unleashing” was meaningless. Leashed or unleashed, Chiang was in no position to launch a serious attack against the mainland unless backed to the hilt by U. S. military force. But the new policy created a certain amount of psychological pressure against the Peiping regime and it implicitly committed the United States to the fortunes of the Chiang Government and the territory it held, including a number of islands right on Communist China’s doorstep. Chief among them were the Quemoy, which lie just off Amoy harbour three to five miles from the coast, and the Matsus, 150 miles to the north and about ten miles from the mainland.

The Quemoy and Matsu islands have since become the danger points in the conflict between Communist China and the U. S. in the Far East. The first major crisis over them occurred in 1955 when Peiping launched a series of raids and artillery attacks as an apparent prelude to invasion. The U. S. response was the Formosa Resolution of 1955, overwhelmingly passed by both Houses of Congress, which stated :

That the President of the United States be and hereby is authorised to employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores (a group of islets off the coasts of Taiwan).

In terms of Quemoy and Matsu, the meaning of the resolution—deliberately ambiguous—was to leave to the President’s discretion whether an attack on the islands might be a threat to the security of Taiwan. The Chiang Government, however, interpreted the resolution as encouragement to reinforce its garrisons on Quemoy and Matsu. A steady military build-up began.

The United States’ allies were deeply disturbed by the Formosa Resolution and the potential commitment to Quemoy and Matsu. But Communist pressure against the island eased after the Formosa Resolution and the issue receded.

Then last month, signs began to accumulate that new trouble was brewing. On July 31, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev journeyed to Peiping for a four-day conference with Chinese Communist leader Mao-Tse-tung. In the weeks immediately following the Peiping conference, the evidence pointed to a Mao-Khrushchev decision on new military moves in Taiwan Strait. Stepped up Communist artillery bombardment of Quemoy culminated on Aug. 23 in the heaviest shelling in the island’s history.

The attacks produced warnings from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower, but the warnings had no marked effect on Communist military activity in the Strait. Once again the question came up as to whether the United States, under the terms of the Formosa Resolution, intended to defend the offshore islands. Thus the stage was set for the events of last week.

The week began with concentrated efforts by the Communists to blockade the 100,000 man Quemoy garrison with fleets of torpedo boats. The Nationalist claim to have sunk a number of torpedo boats, but the claims as well as the actual Communist naval strength in the area were matters of dispute. One thing seemed certain : the blockade was creating a serious problem for the Nationalists. A Nationalist spokesman said : “Our supply line to the offshore islands is threatened and there is a limit beyond which we alone will not be able to solve the problem.”

INDIA'S ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

I

THE outstanding social movement in modern India is that of nationalism for the achievement of *Swaraj* (independence). The origin of this movement may be traced back to the early thirties of the last century, when Rammohun Roy took great interest in politics and even advised, when in England, the East India Company to include educated Indians in their Civil Service. About the same time, a small political organization called "Young India" and a British Indian Society were founded in England. In 1843 there were also founded, in Calcutta, the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Land-owners' Society, which were amalgamated in 1851 into the British India Association, the first Indian political organization. In 1852 the Association presented a petition to the British Parliament, setting forth India's grievances regarding revenue, industry, and education, and demanding the admission of Indians into higher administrative services and legislative councils.

By this time, a small group of educated Indians made their appearance as a result of English education introduced about a generation earlier. The reluctance of the British Government to admit Indians into the administration of their own country and the increasing distress of the rural population caused great discontent among the rising educated classes. The vernacular press was started in 1816, and the *Hindu Patriot* (founded in English in 1853) and the *Soma Prakash* (founded soon after in Bengali) strongly criticized the British policy regarding the annexation of the territories by Lord Dalhousie and the Afghan War in the seventies. The first organization of the educated classes was also founded in 1875. With a view to suppressing the discontent and criticism, Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878, but this was repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

A still more important factor in the growth of Indian nationalism was the Ilbert Bill, introduced in the Governor-General's Council in 1883, to grant the right to Indian-born judges and magistrates to hear accusations brought against European residents. The Bill provoked strong opposition among indigo-planters in Bihar, tea-planters in Assam, and jute-mill owners in Calcutta. A compromise was effected but the educated Indians strongly resented the attack of the British on the probity of Indian judges and magistrates, thus creating a favorable background for the rise of nationalism.

I. THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Closely connected with the Renaissance and, as an integral part of it, was the political movement, which began by the middle of the nineteenth century and took its definite shape after a generation.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The most important political movement in India was the All-India National Congress founded in 1885 by A. O. Hume, a retired Civil Servant. The underlying motive of this initiative was the desire on the part of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and of Mr. Hume to create an opportunity for the educated classes to discuss India's political and economic questions under safe guidance and to secure their loyal support for British rule. The avowed objectives of the Congress were, however, laid down at the time of its foundation in the following terms: (1) The fusion into one national whole of all the different and discordant elements of the people; (2) regeneration of the mental, moral and political life of the nation;

and (3) consolidation of Indo-British union by removing all obstacles.

From the very beginning, the Congress movement had been dominated by the moderates, who looked upon India as a part of the British Empire and demanded India's representation in the legislature and the Civil Service.

But the famine and the plague, as well as the riot of 1896-97, brought about a rapid growth of the radical party, under the leadership of B. G. Tilak, a great scholar and conservative leader, who took rather a sectarian attitude towards Indian nationalism. Tilak's followers were called nationalists or extremists, in contrast with the moderates who were in control of the Congress.

In 1905, the Congress movement entered a new phase. In order to suppress the rising spirit of nationalism, of which Calcutta with its advanced culture was the center, Lord Curzon devised the plan of the partition of Bengal; thus Eastern Bengal, with its Moslem majority, became a new province. The Bengalees, especially the Hindus, strongly protested against the partition and proclaimed the boycott of British goods on August 7, 1905. The Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906 adopted new programs of the Swaraj (self-government), the Swadeshi (promotion of domestic industry), and national education as its goals and supported the boycott movement of Bengal. The control of the Congress by several orthodox Hindus, who extolled the glory of Hindu culture from the national platform, alienated some of the Moslem leaders from the Congress movement. The Surat session of the Congress in 1907 saw the open split between the moderates and radicals over the question of the Congress policy, the moderate wing winning the control of the Congress.

In the meantime the partition of Bengal had aroused strong indignation throughout the country, especially in Bengal, where the movements for Swaraj, Swadeshi, national education, and especially boycott were vigorously carried on; but the boycott movement met with strong repression from the Government. A Seditious Meeting Act was passed in 1907, giving extraordinary powers to the Police and the Courts. As a result, underground and terrorist move-

ments appeared but these were severely suppressed. The Act of 1818 providing for the arrest and deportation of a person without trial was revived and Lala Lajpat Rai, the political leader of the Punjab, was deported to Burma. A Press Act was passed in 1910 for suppressing the revolutionary ideas of the press. B. G. Tilak, the radical leader of Poona, was sentenced to imprisonment for six years in 1911. In the same year, the partition of Bengal was revoked and the Congress adopted a conciliatory policy.

The World War of 1914-1918 brought a new outlook in India. The country wholeheartedly supported the British against Germany and the other Central Powers, mobilized over one and a quarter million men and contributed a hundred million pounds to the Imperial War Fund. A great event of the time was, however, the Hindu-Moslem reconciliation. In 1916, a Home-rule movement was started by Tilak and Annie Besant, the Theosophical leader, and was accepted by both Congress and the Moslem League. A Congress-League Pact was signed, providing separate electorates and weightage to the minority and demanding a partnership with self-governing dominions in the British Empire. Increasing tension between the Indians and the British led Norman Montague, Secretary of State for India, to issue the following Declaration of Policy on August 20, 1917:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

The greatest event of the national movement was, however, the entrance into the Congress of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in 1919. The great disappointment of the Government of India Act of 1919, which was supposed to implement the declaration of 1917, and the enactment of the Rowlatt Acts of 1919, providing for the trial of political cases without jury, and the imprisonment of political suspects

without trial, made the political situation more intense. Moreover, the Jallianwalla Bag tragedy of April 13, 1919, when General Dyer ordered the firing at an unarmed crowd gathered in defiance of the government order, which killed 379 and wounded 1,200 persons, created strong resentment and indignation throughout the country. It was at this juncture that Gandhi took over India's political leadership and organized the Satyagraha Sabha (League of Organized Pacifism) to carry on political activities by mass movement. But the Government of India adopted very strong repressive measures and Gandhi was obliged to suspend the movement.

In 1920, the Congress adopted a policy of "non-violent non-co-operation" for the attainment of Swaraj and started the mass movement, organizing the National Volunteer Corps and pledging non-violence. This was, however, ruthlessly suppressed by the government and the leaders, except Gandhi, were imprisoned. In 1921 Gandhi also started the Civil Disobedience Movement, but the news that twenty-two policemen were killed by the peasants of Chauri Chaura, a small village in the United Provinces, under the leadership of the Congress workers, led him to suspend the movement at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli. By the beginning of 1922, 30,000 men and women including C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, and Jawaharlal Nehru had been arrested; Gandhi himself was also arrested in February, 1922, and imprisoned for six years. To call off the movement at the height of its development was regarded by most of the Congressmen as one of the "Himalayan Blunders" of Gandhi.

In 1923 a new Swaraj Party was founded under the leadership of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru to fight the Constitution of 1919 in both the Central and Provincial legislatures. The Swaraj Party formed the strongest single bloc in the Central Legislative Assembly. The reversal during the post-war period of the British economic policy adopted during the War raised strong criticism among the industrialists. The exclusion of the Indians from the Statutory Commission appointed by the British Government in 1927 for investigating the

constitutional advancement to be conferred upon India as provided by the Government of India Act of 1919, gave rise to vehement protest against the British and all political parties boycotted the Commission. On October 31, 1929, the Viceroy issued a statement that "it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of the Dominion status."

After six years of inactivity the Congress movement began to revive itself in 1929. In the meantime the Congress movement was strengthened by several other forces, such as the student movement, the peasants' and workers' movement, the trade union movement, socialist and communistic movements. Moreover, a younger generation under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appeared on the scene to take a leading part in Congress activities. In its Lahore session in December, 1929, the Congress adopted independence as its goal and at midnight, December 31, 1929, unfurled a tri-color national flag of Indian independence. On January 26, 1930, the first day set aside to celebrate national independence, Pandit Nehru, the President of the Congress, read the declaration of Indian independence: "It is the inalienable right of the Indian people, . . . as of any other people, to have freedom . . . and that India must sever the British connection and attain *purna swaraj* (complete independence)."

A spectacular event of this period was the famous "Salt March" which Gandhi commenced on April 6, 1930, gathering around him an increasingly large number of followers as he proceeded to the sea in protest against the law which placed an excise duty on the manufacture of salt. Gandhi had often protested against salt duties, as the Indian people were too poor to pay even the trifling sum involved. By the end of April the Hindu troops refused to fire on the Moslem crowd at Peshawar. The Civil Disobedience movement alarmed the Government and Gandhi was arrested on May 5, 1930, as a precautionary measure. The Congress and its allied organizations were declared illegal, meetings were broken up by force, and the crowds were fired upon. The total number

of arrests amounted to 90,000; but on January 26, 1931, Gandhi and other members of the Working Committee were released and a Gandhi-Irwin agreement was signed on March 4, 1931, which was ratified by the Karachi Congress convened for the purpose, and the Civil Disobedience movement was suppressed.

In 1931, the Congress also passed a Fundamental Rights and Duties Resolution modeled after the American Bill of Rights providing for: (1) The right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms; (2) the protection of the culture, language, and script of the minorities and the different linguistic areas; (3) the franchise on the basis of universal adult suffrage; (4) no disability for public employment to any citizen by reason of religion, caste, creed, or sex; (5) free and compulsory education; (6) the security for the workers of a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labor, and protection against the economic consequence of old age, sickness, and unemployment; (7) the reform of the system of land tenure, revenue and rent; and (8) the state ownership and control of key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping, and other means of public transport.

In spite of its success in forcing the Government to sign an agreement, and Gandhi's attendance at the London Round Table Conference, the Congress failed to achieve any of its aims. Moreover, on his return to India emptyhanded, Gandhi found that the Government of India was bent on severe repressive measures on the Congress. On January 4, 1932, the Congress and its allied organizations were declared illegal, and Gandhi and the other Congress leaders and workers were arrested, their publications were banned, and members' funds and property were confiscated. By March, 1933, about 120,000 persons had been imprisoned. In 1934, the Congress, however, gave up Civil Disobedience and adopted constitutional methods for the achievement of self-government. Gandhi and other prisoners were released and in June, 1934, the Government lifted the ban on the Congress. In the same year Gandhi

resigned from Congress membership, although he remained up to the end of his life the greatest force for Indian nationalism.

In 1936 the Congress decided to contest the seats in the elections of members in the provincial legislature created by the Government of India Act of 1935 and came out victorious in seven out of eleven provinces, and actually formed Congress ministries in eight provinces. The Congress held these for only a little over two years, but even in this short period it started nation-building work of great significance. Although for a long time it was only a body of agitators and propagandists, the Congress showed wonderful administrative capacity when it was in power in various provinces. The Congress ministries managed state affairs skilfully, devoted themselves to the welfare of the people, and started constructive work and received appreciation even from those who opposed them. "As government, the Congress ministries in various provinces have shown initiative, sagacity, tact, and fairness, and have created a well-deserved encomium from friends and foes alike."*

Since the acceptance of provincial ministries in 1937 the Congress has become a political party and when, by the declaration of war on her behalf by the British Government, India became a belligerent nation in 1939, the Congress Party negotiated with the British Government on the War Cabinet Offer in March 1942, and formed the Indian Interim Government on September 2, 1946, and the Dominion Government on August 15, 1947. With the attainment of virtual independence, the Congress Party gained both in strength and prestige and began to realize some of the ideals for which it fought for over a generation.

From its very start, the Indian Congress aimed at the establishment of an independent, united, democratic India, with complete equality of citizenship for all classes of people, irrespective of race, caste, creed, or sex, and with the adequate protection of the culture, language, and rights of the minorities, as declared by its Bill of Rights of 1931. It stood for free compulsory elementary education, universal suffrage, and improvement of social wel-

**India Year Book*, Bombay, 1941-42.

fare; it developed an elaborate program for education, health, agriculture, industry, and planned economy. The Congress party was organized on political principles and, although the majority of the members were Hindus in a Hindu-majority country, it had among its leaders and members of all classes of people—Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others. The strength of the Congress was not so much in its membership as in the active and passive sympathy of the majority of the Indian population, both articulate and inarticulate.

THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

The All-India Moslem League was founded in 1906 in order to have an effective organization for the protection and promotion of communal interests through various methods, such as separate representation, attainment of political and other rights, presentation of the needs and aspirations of the Moslems before the Government, and promotion of inter-communal unity without prejudice to the interests of the League. Soon after its foundation the League made a representation, when the Morley-Minto reforms became the subject of discussion, for the inclusion of the following terms in the new Constitution: (1) The right of the Moslems to elect their own representatives by means of special electorates; and (2) the allotment of seats to the Moslems in excess of their population. The Government of India accepted these propositions and incorporated them in the reform of 1909.

In 1913 Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a brilliant lawyer from the Bombay High Court and a moderate Congress leader, joined the Moslem League. In the same year the League enlarged its creed and incorporated the achievement of self-government in the British Empire as one of its aims. In 1916 Jinnah was elected President of the League. Both the Hindus and the Moslems realized that dissension among them retarded the political progress of the country and they came to an understanding regarding the system of election and the distribution of administrative posts in the future government under what is called the Lucknow Pact. Jinnah played an important part in bringing about

Hindu-Moslem unity and harmony. He was hailed as the ambassador of Indian unity and he even told the Moslem League members, "This fear of Hindu domination is a bogey." The Lucknow Pact was incorporated in the Constitution by the Government of India Act of 1919.

During the war of 1914-18, Jinnah advocated constitutional reforms in exchange for India's support of the British war effort and in 1919 resigned from the Legislative Council of the Government of India in protest against the Rowlatt Acts. He also disagreed with Mahatma Gandhi on the non-co-operation movement as he thought it might heighten the religious sentiments and harm Indians, especially Moslems. In 1920 Jinnah was re-appointed President of the League and in 1921 he broke away completely from the Indian National Congress.

In 1927 the League held its meeting at Delhi under Jinnah's leadership. He agreed to the plan for common electorates with the Hindus on condition that Sind be created a separate province; reforms were introduced in the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan, but the proposal was rejected by other Moslem leaders and abandoned. The League was also divided on the question of the exclusion of Indians from representation on the Statutory Commission, and Jinnah refused to co-operate with the Commission.

In 1930 he rejected the recommendations of the Simon Commission on Indian Constitutional Reform. At the Round Table Conference of the same year the League was strongly represented under the leadership of the Aga Khan, and Jinnah demanded separate electorates for both religious communities and assurance of proportional representation and an equal share of places in the central and provincial governments; but these proposals were strongly opposed by the Congress leaders. The League secured substantial concessions for the Moslems under the Communal Award of 1932.

In 1934 Jinnah was again re-elected President of the League, which position he maintained, through regular re-election, until 1948 when he resigned. In the provincial election of 1937 the League lost heavily. Out of 482

seats assigned to the Moslems in the Provinces, the League won only 108, or less than one-fourth of all the seats, in contrast to overwhelming victory by the Congress Party in the legislatures of both Central and Provincial Governments. Each of the eight ministries formed by the Congress Party had, however, a Moslem minister. The League bitterly attacked the Congress ministries for discrimination against minority Moslems in the Hindu majority provinces, which was, however, denied by the Congress Party. In the same year the League at its Lucknow session passed a resolution championing the cause of all minority communities of the country as indicated by the resolution: "Establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of full democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Moslems and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution." But the League also organized its branches in all the provinces and in a number of districts and continued its agitation for sectarian advantage.

Soon after the declaration of war in September, 1939, the Working Committee of the League made a bid to the British Government for its full support on condition that a sense of security be created and that satisfaction be obtained among the Moslems by the recognition of the Moslem League as the only organization to speak for all the Moslems of India. About the same time the League renewed its attack on the domination of the Moslems by the Hindus. On the day the Congress ministries resigned from the Provincial Governments, Jinnah celebrated it as "Deliverance Day" and made sweeping allegations against the Congress ministers.

On March 22, 1940, in the annual conference Jinnah demanded an autonomous new state comprising all the Moslem majority provinces of India. On August 8, 1940, the Government of India made a declaration for protecting the minority rights in the future Constitution of India. In the Madras Session of April, 1941, the League passed a resolution demanding a completely independent state in the Moslem-majority provinces but safeguarding the rights and interests of the minori-

ties living in them on the same basis as the Moslem minority was treated in the Hindu-majority provinces. Moreover, it also demanded that all the contiguous Moslem-majority provinces be joined together both in the north-west and in the north-east, and all these Moslem-majority territories be combined together into Pakistan for the Moslems as against Hindustan for the Hindus.

Jinnah urged the British Government to give up their policy of appeasement toward those who were bent upon the frustration of their war efforts, and to co-operate only with those desiring that relation. Toward the end of the same year, he warned the British public and the Government that any departure from the pledged policy and declaration of August 8, 1940, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Moslem India and would be resented by the Moslems with all the force at their command. After the war started the League became one of the two leading Indian political parties to negotiate with the British Government on the future of Indian independence and the Constitution of India as will be discussed later.

From the above it is seen that the League was essentially a communal organization and as such it had the same right in the national life as the Hindu Mahasabha. But, as admitted by some of its leaders, it owed its origins to the British policy of "divide and rule" which reached its climax in the demand for Pakistan. Moreover, there is a general belief among the non-Moslems and even among the Moslem population that the British Government adopted a policy of appeasement toward the Moslems, as indicated by the recognition of Jinnah as the only spokesman for the Moslem community.

With the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state, the League realized its main objective and most of its activities came to an end. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam (the Great Leader), and the other prominent leaders left India. After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30, 1948, the Government of India prohibited political organization on a communal basis. The Moslem League Party in the

Indian Legislature dissolved itself and the All-India Moslem League took itself out of politics. The Moslem League of the United Provinces also dissolved itself and formed a new people's party which was made open to all classes of people irrespective of religion.

THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA

The third important political organization in India is the Hindu Mahasabha, which, although communal in origin, has recently been taking an increasingly important part in the political movements of the country. The beginning of the Mahasabha may be traced back to the year 1906, when a provincial conference of the Hindus in Bengal expressed great apprehension regarding the gradual decrease in the normal growth of the Hindu population, and when a similar organization was also formed in the Punjab for safeguarding the interests of the whole Hindu community. The foundation of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was laid at Allahabad in 1910, when the formation of such an organization was decided upon and in a few years it appeared in the national life of the country as an important political organization and was recognized as such by the Government of India in 1940.

The forces which had given rise to the Mahasabha were many, such as (1) the rise of the Moslem League and its increasingly aggressive policy against the Hindus; (2) the decreasing birth-rate among the Hindus as compared with that among the Moslems; (3) the conversion of the Hindu and aboriginal population into Mohammedanism and Christianity; (4) favoritism shown by the British Government toward the Moslems at the expense of the Hindus; (5) the lenient policy of the Congress toward the Moslems; and (6) revival of Hinduism as a great culture.

The Mahasabha's interest in national politics began in 1918, when it demanded responsible self-government for India as a unit of the British Empire and expressed its strong opposition to the introduction of creed and color considerations in the national legislature. Since then the Mahasabha has opposed communal representation in national institutions and

services and demanded the universal franchise for all communities in each province and the immediate grant of dominion status and the recruitment of officers for the King's Commission in the Indian Army from all classes of the people irrespective of color and creed. In 1932, the Mahasabha condemned the Communal award by the British Government as a measure against "all canons of democratic, responsible, and representative government,"† and also against "unanimous opinions" of the vast Hindu community, of the Sikhs, of the important sections of Moslems, Christians, and depressed classes." The Mahasabha also took strong exception to the Congress in its neither-accept-nor-reject attitude. Some of the Mahasabha members under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of the Hindu University, started a New Congress National Party.

In 1937 V. D. Savarkar became President of the Mahasabha and introduced a virile program for the regeneration of the Hindu community and declared as its goal the attainment of complete independence by all legislative and peaceful means. In 1940 the Mahasabha claimed that it alone had the right to speak in the name of the Hindu community, and stoutly resisted the demand of the Moslem League for the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. In 1942 the Mahasabha was the first to reject the Cripps offer inasmuch as it might divide India into two or more separate states. After the imprisonment of the Congress leaders, the Mahasabha made several attempts to secure recognition by the British Government of India's independence, of the formation of a national government, and of India's active participation in the war on behalf of Britain and her allies.

†The injustice of the Communal Award is best indicated by the absurd allotment of communal representation in Bengal, where the Moslems and Hindus constituted, respectively, 55 and 43 per cent of the population and were entitled to 99 and 78 seats, respectively, according to the population; but the British granted 117 and 78 seats, respectively, the latter including 30 seats reserved for the depressed classes.

A surprising event about this time was the resolution passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly under the guidance of Rajagopalachari approving the Moslem League's request for the partition of India in April, 1942. The resolution was defeated in the All-India Congress Committee shortly after that, but it created great prejudice against Rajagopalachari, one of the prominent leaders of the Congress movement. Savarkar stigmatized it as passing from *Quit India* to *Split India* and appealed to the members of the Mahasabha to fight for the preservation of the national and territorial integrity.

In 1944, the year of the Silver Jubilee, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee succeeded Mr. Savarkar as the President of the Mahasabha and condemned the British policy of "divide and rule," the recognition of the Moslem League as the sole spokesman of the Moslems, and the Pakistan scheme. The Mahasabha adopted several resolutions, including (1) the right of the Mahasabha alone to speak on behalf of the Hindus; (2) determined opposition to the Pakistan scheme; and (3) immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British. In the following years the Mahasabha suffered a number of reverses and protested in vain against the Moslem parity with the caste Hindus and the partition of India.

After its recognition by the British Government as a political party, the Mahasabha gained both in membership and prestige, and industrialists, money-lenders, and landowners became members. In fact, next to the Congress, the Mahasabha was the largest political organization in the country. This increasing strength of the Mahasabha was due partly to the growing reaction against the demand of the League for special favors, which the British Government granted and the Congress Party conceded, partly to the rising consciousness of the gradual decline in number of the Hindu population as compared with that of other religious groups, such as the Moslems and the Christians, and partly to increasing desire to preserve the territorial integrity of their own country.

The Mahasabha was avowedly a militant organization of the orthodox Hindus to safe-

guard their cultural interests and claimed that India was a land of Hindus, i.e., the peoples belonging to the Hindu race, irrespective of their religious denominations. The Mahasabha stood for United India at any cost, and was violently opposed to the Pakistan scheme. It supported the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 for the federation of British India with Indian States, which were ruled mostly by Hindu princes.

On February 15, 1948, the Working Committee of the Mahasabha adopted a resolution condemning the shooting of Mahatma Gandhi as "a matter of shame and humiliation" and as "suspending all political activities throughout India and concentrating on the social, religious, and cultural problems of Hindu society and the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees."

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

The National Liberal Federation took its rise from the split between the moderates and the radicals in the special session of the Congress in Bombay in 1918. The Federation held its first meeting under the chairmanship of Surendranath Banerjee in the same year, adopted for its creed the same objective as that of the old Congress, i.e., self-government within the British Empire, and became the medium for the expression of moderate views on Indian political problems.

The Federation had accepted the political reforms as envisaged by the Government of India Act of 1919, and took over the ministry of several provinces inaugurated under that Act in 1920. But at the election of 1923 when the Swarajists entered the legislature, the Federation began to lose its influence in the country. In 1927, the Federation took the lead in boycotting the Statutory Commission for non-inclusion of the Indians and, in 1928, even urged that Dominion Status be granted. Under the leadership of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru it took an important part in the First Round Table Conference and demanded that the Federal executive should be made responsible to the popular chamber of the federal legislature, that

the residual powers should be vested with the Central Government, that the defense should be Indianized at a definite rate and proportion within a fixed time, and that in all elections there should be a common electorate with reservation of seats for communities.

The Federation took an important part also in the Second Round Table Conference and protested against the scheme of the new Constitution which granted no responsible government to the people and preserved special powers with the Governor-General and Governors and kept the defense, finance, and foreign affairs beyond the power of the legislature. The criticism of the new Constitution under the Government of India Act of 1935 by the Federation became all the more important in view of the fact that the Congress was under ban as an illegal body and could not raise any voice against constitutional changes.

In the general election of 1937 under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Federation made scarcely any progress, but its leaders were engaged in various political activities and organized several non-party conferences demanding, in March 1941, the Indianization of the Viceroy's Council with non-official Indians with the exception of the defense ministry and, in 1943, the immediate release from prison of Gandhi (who was then fasting) and other Congress leaders, or their trial in open court. In the annual conference of 1943-44, the Federation adopted resolutions reiterating the demand for the release of Congress leaders from prison in order to give them an opportunity to reconsider their resolution of August 8, 1942, and also for the formation of a national government consisting of Indian leaders enjoying the people's confidence. During World War II, the Federation, especially Sir Tej Bahadur, took a leading part in reorganizing non-party conferences and on December 29, 1944, set up a conciliation committee for outlining the future Constitution of India. The report of the committee is a valuable document and will be discussed later.

Like the Indian National Congress, the Federation was based on political principles and was open to everyone having liberal views.

It consisted of a large body of highly educated public men whose expert knowledge in their respective fields was much appreciated all over the country. They did not, however, develop any practical policy of achieving the desired goal beyond criticism of the Government policy and petitioning for political concession; they therefore had very few followers. The essential difference between the Congress and the Federation was that while the former aimed at complete independence and employed direct methods, e.g., non-co-operation and civil disobedience, the latter had long stood for Dominion Status and had only recently demanded independence and favored a constitutional method for achieving the national goal. India's independence has been achieved, and some of the leaders of the National Liberal Federation have remained India's elder statesmen, and their learned and mature advice on all questions of national importance are still available to their countrymen.

THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

An important question regarding the political movement in India today is that of its future. With the achievement of national independence some of the parties have disappeared while others have reorganized themselves into political parties both in the national parliament and in the State legislative assemblies, as noted above. An immediate effect of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination was the dissolution of political parties based on communalism, such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Moslem League, and the Akali Dal (Sikh organization), which were dissolved at least for the time being and their members were set free to join either the Congress or any other political organization. Some of them were reorganized before the elections but the Congress still remains the dominant party.*

(To be Continued)

* See the writer's *India and A New Civilization*, Calcutta, 1922. *Indian Year Book*, Bombay, for several years.

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE MINISTERIAL TANGLE IN ORISSA

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INTRODUCTION

WE propose to discuss in this paper some aspects of the ministerial crisis that occurred in Orissa last summer. Although it was a local event it started a heated political controversy throughout the country as it involved some constitutional issues of general interest to the country as a whole bearing on the successful working of parliamentary system in India. It, therefore, deservedly attracted the attention of students of constitutional law and practice in the country as also of practical politicians. Parliamentary system which is native to the soil of Britain is an exotic growth in India which has got to take its roots here in a new soil and cannot, therefore, be expected to develop exactly on the same pattern as in the country of its origin. It is also natural that it would confront novel situations and problems which will call for evolving new practices and conventions to meet them. There is also bound to be controversy as to the correct practice and convention that should be established governing a particular situation that may arise. Through such discussions and in the light of experience healthy conventions would come to be established.

BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS

The last general elections did not give any of the political parties that contested the elections an absolute majority. The party position in the Orissa State immediately after the General elections was as follows* :

Congress—56, Ganatantra Parishad—51, P. S. P.—11, C. P. I.—9, Independents—13.* In the circumstances in accordance with the time-worn convention of parliamentary system the leader of the Congress party being the

one with the biggest majority was called upon to form the Government and the leader of the Party Dr. H. K. Mahatab accordingly formed his Government with the promise of support from the Jharkhand party members. Due to ideological differences between the Ganatantra Parishad the main constituent of the official opposition and the C. P. I. the latter also promised support to the Congress party in general.

The Congress formed a minority Government in the state and as is usual with minority Governments was a weak Government. For some months Mahatab ministry carried on without any hitch and would have done so longer, but for defection within the party organisation which manifested itself in the voting against the nominees of the party in the elections to the Upper House and some Congress Party members crossing the floor to join the Ganatantra Parishad which was taken serious notice of by the local leadership of the party as well as the Congress High Command which took steps for tightening the organisational discipline in the ranks of the Party. This internal weakness of the Congress party gave an opportunity to the opposition groups in the state to make an onslaught on the ministry. P. S. P. and Ganatantra Parishad combined to oust the Congress. The Communist Party members also joined with the other two on a cut motion pressed to a division on the 24th of April, 1958. The ministry could get only one vote majority, the voting being 62 for the motion and 63 against. Two days later 3 more Congress members including a Deputy Minister Anup Singh Deo resigned to join the opposition. Soon after, however, two of them withdrew their resignations. The position of the Congress ministry became extremely precarious and unstable and there was great commotion in political circles. Brisk canvassing started for winning over

* Vide *A. B. Patrika*, Calcutta, dated April 4, 1957

members from one side to the other. The situation was complicated at this stage by Government calling out the military at the capital City Bhubaneswar on the 27th April in apprehension of the breach of the peace. Military were even posted to guard the Assembly buildings. Some Parishad members of the Assembly were placed under arrest. This caused a furore and raised a storm in the opposition circles and the situation became explosive. Political motives were imputed to the arrest of the G. P. members and the posting of military guards in the Assembly buildings was denounced as being designed for intimidation of members and therefore calculated to smother parliamentary democracy in the State. The Government explained that it was not the military that had been called but the state constabulary in view of the apprehended breach of the peace and that the arrest of the G. P. members had no political motive behind, but was in due course of justice, complaint having been lodged against them for breach of the law. However, with the withdrawal of resignation of two members who had crossed the floor the position of the ministry improved and the crisis looked like blowing over. At this juncture, however, the Congress High Command issued a direction to Dr. Mahatab to resign with which he complied and tendered resignation of his ministry. The resignation of Mahatab ministry, enjoying as it did at the time majority support in the Assembly, created a peculiar and novel situation in Orissa politics which raised a controversy as to the correct constitutional procedure to be followed in the circumstances.

THE MINISTERIAL TANGLE IN THE WAKE OF RESIGNATION OF THE CONGRESS MINISTRY

The first question that arose was whether it is proper for a ministry with majority support in the legislature and with no prospect of an alternative Government being formed, to give up responsibility of office.

To us it appears such action cannot be justified from the standpoint of constitutional propriety except for effecting a reshuffle of the ministry consequent on internal dis-

sensions. A ministry with majority support in the legislature holds a commission from the electorate which it should not renounce till it has been defeated in the legislature or on an appeal to the electorate it has failed to get a majority indicating that it has lost the confidence of the electorate. Of course the ministry in this particular case was put in a difficult position by the directive of the Party Executive to resign. It was torn between its allegiance to the Party and loyalty to the Constitution. It is difficult to understand the reason of the action of the Party at this juncture when two of the seceding members had come back to the Party fold and thereby the party position in the legislature improved over what it had been some days before when the ministry had somehow scraped through only with one vote majority and further seeing that a little later without much change in the situation it issued a directive for withdrawing the resignation. But having got the directive of the Party, however, the ministry had no other alternative, but to bow to it even at the cost of sacrificing constitutional propriety.

GOVERNOR'S DILEMMA

It placed the Governor in a difficult situation—a situation which the Constitution does not quite envisage, nor had any convention been established which might guide his action. He was called upon to cut out a path for himself, with the attending risks of such a step. Nor did the law and practices of the English Constitution on which our parliamentary system is substantially modelled throw much light on the course of action he was to follow in the situation.

The decisions of the Governor have naturally raised a controversy and came in for public criticism by the opposition parties. Dr. Mahatab met the Governor on May 9, 1958 and tendered his resignation. The Governor did not immediately accept his resignation, but kept it under consideration and asked him to carry on till he was in a position to make alternative arrangements. Apparently the Governor did not know what to do and wanted to watch the developments in the fluid political situation of the

State before taking a definite line of action. The next day he sent for the leader of the Opposition Maharajah Sri Rajendra Narayan Sing Deo and asked him to let him know by May 13, the names of his supporters in the Assembly and whether he was in a position to form a stable ministry. But the leader of the Opposition subsequently asked for time till 20th May of the Governor to give him the information wanted. All the time, however, Dr. Mahatab's resignation was not accepted, but kept under consideration and the constitutionality of this action of the Governor has been questioned. Doubts were raised even about the impartiality and political neutrality of the Governor for not accepting the resignation of the retiring ministry before starting talks with the leaders of the parties for the formation of an alternative ministry. It has been contended that non-acceptance of the resignation of the outgoing ministry lends an air of unreality to the parley with the leaders of other parties for the formation of Government and tends to prolong the instability and fluidity of the situation. In our opinion there is much substance in this line of argument. The ministry might have been asked to carry on as a care-taker Government till an alternative Government was formed, after acceptance of the resignation. Under Art. 164 (1) of the constitution the Chief Minister and other ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. Therefore it would have been perfectly constitutional for the Mahatab ministry to continue as a care-taker Government even after its resignation was accepted. But this state of unstable equilibrium could not be allowed to continue beyond a period unavoidable in the circumstances, because Art. 163 (1) read with Art. 164 (2) requires him to have a council of ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions and one which should be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly. This latter condition also puts a limitation on the power of the Governor in the matter of appointment of the Chief minister and other ministers so as to restrict it only to such as would be in a position to enjoy the support of the majority in the Legislature.

But the difficulty for the Governor was that none of the party leaders was in a position to have majority support in the Assembly excepting the Congress party with the support of the Jharkhand party members. That was the justification for his not accepting the resignation of the ministry and keeping it under consideration pending developments. If in the meantime the Parishad or PSP could get together a working majority singly or by coalition, the leader of that party or coalition would have been entrusted with the task of forming ministry and the resignation of Dr. Mahatab's ministry would have been accepted immediately. The Governor might well say that he was not prompted by any partisan motive in not accepting the resignation, but simply for having a ministry to advise him till an alternative ministry could be formed, for which he made every honest attempt in the meantime. The opposition parties criticised the inordinate delay in accepting the resignation, not without reason, and imputed even partisan motive to his action. They contended that this non-acceptance of resignation stood in the way of their getting a majority support. The delay in accepting the resignation of an outgoing ministry and formation of an alternative ministry is always liable to be viewed with suspicion and should be reduced to the minimum, as is the practice in England. But in England when one ministry resigns there is usually an opposition leader ready to form either a homogenous or coalition ministry or a minority ministry with the support of some other group or groups. But in the present case there was no such leader forthcoming who could undertake the responsibility of office and therefore the English precedent was not applicable. As the leaders of the other groups could not undertake the responsibilities of office by getting together a majority the Governor had no other alternative, but to request the leader of the Congress party who still commanded a majority in the Legislative Assembly, however slender, to withdraw his resignation, and failing that, to proclaim a break-down of the constitutional machinery under Art. 356 and invoke President's rule in the State. President's rule should not, however, be invoked except as a matter of the last resort;

after all avenues of forming a ministry have been explored and failed. Even if one of the leaders agreed to form a minority ministry he should be given a chance and face the Legislature to test his capacity to run the administration. If he is defeated on the floor of the House he may either resign or advise the Governor to dissolve the legislature and order fresh general elections, so that the electorate might be called upon to give their clear verdict in favour of the parties.

THE PROPER COURSE FOR THE GOVERNOR IN THE ORISSA SITUATION

Perhaps that was the best way of solving a deadlock of the nature that happened in Orissa. But no party leader agreed to accept office and then face the legislature. So the contingency did not arise at all. But when the other parties were not able to form ministry it was open to the Governor to dissolve the legislature and order fresh general elections and thus to place the onus of creating a stable ministry where it should

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rest, *viz*, the electorate. As a constitutional ruler the Governor should not only be impartial but also appear to be so. The less he exercises his personal discretion in the matter of formation of ministries the better for him to preserve this neutrality as a constitutional ruler and the more he would take a hand in the formation of ministry the more he would subject his impartiality to be questioned with or without justification. The reason why the Orissa Governor did not take this step, however, was perhaps either he wanted to avoid a general election so soon after the previous one with all the resultant expense, excitement and dislocation of normal life or perhaps he waited for the Congress Executive to withdraw its directive to Dr. Mahatab which eventually happened. But the propriety and constitutionality of this course of action was legitimately open to question. It was liable to be interpreted as the Governor wanting to bring back the Congress ministry to office and thus behaving in a partisan manner contrary to the spirit of parliamentary democracy.

THE HOOGHLY RIVER

By D. N. SENGUPTA

SILTING of the river Hooghly and its salinity are the two great problems which now face the authorities for solution. The river has two main sources of supply: (1) Supply from the Ganga through the Bhagirathi, Jalanghi and Mathabhanga-Churni; (2) the Western Tributaries, the more important of which are the Mayurakshi, Ajoy, Damodar, Rupnarayan and Kangshabati-Haldi.

The flow from the Ganga is short-lived, being limited to 3 months in the year when the Ganga level is high. Although the supply from this source is beneficial to the Port, it is slowly and surely getting reduced. Two to three decades ago the branches of the Ganga flowing into the Hooghly remained connected with the parent stream for about four months in the year. At the beginning of this century, training

works could keep these branches navigable to small country boats even at their lowest stage.

The western tributaries having no snow-feeding, are entirely dependent on rainfall in their catchment area which totals about 20,000 sq. miles. These rivers practically do not now carry any discharge during the dry weather. Whatever little water used to come down before in the dry season, has practically dwindled to nothing owing to extensive deforestation and unchecked run-off from the basins.

The Hooghly river is the mainstay of the city of Calcutta, and as such it is of primary importance to the State of West Bengal that this river is kept in good order. The Port of Calcutta situated on it, not only serves West Bengal but also all the States of the north-eastern zone of the country and handles about half of the total imports and exports of India.

Moreover, the City of Calcutta and its suburbs draw their water supply from this river.

The irrigation canals which have been constructed in the basins of the western tributaries of the Hooghly, are according to some engineers, responsible for reduction in the supply to the Hooghly from these sources. When, however, the irrigation from Damodar Valley and Mayurakshi Canals will be fully established, seepage will increase and augment the dry weather flow. But the extent of this supply cannot yet be gauged fully, and it cannot also be said how far the seepage flow will help the river Hooghly.

In any case, the present position of the river Hooghly is rather serious. The river has shoaled up to the Hooghly Point. Whatever has been done up to date to improve the river, had no impression on it. Rather, the river has progressively deteriorated.

The question of doing extensive dredging to deepen the river is, it is understood, being considered. Such a measure is effective when bars between deep reaches of a river have to be removed, and the dredged sludge is dropped in the deeper reaches. But the river Hooghly has shoaled for a long length from the docks to the Hooghly Point. In such a situation, dredging to keep the river navigable to sea-going vessels is not likely to be effective.

This deterioration was noticed several years back, and necessity was felt for obtaining a substantial supply from the Ganga all the year round. A scheme was, therefore, prepared for constructing a barrage across the Ganga at Farakka for diverting about a third of its dry weather flow into the Bhagirathi. During the rainy season, when the Bhagirathi receives, in the natural course, a good supply from the Ganga, the barrage would be kept fully open, and the rivers would flow without any artificial control.

This scheme was first suggested by Sir William Wilcox, an eminent Irrigation Engineer, to whom Egypt owes construction of the Aswan Dam. Some thirty years ago, he visited this country on an invitation to find out how the Central Bengal rivers could be resuscitated. Since then, the question of constructing a barrage at Farakka is in view. Investigation of the subject was, however, taken up towards the

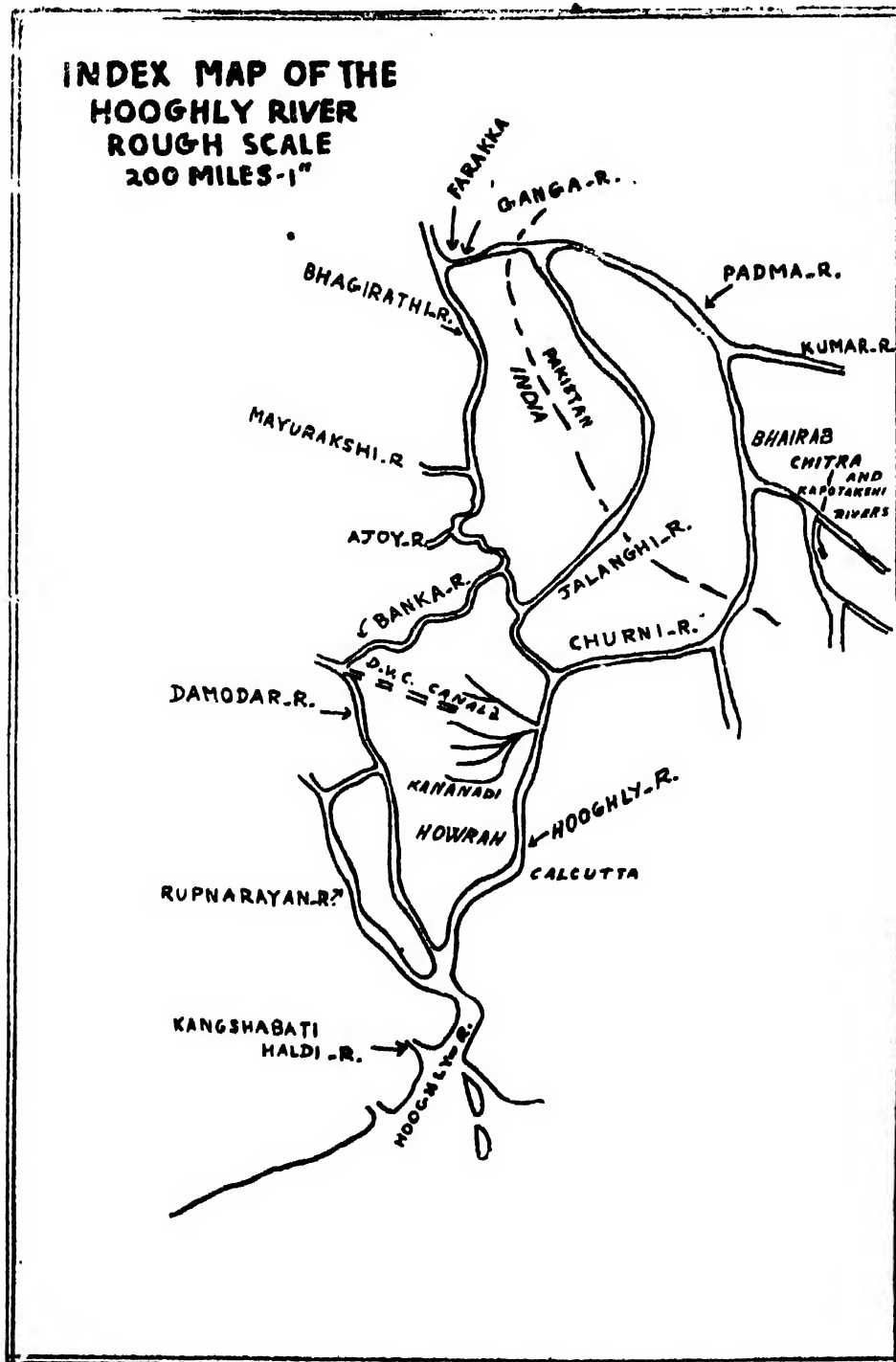
end of the last Great War, and a scheme has since been prepared for its construction. But the question of construction of the barrage was kept pending the execution of other more important projects.

Production of food-grains was given a more important position, and the Mayurakshi Irrigation Project and the Damodar Valley Project were taken up. The former project has since been constructed and the latter is nearing completion. But one of the essential works, namely, checking of quick run-off of rain water has been practically left out from both the Mayurakshi and Damodar basins. Only the more spectacular portions of the works have been done. The forests which were destroyed in these basins during the last Great War for getting timber, were not restored and the country is getting more and more a desert-like climate. Extreme heat and drought, and occasional heavy rain-fall will gradually bring in worse condition. The river Hooghly has thus been most seriously affected.

There is an opinion that the present condition of the Hooghly river is to a large extent due to the bad effect of the Damodar Valley Project. Whether this opinion is right or wrong, the alarmingly bad condition of the Hooghly is evident from the fact that the Kidderpur Docks are practically cut off during the dry months. The question of constructing the Farakka Barrage for improving the Hooghly has, therefore, been taken up now in right earnest.

Those engineers and politicians, who supported the Damodar Valley Project, now condemn it for the present condition of the Hooghly. Before, therefore, the construction of the barrage is taken up, every aspect of the scheme should be well-considered. The construction of the barrage might affect a large area of low country a part of which lies in East Pakistan. A detailed examination of the scheme is, therefore, necessary before the work is taken up.

It is understood that an eminent German engineer has examined the scheme recently and his report is under scrutiny of the India Government. But it is doubtful if he could get facts and figures of the adjoining Pakistan territory to see if that area might be affected by the scheme.



Apart from the question of its desirability and East Pakistan's objection to the Barrage Scheme, the time (10 to 15 years) that we will require to construct the barrage has to be taken into consideration, as in the meantime the river might silt up extensively and use of the Hooghly by sea-going vessels rendered impossible. We should, therefore, think of some immediate measures for maintaining navigability of the river.

The Hooghly river is a tidal creek for about eight months in the year from November to June, and all the considerations for maintenance of a tidal creek should be observed, and nothing should be done, which impedes propagation of tides. In this respect, draw of a large quantity of water from the river at Mullick Ghat near the Howrah Bridge for unfiltered water supply of Calcutta should be abandoned at an early date if possible. That a big char has formed at

the intake of this pumping station, signifies the bad effect of such a draw, and this has happened close to the docks.

In recent years, bores of an increasingly destructive nature were observed in the river, which indicate that flow-tide is receiving increasing obstruction. But apparently no steps were taken to improve the situation. Tortuosity of the channel which is another sign of decay, is on the increase. The river being mainly a tidal creek, it is wrong to say that this deterioration was entirely due to shortage of upland river water from the Ganga, although a good supply of silt-free water from that source would no doubt improve the channel. The present connection with the Ganga is almost the same for the last 30 years. The present rapid deterioration of the river must, therefore, be due to other causes.

Examination of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly bed in its entire length from its offtake at Farakka to the sea, will show that at each place, where a tributary joins, there is a big shoal above the confluence. This is due to the check received to the flow owing to the discharge coming down the tributary. The main examination points are the confluences of—

- (1) The Pagla river and Bhagirathi,
- (2) The Mayurakshi and Bhagirathi,
- (3) The Ajoy and Bhagirathi,
- (4) The Jalanghi and Bhagirathi,
- (5) The Mathabhanga-Churni and Hooghly,
- (6) The Damodar and Hooghly,
- (7) The Rupnarayan and Hooghly,
- (8) The Kangshabati-Haldi and Hooghly.

The western tributaries are all subjects to sudden and flashy floods and they carry a large quantity of coarse sand from their catchments. The Mayurakshi has a low *bil* area at its outfall into the Bhagirathi known as Hijaal *Bil*. Previous to the construction of the detention reservoir on the Mayurakshi at Messanjore, the uncontrolled flood from the hills used to flood this *bil* area, and breach most of the circuit embankments in the *bil*. This flood-water, desilted in the *bil*, was a good source for flushing the Bhagirathi lower down. Since the construction of the Messanjore Dam, very little

desilted *bil* water is now available. Thus, the flood-discharge of the Ajoy, which is charged with a large quantity of coarse sand, now operates in the Bhagirathi without any redeeming supply from upstream except during the three months of flow from the Ganga from July to September. It will, therefore, now be found that the Bhagirathi is badly silted up in its entire course up to Nabadwip. Such change has also affected the Jalanghi and Churni.

Nabadwip is now within the tidal range for 8 months from November to June. On account of the silting of the Bhagirathi, Jalanghi and Churni, the flow-tide receives here a sudden check in its upstream movement, and this check has accelerated the silting of the Hooghly river.

Flow from the Ganga by controlling the river at Farakka might have augmented the ebb-flow and worked as a corrective. But for reasons stated before, no such immediate remedy is possible. The only source, from which upland supply can be obtained immediately is the left bank canal of Damodar Valley Project. Four Dams of the Project—at Maithon, Panchet Hill, Tilaya and Konar—have been constructed, which are already conserving a large volume of rain water of the river basin. This water is meant for production of hydro-electric power and irrigation. These necessities are great, but full development of irrigation will take about 15 years. In the meantime it should be possible to draw about a fifth of the canal's full discharge and pass it down the various outlets which eventually fall into the Hooghly. One of these channels is the Banka river which passes through the town of Burdwan. With a little improvement it can carry a good discharge to the Bhagirathi. Excavations and structures required for the purpose will be small works, and they can be done easily in one working season. The discharge thus obtained could scour out the silt which is now being brought down by the Ajoy River.

In fixing the volume of the upland supply, facts and figures of the D.V.C. must be scrutinized to find out what is the water resource that is available and what maximum discharge can be obtained. But whatever is done

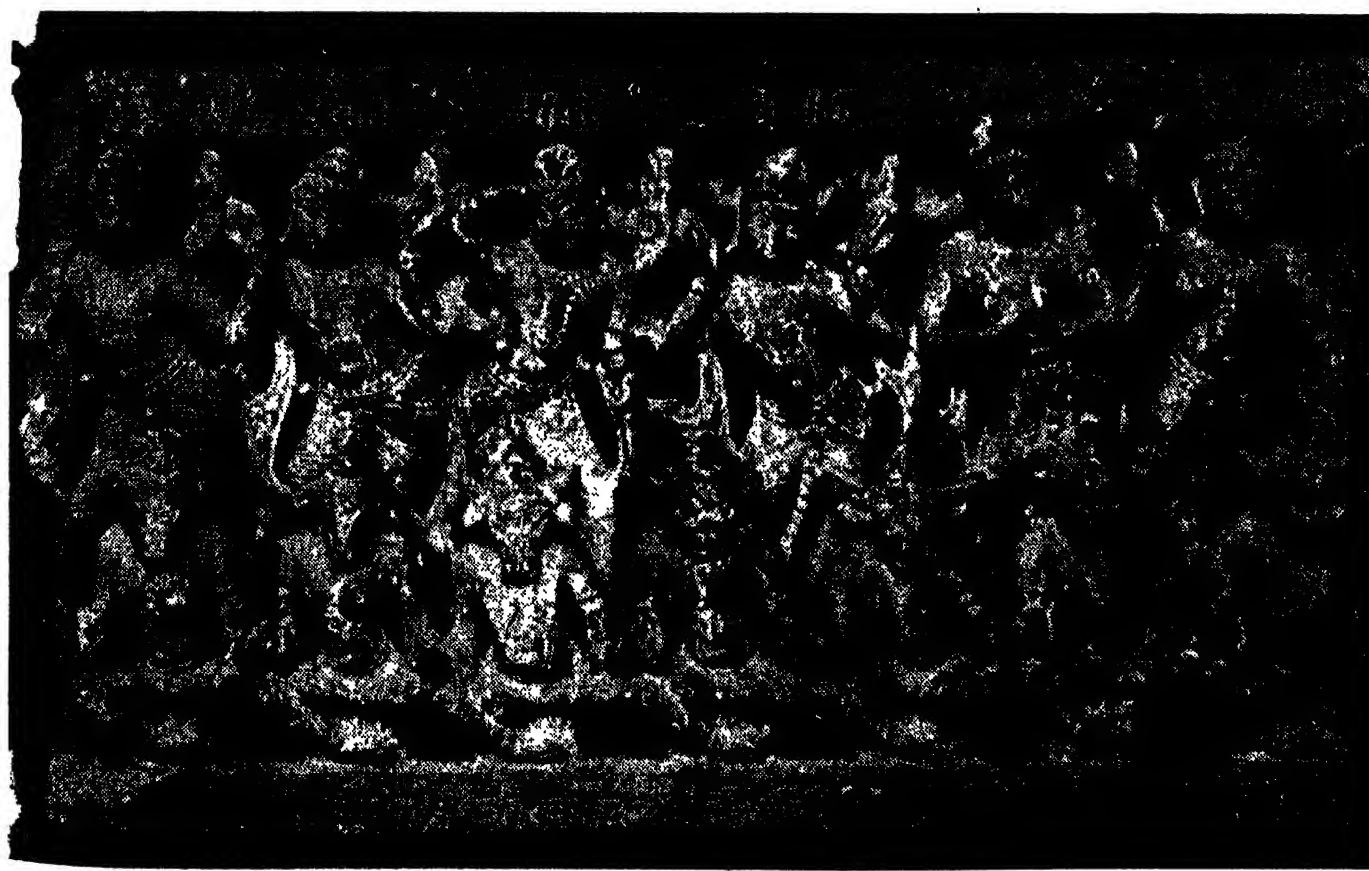
RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER



A finely worked head from Baghera, a 9-12th century site in Ajmer district



A rare image of Saraswati from Banswara State



A fragmentary stone representing Pratah, Madhyamah, Aparanah, Sandhya as well as Magha, Purvaphalgun



Little girls at a Delhi school learning discipline through play



Trainees having a class in general civic problems at the Malviyanagar Training Centre

in this connection, the guidance must come from a model experiment.

We have a good Hydraulic Research Laboratory at Poona. But the requisite experience is not likely to be there. Cost of the experiment will not be much when its great importance is considered. The tidal rivers of U.K. which fall into the North Sea, have tidal fluctuation similar to the Hooghly. Prof. White of the City and Guilds College of the London University and Sir Claude Inglis, F.R.S., who practically established the Poona Laboratory, are doing Hydraulic Research work in U.K. One of them might be entrusted with this research work to find out if the suggested discharge from the Damodar would be useful in removing the shoals from the river bed. Advanced hydraulic research laboratories are also available in West Germany and U.S.A. where this experiment could be done. This experiment, if it is taken up immediately, should not take more than 4½ months.

The remedy suggested here can only be a palliative. The country requires more food, and irrigation water cannot be spared indefinitely. The present suggestion for diversion of the Damodar canal water has been made in view of the present danger to the Calcutta Port and threat to the hygienic condition of the City's water supply owing to its high salinity during the dry weather months.

The present year's deficit in rainfall is likely to create a worse situation in the coming dry season. The excessive draw of sweet water from the underground resource through tube-wells has already depleted this supply. It is understood that some tubewells have already begun to fail. As the underground water is derived mainly from rain water, this year's low rainfall will still further affect the tube-wells in the city and its surroundings.

When a similar tapping of the under-ground supply in the Thames and Mersey valleys of U.K. began to turn tube-well water saline in certain localities, that country had to introduce legislation for restriction to the draw

through tube-wells. A similar legislation is required here as well. It will also be found necessary to have the permanent remedies to replace the immediate remedy at no distant future.

When the idea of having a Ganga Barrage was originally mooted it was wanted for improving the then Central Bengal rivers. Of these channels, only the Bhagirathi, portions of the Jalanghi and Mathabhangha lie in West Bengal. The other channels namely, the Kumar, Bhairab, Chitra and Kapotakshi lie in East Pakistan. These latter channels require supply from the Ganga as much as those in the Indian Union. If the Barrage Scheme is so drawn up, that East Pakistan can get their requirement of water, objection may be waived by the authorities of that country. The palliative measure suggested here will, therefore, be required only for a short period for this negotiation, modifications, if any, that might be wanted for making the scheme suitable for both the countries and execution of the Scheme. In the meantime, the Damodar Canal irrigation water will have to be spared for the greater interest of the Calcutta Port and Calcutta City. The permanent remedy will be:

(i) Ganga Barrage for which we will have to meet objection of Pakistan in the international field,

(ii) Further, conservation of water in the basins of the Western tributaries of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly. The present irrigation works will not retain even a fifth of the water. The additional necessary works are afforestation, construction of head-water-dams, check dams across gullies to prevent quick run-off and other steps for preventing soil-erosion and fostering of absorption of rain water. Later on, if found necessary, some more high dams may also have to be constructed.

These works are in any case necessary to find water for the great industrial ventures, which have been taken up in the valley.



DYNAMISM OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

II

INCOME PER CULTIVATOR

There is no doubt about a rise in the yield per acre⁷¹ in a small holding. But the objection raised is that the yield per unit of labour spent in a small farm is reduced so that the income per farmer is low.⁷² An objection of this nature will also have no validity in India. Chestor Bowles points out in this connection that "the argument that small holdings of land in the hands of individual owners will mean less production is simply not valid. It confuses the cost of production per ton in America with the amount of production per acre. We have believed this myth because in the United States, where land is plentiful and labour is scarce and costly, we have found large-scale farming with giant machines highly profitable. But a Long Island farmer with two acres of good land, with plenty of fertilizer and intensive cultivation, could produce more wheat per acre than a North Dakota farmer with a tractor combine working a large farm."⁷³

Again, the number of people on the land here are there not by choice but by force of circumstances. It is not a business proposition, but a way of life for them. The question of their removal from the land would not, therefore, arise. An increase in the yield per acre would go to give an increase in income per head as well, which cannot be reduced.

71. Dr. S. R. Sen, Paper read by him at the World Population Conference, Rome, September, 1954. "Agricultural Situation," November 1954, p. 528.

"In theory there may be almost no limit to the yield of crops per acre; indeed, before the Royal Commission of 1893 (UK) one witness declared that, by an abnormal application of Capital (in this case stable manure), he had secured a yield of wheat of 130 bushels to the acre. (J. A. Venn, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, 1923, p. 375).

72. Cf., T. N. Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*.

J. A. Venn (*Op. Cit.*, p. 89) while discussing this problem also agreed with Orwin who had said, "Taking the results as they stand the fact emerges that employment and production vary inversely with the size of the holding, but that the production per man employed varies directly with the size of the holding."

73. Ambassador's Report, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175.

This is particularly so when some 26 to 28 per cent of the net area sown in India is under a crop like rice on which some 50 per cent of the population depends for food and where mechanized cultivation on a large scale is not suitable. Then, emphasis has already shifted under the Second Five-Year Plan to protective foods which would mean bringing larger areas under vegetable and garden crops. The need here also will be that of small farms. Garden farms of Denmark and Germany are glaring examples of the type. They have succeeded in doing away with the disadvantages of marketing economies as well, by adopting co-operative methods.⁷⁴

LESSONS OF HISTORY

Small family farms have their own place in the agricultural economy of the world. Much of the progress in intensive cultivation in China⁷⁵ and Japan is, perhaps, due to the small size of the farms there. "Canada, France and New Zealand have long been nations of family farms. Years ago, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden divided small estates into family farms by positive action propaganda. In Czechoslovakia and England, steps in this direction have been taken since the Second World War."⁷⁶

Imbued with the spirit of increasing production and general well-being, public opinion in Denmark set steadily in favour of small peasant farms. A law was passed to bring into being a large number of farms. The applicant, if he could prove that he had sufficient knowledge of farming and was industrious, was given a farm of 3 to 16 acres on payment of one-tenth of the cost only and further payments were required to be made only after 5 years.⁷⁷

74. T. H. Middleton, *The Recent Developments of German Agriculture*, pp. 22 and 36.

75. According to J. L. Buck, (*Land Utilization in China*, 1937, p. 184), the average size of the fields throughout the country is half an acre.

76. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 79. Two members of Famine Commission (1945)—Mr. Ramamurthy and Mr. M. Afzal Hussain were also in favour of small holdings as compared to medium ones (*Final Report*, p. 260).

77. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

Small holdings should not, therefore, be condemned outright. In a country where there is the maximum pressure on the land we cannot, perhaps, do away with them. The only way, there, out of the evil of sub-division (if we may call it so) is a change in our laws of inheritance. But this may not be possible. Even if this could be done, the advantages are a little dubious. Law of primogeniture under which the eldest son inherits the entire holding and he has to pay in cash to his younger brothers by way of compensation is in force in Burma. But the Burma Provincial Enquiry Committee found that one of the main causes of the poverty of the Burmese was the existence of this law.⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

It may thus be added that the size of holding, important as it is, is not all that matters in the agricultural economy. Consolidation of holdings, no doubt an important preliminary step for a more rational use of land, is considered to be no permanent solution to the problem of uneconomic holdings.⁷⁹ Many of our difficulties in this respect may be automatically solved as a result of whatever progress we can make in co-operative farming.⁸⁰ The desired change in our ideas about land values as envisaged under our future land policy, which we have already discussed, may also go a long way towards stopping further sub-division of holdings.

Slow progress made so far in the matter of consolidation seems to be due to the dearth of experienced staff, heavy costs⁸¹ which accrue after every generation⁸² and other complications involved. The Bihar Co-operative Planning Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Deep Narain Sinha, the State Minister for Co-operation, has already declared that a complete

consolidation of holdings is neither practicable nor desirable. The solution suggested by the committee is to permit mutual exchanges of plots⁸³ under the supervision of the village *panchayats*. The problem may immediately be solved by what is known as the consolidation of cropping under which different farmers cultivate the same crop in contiguous fields, so that it looks like a single farm in appearance. This system promotes the use of better seeds, fertilizers and implements besides securing other allied advantages.⁸⁴ The ultimate solution, perhaps, lies in the establishment of co-operative village management as envisaged by the Planning Commission.

Such being the nature of the problem it would be better for us to appreciate the real position and not unnecessarily difficulties. Whatever the acreage can profitably be consolidated is good, but even the existing land pattern should not stand in the way of our stepping up agricultural production. A dovetailing of small and big farms as they exist is, in fact, the need of the hour.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND THE BRITISH

BEFORE the advent of the British in India, village communities formed a special feature of her economy. These 'communities' performed a useful role and the villages functioned as small 'republics' which being self-sufficient, depended but little on the outside world. Communications and marketing did not, therefore, figure pre-dominantly in such economies.

After the British rule, however, agriculture in India changed rapidly. Although it is of the nature of subsistence farming, "the prosperity of the agriculturist and the success of any policy of general agricultural improvement depend, to a very large degree, on the facilities which the agricultural community has at its disposal for marketing to the best advantage such of its produce as is surplus to its own requirements."⁸⁵ Transport is, no doubt, only an

78. R. N. Kaushik, *Consolidation of Holdings in India; Studies in Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 1, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, p. 136.

79. Kolhatkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

80. For rough estimates refer to Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Op. Cit.*, p. 139 and R. N. Kaushik, *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.

81. Tarlok Singh, *Poverty and Social Change*, pp. 42-43.

82. Quoted by Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

83. *The Hindusthan Times*, April 25, 1955.

84. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?* *Op. Cit.*, pp. 82-83 and R. K. Mukherjee, *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 119.

85. *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.

adjunct or contributory service in the process of production, yet it promotes the division of labour in space as between regions or countries.⁸⁶ Improved communication and marketing services thus play an important part in modern society. Such services serve as an impetus to agricultural production, both directly as well as indirectly.⁸⁷

COMMUNICATIONS

Good roads help the cultivator to market his produce profitably. They also "promote the free exchange of ideas no less than that of merchandise" according to the Royal Commission.⁸⁸ They help in reducing illiteracy—the *summum bonum* of all the rural ills—as closer contact is established between the town and the country.

Bad Communications are again a constant strain on the health and stamina of draught animals, thus seriously affecting their efficiency. The strain is all the more greater in areas where the marketing of 'khariff' produce coincides with the sowing of 'rabi' crops. Improved roads, on the other hand, indirectly improve the efficiency of bullocks.⁸⁹

Cheap transport helps the cultivator in reducing his cost of production, in so far as he can get fertilizers, iron, cement, etc., at lower cost. He is thus able to supply his goods in the market at cheaper rates. Invariably transport constitutes a major percentage of the cost even when the whole-sale dealer is quite near the village. Such costs have been estimated in India by the Marketing Surveys as between 7

to 27 per cent of the consumer's price⁹⁰. This comes to about 20 per cent according to Nanavati and Anjaria, while in an advanced country like the U.S.A. transportation does not account for more than 23 per cent of only the marketing costs⁹¹. An improvement in communications in India as anywhere else can therefore go a long way in reducing total marketing costs, thereby giving great fillip to production.

RAILWAYS

The Indian Railway system is the largest nationalised undertaking in the country. "It is one of the few systems in the world with a net earning adequate to meet all fixed charges and provide substantial sums for development and reserves⁹²." After World War II, the Railways were faced with the serious problem of rehabilitation and the total stock needing replacement by the end of March 31, 1956 was estimated by the Planning Commission at 2,092 locomotives, 8,535 coaches and 47,553 wagons. A major portion of this rehabilitation work will be completed by the end of the First Five-Year Plan. With 49 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 4800/- crores allocated to railways, the Second Five-Year Plan has already placed great emphasis on meeting the increasing demands for both goods and passenger traffic and also constructing new lines.⁹³ Railways are thus sure to play an important role in the future economic set-up of the country.

ROADS

Besides waterways, roads—metalled or unmetalled—form an important part of the coun-

86. According to Dr. M. B. Ghatge [Article on 'Agricultural Marketing,' ICAR Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1929-1954), p. 116] problems of Agricultural Marketing have assumed a socio-economic character.

National Planning Committee Report, Transport, March 1949, Pp. 20-21.

87. Denmark was the pioneer in understanding what may be called the 'language of the market.' cf., Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Agrarian Relief*, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 41-42, for details.

88. *Royal Commission Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.

89. *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 368.

90. S. Y. Krishnaswami, *Rural Problems in Madras*, p. 325

91. G. S. Shepherd, *Marketing of Farm Products*, Iowa, 1946, p. 213. Quoted by Sayana; *Op. Cit.*, p. 112. For India refer to Nanavati and Anjaria, *Op. Cit.*, p. 56 and for USA R. Cohan, *Economics of Agriculture*, p. 25. The British farmer in the case of farm product before 1939 obtained less than 8d. of every shilling paid by the consumer according to V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 159.

92. *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 461.

93. *Second Five-Year Plan*, A Draft Outline, Pp. 35 and 143.

try's economy. Existing roads in India fall far short of the actual requirements.⁹⁴ The Nagpur Report (1943) on the Post-war Road Development had recommended a ten-year development programme in which the mileage of hard-surface roads was to be increased from 66,400 to 122,000 and low-type roads from 112,000 to 207,500. The objective underlying the Plan was that no village should be more than 5 miles away from the main high-way.

Immediate attention was paid under the First Five-Year Plan to the roads which were neglected in the past. The length of the national high-ways was to be increased from 11,900 miles in 1950-51 to 12,500 miles in 1955-56 and of the State roads from 17.6 thousand miles to 20.6 thousand miles during the same period. The Second Five-Year Plan provides for additional 9,000 to 10,000 miles of national high-ways and State roads⁹⁵.

But no road development programme can be of any real meaning unless 5 lakhs and odd Indian villages are connected with the marketing centres and other state roads or national high-ways.⁹⁶ The Central Roads Organisation has formulated a 'model scheme' for the development of village roads on a co-operative basis and has made an initial offer of a grant of Rs. 15 lakhs from the Central Road Research Fund as a contribution towards specific projects.

94. India has at present only about 249,000 miles of roads other than Municipal, of which only 90,000 miles are metalled. (*India—A Reference Annual*, 1953, Publication Division). According to *All-India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. 11, p. 94, the length of municipal roads in 1947-49 was only 1,81,000 miles in Part A States. The All-India average (p. 23 of the Report) is only 0.22 miles per square mile which is less than the average (0.30 miles of highway per square mile) for a 'desert' area in the United States.

95. *The Hindusthan Times*, October 23, 1953.

96. *Royal Commission on Agriculture* (*Op. Cit.*, p. 373) says, "The Provision of excellent main roads adequate in all respects for every form of transport is of little benefit to the cultivator if his access to them is hampered by the condition of roads which connect his village with them."

The Community projects, in their turn, are estimated to construct during the First Five-Year Plan about 16,000 to 17,000 miles of 'Katoha' roads in the village units where they are functioning. A sum of Rs. 150 crores has been allotted to the States sector for improving village roads constructed in the First Plan under Community Projects and National Extension Service Programme. (1) The 'Panchayats' are invariably empowered to construct and maintain village roads, streets, halting places, cart stands and encamping grounds. The 'Panchayats' in Madhya Pradesh may even undertake the construction of public-ways and roads outside their villages. Legislation for establishing the *panchayats* has been passed by practically all the States. The number of 'Panchayats' functioning up to March, 1954 was 98,256 serving some 294,460 villages. Nearly half of the country-side was thus covered during the first two years of the First Plan period. By the end of the Second Plan their number is estimated to go up to 2 lakhs so as to cover nearly all the 5 lakhs and odd villages⁹⁷.

NEW OUTLOOK

What is more important in all these development schemes is not the absolute increase but a complete change in the whole policy. The transport system of the country in the past had been built up to serve strategic rather than economic ends. The railway and road systems were regarded as the most powerful instruments of administrative co-ordination. Instead of helping the home economy, the system deepened the economic distress in the rural zones: "Firstly, by precipitating 'uneconomic localization' of industrial units in the new urban areas, and secondly, by setting up in the country a competitive rural market which has transmitted to the economic system all the instabilities of international economic trends."⁹⁸ The position has now completely changed. The new transport system being evolved under planned economy has a definite bias towards the economic deve-

97. *Second Five-Year Plan*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

98. T. N. Ramaswamy, *Economic Stabilization of Indian Agriculture*, 1946, Pp. 106-107.

lopment of the country and is thus 'sure to give an added impetus to agricultural production.

MARKETING

With the break-up of the old system of predominantly self-sufficient village economies and the setting up of industries depending on agricultural raw materials like cotton and oil-seeds, commercialisation of agriculture started. The peasant began to produce for the market and agricultural commodities began to move from the surplus to the deficit areas. Thus the need of an agency for marketing was felt. This is especially so in regard to agricultural commodities which are produced seasonally, but are consumed throughout the year. The importance of an efficient marketing system as a fillip to agricultural production can, therefore, hardly be minimised. Notwithstanding all this, before the first World War, hardly any country, with the exception of the United States, appreciated the need for the efficient marketing of agricultural produce.⁹⁹

The Royal Commission on Agriculture¹⁰⁰ recommended, for the first time in 1928, a proper study of exact information on marketing. The point was further emphasized by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee and the Provincial Economic Conference held in 1934¹⁰¹. The Government of India in January, 1935 announced a scheme for the study of marketing and appointed a central marketing staff attached to the then Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.¹⁰² The Provincial Governments were also asked to appoint their own marketing staff and the Government of India undertook to meet the initial cost from Central Funds.

Although much headway could not be made by way of providing an efficient marketing organization for the cultivator, some work had already been done before the First Five-Year

Plan was launched in 1951. Regulated markets had been established in some of the States to remove the disabilities of the farmers in the 'Mandis.' Co-operative Marketing had also made some progress particularly in selling sugarcane and cotton.

The First Five-Year Plan provided for the setting up of regulated markets where they did not exist, encouragement of co-operative marketing, provision of more storage and warehousing facilities and grading of agricultural commodities. The Panchayat Acts, passed by the various State Governments, also provide for the establishment, maintenance and regulation of 'Hats', Markets and 'Bazars' on the village sites. Orissa, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin Acts specifically mention the development of marketing on co-operative lines. Madras legislation authorises the 'Panchayats' to examine weights and measures in the village markets under the Indian Penal Code.

When all the villages in the country are covered by Panchayats in the next few years and marketing facilities developed, rural development will get further stimulus. The Second Five-Year Plan provides a sum of Rs. 2.07 crores for agricultural marketing of which the continuation expenditure is of the order of Rs. 1.63 crores and the balance for the introduction of new schemes. A Market News Service Scheme is proposed to be introduced during the Second Five-Year Plan period. There is little doubt that the marketing facilities will improve as a result of the various schemes in hand and those proposed to be taken up. This is sure to serve as an added incentive for the cultivator who may develop a consciousness to produce for the market and increase production.

AGRICULTURAL FINANCE

That the role of capital in agriculture is as important as in industry is more or less an accepted truth.¹⁰³ As the *All-India Rural Credit Survey* points out "a proper system of rural credit is basic to the development of agriculture and therefore to the prosperity of the country as a whole."¹⁰⁴ But much heed has not been paid to this fact all the world over except

99. S. Y. Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 313.

100. *Report*, p. 408.

101. S. A. Hussain, *Agricultural Marketing in Northern India*, p. 74.

102. Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 318.

in a few instances.¹⁰⁵ The position in India is still worse.

With low yields per acre as well as per man, the cultivator in India has to fight against heavy odds. His need for credit is, therefore, greater than that of his counterpart in Western countries where also the farmer finds himself obliged to apply for credit not merely for buying livestock/ implements and fertilizers, but also for meeting current working expenses.¹⁰⁶ But the position of credit supplies in India is worse. With inadequate credit facilities, the total capital investment in the land—Rs. 1660 million in 1950-51—is of the lowest order. No wonder, if agricultural productivity, under the circumstances, has remained depressed.

CREDIT NEEDS

Total credit requirements of the cultivator are rather difficult to estimate. At the most only a rough guess can be hazarded. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee after comparing the figures of rural indebtedness and rough estimates of short-term credit given by some of the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committees took a figure of Rs. 300 to 400 crores as the lower limit for short term and intermediate working capital¹⁰⁷, for the whole of British India.

103. Sir Frederick Nickolson (*Report on the possibility of Introducing Land and Agricultural Banks in the Madras Presidency*, 1895, p. 33) emphasised the need for the agriculturist to borrow. He added that "credit is not necessarily objectionable nor is borrowing necessarily a sign of weakness."

104. *All-India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. II, *Op. Cit.*, p. 130.

105. Outside Europe and the USA, it is only in Egypt that the Agricultural Bank of Egypt was set up as early as 1920. For details in Germany and Denmark refer to O'Brien, *Agricultural Economics*, p. 139; *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 423-25 and Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Agrarian Reliefs*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 88, 120-124 and 191 for Egypt and other European countries; Dr. G. D. Agarwal, *Reorganization of Agricultural Credit*, pp. 258-291, for USA, USSR, UK, and France.

106. *Report on Systems of Agricultural Credit and Insurance*, Louis Tardy, p. 3.

According to another estimate made by S. Y. Krishnaswami¹⁰⁸, before the First World War, such requirements of the cultivator for agriculture alone were of the order of Rs. 30 per acre for irrigated areas and half that amount for dry ones. Out of the total cropped area of some 300 million acres, about 60 million acres are irrigated. Total cash requirements on this basis would work out to Rs. 540 crores. With the present price level when the Index stands in the neighbourhood of 350, the figure should be Rs. 1890 crores. But the needs of the cultivator are manifold. From a detailed economic survey of 141 select villages in Madras, Mr. Sathianathan indicated the following purposes for which borrowing was resorted to by the peasant¹⁰⁹:

Purpose	Percentage
Payment of prior debit	25.1
Marriage and other ceremonies ..	10.5
Payment of land revenue	3.3
Relief of distress	6.1
Agricultural expenses	10.0
Improvement of land	4.4
Education of children	1.4
Trade	12.9
Purchase of land	13.8
Construction of houses	5.6
Other purposes	6.9

From the above it is clear that the agricultural expenses concerned with the land only account for 38 per cent of the peasant's total borrowings. Even if we take 50 per cent of the borrowings as agricultural expenses, total needs of the peasant would work out to about Rs. 3780 crores.

Similar estimates for foreign countries, however, indicate that in Europe the value of farming capital is ordinarily between two-thirds of and equal to the value of land¹¹⁰. If the average value of land per acre on a very

107. Quoted by Dr. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?* *Op. Cit.*, p. 221.

108. Krishnaswami, *Op. Cit.*, p. 357.

109. W. R. S. Sathianathan *Report on Agricultural Indebtedness*, p. 42.

110. *The Capital and Income of Farms in Europe as they appear from the Farm Accounts for the years 1927-28 to 1934-35*. (League of Nations Publication).

rough estimate is taken to be Rs. 100, total value of 300 million acres cultivated land in India would work out to Rs. 30,000 crores. Farming equipment in India at present is not even half as costly as in Europe but if more intensive methods of cultivation are to be adopted, our future capital needs will tend to equal those of the European countries.

The total national income of the country is estimated at Rs. 10000 crores, about half of it, i.e., Rs. 5000 crores being the contribution of agriculture. The figure of Rs. 30,000 crores representing the credit needs of Indian agriculture on the basis of the European standard would thus seem to be too high.

The annual borrowings of the cultivator have been estimated by the Rural Credit Survey at Rs. 750 crores¹¹¹, and the total needs may roughly be taken as Rs. 1,000 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the contribution of agriculture towards the national income.

This can be taken as the short and medium term requirements of the cultivator. As for the long-term credit which is needed to bring about permanent improvements in land, even the Central Banking Enquiry Committee admitted that no such estimate was possible. It could only say that there was an unlimited scope for the grant of long-term loans to the cultivator in India.¹¹²

It would thus be seen that the credit needs of agriculture in India are immense. The extent to which these needs can be fulfilled, will therefore determine the progress of agriculture and provide "grease to the economic machine."

PRESENT POSITION

The two broad sources of credit are the private and the public or the semi-public agencies. Public agencies include the money-lender, the land-lord and commercial banks. Notwithstanding legislation passed against the private money-lender, it has been estimated that as

111. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 156.

Dr. S. R. Sen in a paper presented by him at the International Conference on Agricultural and Co-operative Credit held at Berkeley in August-September, 1952 (*Studies in*

much as 93 per cent of the total amount borrowed by the cultivators is provided by this source.¹¹³

As for the commercial banks they hardly provide 1 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivators.* In the USA, on the other hand, loans to farmers account for nearly 43 per cent¹¹⁴ of the total advances made by the banks; such accommodation provided in India is only of the order of 4 per cent.

Public and the semi-public agencies thus hardly provide about 6 per cent of the borrowings of the cultivator. The 'Taccavi' loans provided by the Government are also quite insignificant, although they rose from Rs. 1 crore in 1938-39 to Rs. 15 crores in 1949-50.¹¹⁵

Public institutions providing agricultural credit are the Co-operative Credit Societies and Land Mortgage Banks. The first Co-operative Society, Shamlat Society of Panjwar, was registered in 1892 and, the number of such societies rose to 1.85 lakhs in 1952;¹¹⁶ yet the credit advanced by them covers only 3 per cent of the total borrowings of the cultivator.¹¹⁷ Again, medium and small cultivators have little association with the movement. As against this at least 60 per cent of the farms in America are associated with the co-operative movement.¹¹⁸ In the matter of providing long-

Agricultural Economics, Op. Cit., p. 108) however, says that such needs for short and medium term credit alone are roughly between 500 to 800 crores. Also refer to G. D. Agarwal, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 77 to 87 for other estimates.

112. *Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee*, p. 71.

113. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 323.

* *Ibid.*, p. 167.

114. Article by Lal Singh, Ex-Director of Agriculture, Punjab, on "Call to Farmers to Unite" in the *Indian Express*, April 4, 1955.

115. *The Five-Year Plan Progress Report*, September, 1954, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81.

116. A Review of the Co-operative Movement in the country by the Reserve Bank of India for the period 1950-52; reported in the *Hindustan Times*, April 25, 1955.

117. *Rural Credit Survey, Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

118. Lal Singh, *Op. Cit.*

term credit facilities, Land Mortgage Banks present an equally dismal picture. While farm mortgage loans alone aggregated to Rs. 3500 crores in the USA in 1953, the total amount of advances made by such banks in India in 1951-52 was only a meagre sum of Rs. 2.51 lakhs.

The Co-operative Planning Committee recommended that 50 per cent of the villages and 30 per cent of the rural population should be brought within the ambit of primary societies¹¹⁹ for purposes of short-term credit, within a period of 10 years. The target of advances to the cultivator fixed by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee was of the order of Rs. 100 crores per annum.¹²⁰ The Planning Commission, under the First Five-Year Plan, however, preferred slower progress to hasty expansion.

The target fixed for medium-term finance at the end of the Second Plan is Rs. 25 crores per annum and that for the long-term another Rs. 5 crores per annum. The Finance Minister declared at the Farmers' Convention held in April 1955 that another 400 branches of the State Bank would be opened for the provision of credit facilities to rural India.

The Central Banking Enquiry Committee suggested the establishment of licensed warehouses, aimed at encouraging the proper storage of agricultural produce, and a uniform system of warehouses with provision for the grant of warehouse receipt generally acceptable to bankers as security for loans.¹²¹ These recommendations were repeated by the Marketing Sub-Committee, the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee, the Co-operative Planning Committee and the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee. The Food Minister revealed in the 'Lok Sabha' that a chain of warehouses will be built with all the speed¹²² so that the cultivator can deposit his produce and get credit against it.

The 'Panchayat' Acts in Assam, Saurashtra, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh also provide for the development of agricultural credit

in order to meet day-to-day requirements of the farmer.¹²³

PRICES AND PRODUCTION

Prices in a free economy are governed by the interaction of the forces of demand and supply and the normal equilibrium price which finally emerges tends to equal marginal utility on the one side and marginal cost of production on the other. But the existence of any such relationship between the supply of foodgrains in India and their prices is debatable.

Production Hardly Related to Price: Seasonal factors remaining the same, Dr. Natarajan established a high correlation between acreage and prices.¹²⁴ Serious objections have all the same been raised to the validity of this cost of production theory.¹²⁵

This theory is assailed on the ground that, firstly, agriculture in India is never a profitable or even a business proposition. It has, on the other hand, been accepted as a losing concern.¹²⁶ Secondly, the cultivator is tied to the land not by choice, but by force, since he can do nothing else.¹²⁷ Thirdly, the supply of the various factors of production—land, labour, and capital—which tend to be more or less inelastic—is not responsive to the changes in the

123. *Agricultural Legislation in India*, Vol. V, *Village Panchayats*, p. (x) and also relevant pages under each State.

124. Dr. B. Natarajan, *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 1951, p. 198.

125. Dr. Baljit Singh, *Whither Agriculture?*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 194. According to him, "there is no longer any causal relationship between expenses of production and prices." Cf., *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics*, pp. 14-94.

126. Cf., *Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1440; Sir John Russell's *Report on the Work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research*, p. 67; *Prices Sub-Committee Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 8; Wadia and Merchant, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 226-39; *Cost of Production of Crops on a Canal Irrigated Estate in the Punjab (1935-36 to 1939-40)*, *Punjab Board of Economic Studies*, p. 7; Dr. Desai, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 204-205; Dr. D. R. Gadgil and V. R. Gadgil, *A Survey of Wai Taluka*, 1940, p. 178; M. G. Bhagat, *Op. Cit.*, p. 178 and the *National Sample Survey*, No. 2, p. 3.

127. This position though peculiar to

119. Quoted by the *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 236.

120. *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.

121. *The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 221-225.

122. *The Indian Express*, March 26, 1955.

prices of agricultural produce.¹²⁸ Even if some little elasticity is assumed in the supply of these factors, the greater time-lag between the 'input' of these factors and the corresponding output renders the cultivator helpless to adjust production to price changes.¹²⁹ Fourthly, agriculture being susceptible to natural hazards¹³⁰ most, the cultivator can rarely think of his actual cost of production. Lastly, while the costs of production are more or less sticky, prices of agricultural produce are invariably determined mainly by extraneous factors. Cost of production varies from place to place, but agricultural prices tend to be the same over wide areas. There is, for example, only a slight difference in the basic price of wheat in the various 'mandies' (markets) in India. No wonder, if even world prices exert their influence on the prevailing prices in other countries. Farm prices are at least influenced to an appreciable extent by the general price level.¹³¹

Changes in prices have been so varied and wide¹³² that they can have no relation to the cost of production. The prices of agricultural commodities fell by more than 50 per cent during the depression period while the cost of production fell only by 15 to 20 per cent.¹³³ The problem can be examined with respect to falling as well as rising prices separately.

Falling Prices: Normally it may be said that when the price of a commodity falls below countries like India, is not much different in the case of others. *Business Men's Commission* (*Op. Cit.*, p. 8) pointed out that even in America "there are many toilers on farms who if subjected to ordinary business standards, would be eliminated from the reckoning."

128. George O'Brien (*Op. Cit.*, pp. 10-11) gives a very interesting discussion when he explains that land is more or less fixed, capital invested in the land also assumes a fixed form, and the supply of labour becomes all the more inelastic, particularly when the farm is worked by the owner and his family. The abandonment of a farm in such cases means the abandonment of the home.

129. Besides the time-lag, the helplessness of the cultivator is aggravated by the fact that prime costs which he can reduce to a certain extent form only a fraction of the whole. It is the supplementary costs which figure in the cost of production and they remain more or less fixed.

its cost of production, the supply would stop over a period. The fundamental law, however, seems to be contradicted in the case of agriculture in general and food in particular, where farm consumption itself takes a big slice out of the total production. Again, owing to the peculiar nature of agriculture, the farmer cannot introduce changes in his programme at a short notice. There are certain paddy lands in South India which are not suitable for any other crop. No shift under such circumstances is possible even over long periods. Where such a shift is possible, the cultivator can at best divert lands from less profitable to more profitable crops. Even this becomes impossible during a general depression.

A glaring proof of the inability of the cultivator to adjust production to the level of fall in prices is found when we study the position during the thirties. According to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, the value of agricultural crops taken at an average harvest price, fell from Rs. 10,340 million in 1928-29 to only Rs. 4,730 million in 1933-34¹³⁴. But there was hardly any decline in the net area sown or the agricultural output.¹³⁵

Odds are that in a country like India, where agriculture is more a mode of life than a business proposition, the cultivator may be compelled to increase rather than decrease his production under falling prices. The tendency

130. Engberg (*Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer*, pp. 41-42) and Wyllie (*Transition of Agricultural and Highland Society*, 1927, p. 23). According to the latter, 75 per cent of crop variations are due to weather conditions.

131. E. M. Ojala, (*Agriculture and Economic Progress*, p. 142) after a study of farm prices in the USA, Sweden and the UK, finds that "the most potent influence upon the absolute level of farm prices is the general price level."

132. *Report of the League of Nations on Depressions* (quoted by Dr. R. V. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, p. 188).

133. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends During the Last Decade*, 1940, pp. 8-9.

134. Quoted by Palme Dutt, *Op. Cit.*, p. 215.

135. P. C. Malhotra, *Stabilization of Agricultural Prices in India*, 1946, p. 5.

was clearly observed during the depression of 1929-33.¹³⁶ This is because he cannot afford any further contraction in his already scanty income.¹³⁷ Of the two variables, prices and returns, it is the latter that is more important.¹³⁸ An individual farmer who, acting in isolation, reduces his production may have to face a double loss arising from a smaller output and a lower price. It may be argued that the demand for agricultural, particularly food-crops being practically inelastic, the cultivator may charge monopolistic prices. Such possibilities are, however, rare. Firstly, because the number of producers is large and secondly scattered as these cultivators are over a vast area, there is no machinery or institution under which they can put themselves. Agricultural prices are accordingly rather competitive.¹³⁹

To conclude, production may have an inverse relation with falling prices, but the question of its having a linear relation would not arise. Supply in agriculture in other words remains more or less inelastic during falling prices.¹⁴⁰

RISE IN PRICES

The position with regard to rising prices would, however, seem to be a little different. The farmer under depressed market conditions, while not curtailing his production, is at the same time disinclined to raise prime costs. The application of fertilizers, for examples, was uneconomical in India, during the thirties, at least for foodcrops. But the demand for them had increased tremendously during the period of post-independence price spurt. High prices also provide sufficient incentive to the cultivator to try improved methods of cultivation laboratory.¹⁴¹ All these things may have the combined effect of increasing production but always in response to an effective demand.¹⁴²

136. S. G. Beri, *Price Trends*, *Op. Cit.* p. 9.

137. *Business Men's Commission*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 77, 118-119; O'Brien, *Op. Cit.*, p. 31; *Price Sub-Committee Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32; and P. C. Malhotra, *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

138. Cf., Wilfred Malenbaum, *The World Wheat Economy—1885-1939*, pp. 24-29.

139. Cf., O'Brien, *ibid.*, p. 19.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 31.

CONCLUSION

It may be safely concluded from this study that agricultural, specially food production may never have a sagging tendency either under falling or rising prices. The possibility, on the other hand is that in both cases, production may increase. We can thus look to the future without any fear of a fall in food production as a result of the price debacle, which otherwise is the greatest curse for the farmer.¹⁴³

SUMMING UP

We have in the preceding pages discussed the various endo-genous and exo-genous factors in brief. We find that the effect of exogenous factors, which serve more or less as catalytic agents, is quite favourable in the case of India. The various policies already adopted and those contemplated for adoption are sure to create a congenial atmosphere for better productive activity. This would mean that beyond the narrow technical frontiers represented by endo-genous factors, economic factors which generally play their part to an appreciable degree in the productive activity, will also be conducive to increased food production.

As for the endo-genous factors, we will study their effect in more detail in subsequent chapters so as to work out the approximate food potential of the country.

141. It is, however, implied that Government will extend not only full co-operation, but also resort to extensive propaganda in that direction. If normal facilities are not available, even progressive cultivators who are keen to introduce new improvements will be helpless to do anything.

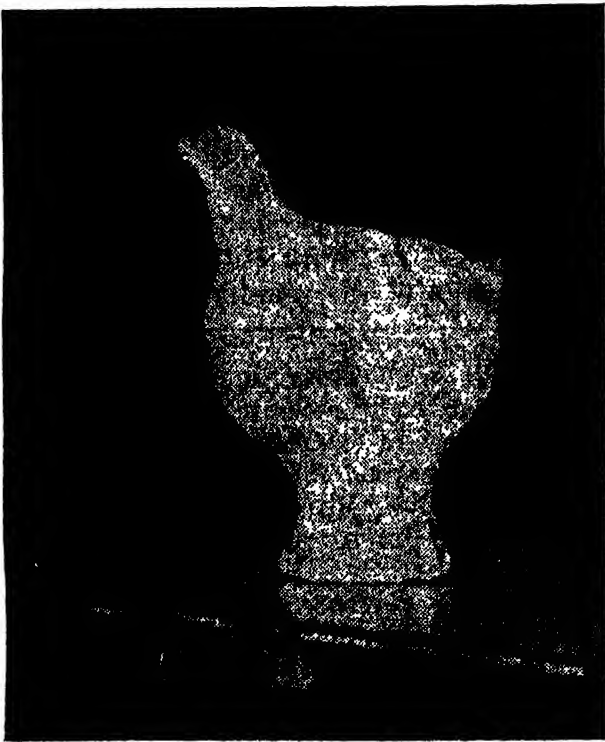
142. The presence of an effective demand is the most important thing. During the initial stages of the Grow More Food Campaign, the cultivator was not prepared to divert cotton lands to food, unless the Government gave a guarantee to purchase the extra produce at pre-announced prices (Cf., p. 29, Chapter II).

143. Sir Roger Thomas puts it that next to rain, price changes have been the greatest enemies of the Indian farmer (Quoted by the *Final Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission* p. 482. Also p. 285 of the *Report and Dr. Desai*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 340).

BIRD IN ART AND RELIGION

BY AMAL SARKAR M.A., LL. B.

FROM the earliest stage of civilization birds have occupied a very important place in man's religion, art and sculpture. In one respect man is indebted to birds for inventing his own language: 'Birds made sounds and the primitive man began to imitate.' Later he found these winged creatures hovering round the sky and giving out different musical notes and he imbibed the belief that they were none other than the messengers of the super-power whose abode was in heaven. Gradually on account of this belief he began to revere these strange creatures of Nature, and different kinds of birds began to be used as motifs in art and sculpture. In the Egyptian hieroglyphs we get the figures of the bird, in the continental ikons and in the Indian and far-east Asian art and sculpture we hardly find at any time any total omission of these angels of God.



Hen-motif—Mohen-jo-daro (Circa 2500 B. C.)

Birds have sometimes stood as the symbols of human feelings and emotions. Thus the crane was the symbol of happiness and prosperity, peacock an emblem of resurrection and cock the symbol of light and life. Almost all human languages speak

of the conception of soul as a bird which is ready to take flight as and when desired. This belief is shared by the Bororos of Brazil, the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia, the inhabitants of Lepers' Island, Bohemia and Java and by the Mohommedans of Sumatra. The Indian belief is that the soul of a dead person is often reincarnated in a bird, especially in some nocturnal bird. Even in this age of scientific progress the Indians still believe that in certain birds they meet the spirits of their departed relatives, 'who speak to them in the mournful and dismal tones of these birds'. Sometimes different tribes of the world claim the descent (Uthka) of human beings from birds.

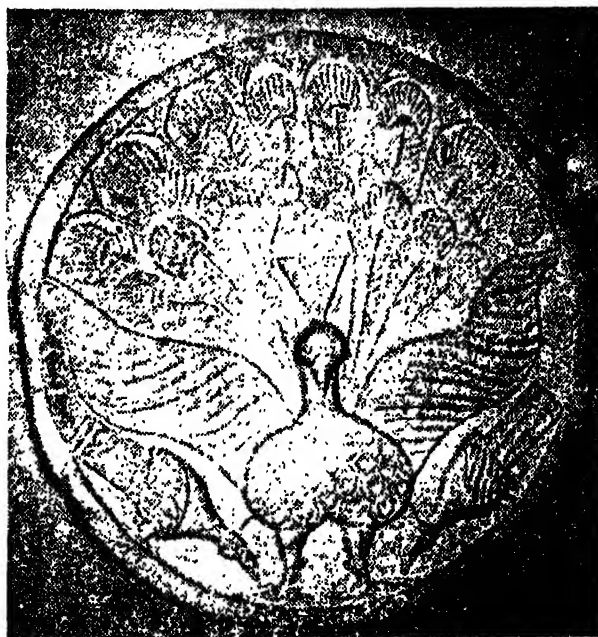
The birds who by their individual habits and traits have indelibly created an impression on the human mind are the peacock, swan, dove, crow, crane, falcon, cock and a few others. These birds have always found place in art, religion and sculpture of different peoples of the world. A bird, perhaps a dove, was often represented in Minoan-Mycenean religious art. The mounted double axes painted on the sacrophagus of Haghia Triada were always crowned with doves. These birds evidently were taken as symbols of the visible presence of the gods, as signs of the epiphany. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Christian iconography the Holy Ghost is pictured as a dove. The idol from Knossus is not the only example of the goddess with a bird. Two bell-shaped idols of the same goddess were found in the house shrine of Gazi excavated in 1936 by Marinatos. From the third shaft grave of Mycenae we have two gold leaves cut in the form of a nude female goddess with a bird, perhaps a dove, perched on the head. The peacock, it is believed, has its origin from somewhere in Western Asia, possibly India. In ancient Greece this bird is worshipped as the bird-god Phaon "the Shiner" and sometimes as the attribute of the healing god, Paeon. In the island of Samos it became the attribute of Hera, the goddess of Heaven in association with whom it became the 'star-bird' because of 'the starry firmament on account of the eyes in its tail

feathers.' The primitive Scythians were great worshippers of the Sun-God and they associated, quite strangely, peacock with their sun-worship. It might be that this bird because of its crying at sun-rise became associated with the Sun-god. Even in modern days we find that in all lands inhabited by the Saoras of the Ganjam district of Orissa the Sun-god Galbesum is strangely connected with peacock.

In ancient days a motif showing two peacocks facing the Tree of Life was very common. Another popular motif was a peacock holding a snake, its constant enemy, in its beak. During the middle of the 10th century B. C. this bird became a common motif in distant lands like the land of King Solomon. In India deities like Saraswati, Lakshmi and Kartikeya have this 'bird of beauty and splendour' as their vehicles. The Persians being lovers of beauty and art regarded this bird in high esteem. 'Its image is common in the crafts, particularly those applied for imperial purposes,' but the most celebrated example of its use associated with this country is the Tukt Taous, the "Peacock Throne." In China the peacock stands as the symbol of the spirit of fire, and the peacock feather was 'bestowed upon officials, both military and civil, in expression of imperial favour as a reward for faithful service.' During Kama-kura and Fujiwara periods this bird became a very popular object of painting in the land of the Rising Sun. Sometimes we find that the Japanese have used this bird as a god of Wisdom.

The cock, like the peacock, is associated with the Sun. Among the Chinese this 'fearless' bird is regarded as the symbol of valour; it has, according to them, the power to drive away all the evil influences that contaminate humanity. More than this, this bird has the strange power of healing and on account of this belief in times of an epidemic 'a cock's head was attached to houses, or an earthen cock was placed on the roofs.' Sometimes the cock is used also as the lucky symbol of happy union in marriages. In agricultural ceremonies of certain tribes of India cocks were beheaded and their blood sprinkled over a clay or metal effigy because mixed with

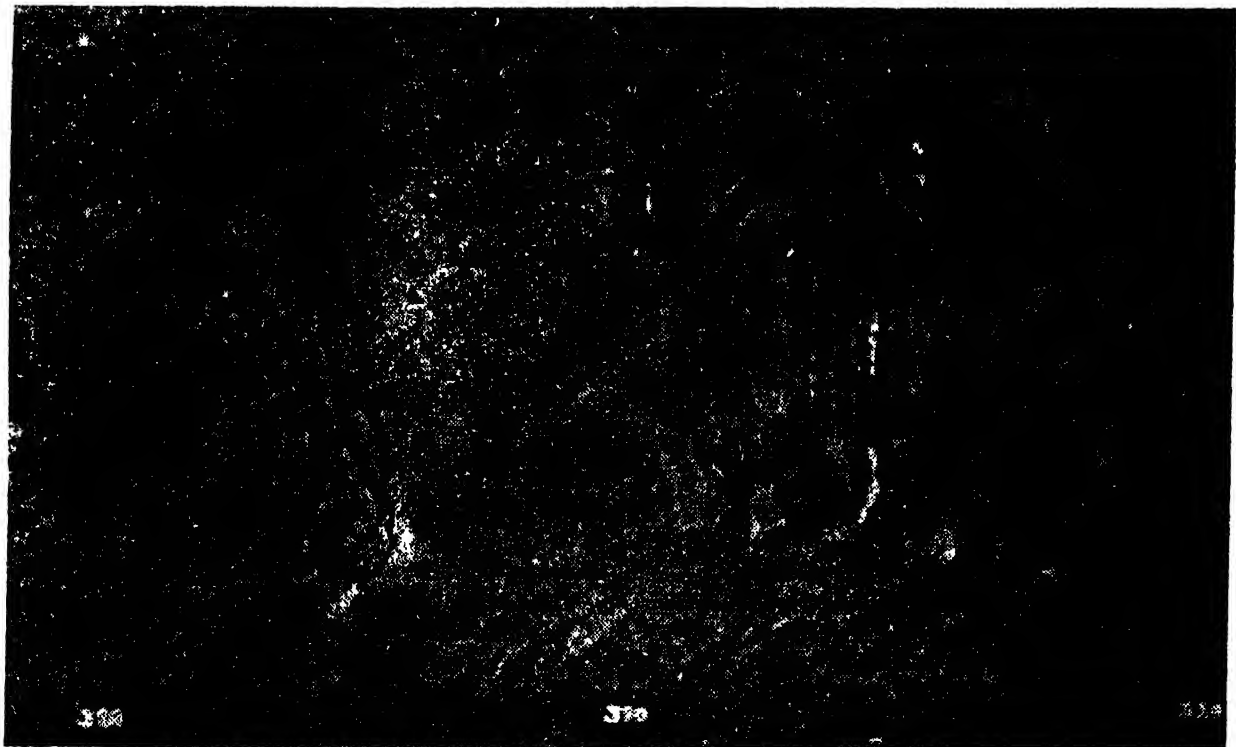
their blood the earth, they believed, would be more fertile and productive. In ancient Europe the cock had a phallic origin and it was sacred to Attis, the god of Spring and Fertility. On the eve of Maypole festival this bird was tied to the top of a rod and carried by boys around the pole. The people of far-east Asia have a great regard for this bird for 'its beauty and its plumage'.



Peacock-motif—Bharhut Railing medallion
(2nd century B. C.)

The crane is the symbol of happiness, prosperity and longevity. In Japan a common motif of this bird is represented when painters paint the picture of the sage Oshikyo who is always shown riding the crane through the clouds. Even as early as 2000 B. C. we find the representation of the falcon in China. It is said that the Mongol rulers were great devotees of this bird and in times of great ventures they always carried falcons and eagles.

In Indian mythology birds which are very much in use are the hawk, the eagle and the vulture. The hawk as the Garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, the eagle is the mount of Lord Krishna and the vulture is associated with malignant Sani or Saturn. In Cambodia the bird hawk is known as the Kruth which in ancient as well as modern Cambodian art



Kakuta Jataka—Bharhut
(2nd century B. C.)

is more extensively found than in any other country.

• • In Japan the duck, known as Kamo, symbolizes conjugal felicity and is a favourite subject among painters and colour-print designers. The duck and its mate, the 'chakwa' are very much liked by the Hindus in their poetic and artistic imagination. Among the traditional subjects in Japan, 'the Alighting of the Wild Geese at Katata' is familiar to every schoolboy. But while among the Westerners it is the embodiment of stupidity, it is the symbol of intelligence among the Chinese. A swan is sometimes regarded as the symbol of the Sun. Brahma the Creator has a swan as his mount and in Sanskrit swan is known as 'hamsa' reverting which we get 'sa-a-ham', an interpretation of the term 'God' among the Hindus. When Saraswati, the goddess of learning, was born into a new spiritual life she was privileged to use the 'hamsa' as her mount. The Egyptians also revered the goose, they had a goose-goddess by the name of Bes-bes who laid the egg of life. The peoples of Greece and Rome had also their sacred geese. In India swans are believed to be the 'apsara' or 'Celestial dancing girls' and the gandharva or 'Celestial choris-

ters' changed into the likeness of birds. The Pythagorean notion was that the souls of poets reappear as swans.



Mother-bird fondling her child—Bengal
(Medieval Period)

The Indian belief is that the dead return as crows, which are the symbol of longevity. Cuckoo has been taken as the symbol of unrequited love, particularly applied to women. In Greek mythology Zeus, to woo his sister for his wife, flew to her in the form of a cuckoo. Sparrows possess the thought of acquiring spiritual merit. The unlucky owl, because of its nocturnal habits and its association with bats, serpents and toads on dark cliffs and gloomy caves, had been universally regarded as a most inauspicious creature. But the owl which is the mount of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is taken as the most lucky bird by the

Hindus and whose stay in a house will, it is believed, bring wealth and prosperity.

Thus we see that in all times and in all countries men have always been in close association with birds. The strange beliefs connected with the finding of symbols of divinity and of their own feelings and emotions in birds rested perhaps on the peculiar traits of these vertebrates; the common and popular use of birds as motifs in art, religion and sculpture perhaps depended to a great extent on the wonderful and magnificent qualities of these 'feathered and beaked' creatures.

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INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION—EXCAVATIONS AT LOTHAL

EXPLORATION and excavation undertaken by the Central Archaeological Department during the last four years have extended the zone of the Indus Valley Civilisation by another 600 miles south of Mohenjo-Daro right down to Bhagatrav near Surat.

Lothal in Saragvala village of Ahmedabad district, discovered in November, 1953, and excavated since then, has come to prominence as a full-fledged Harappa settlement far south of Mohenjo-Daro.

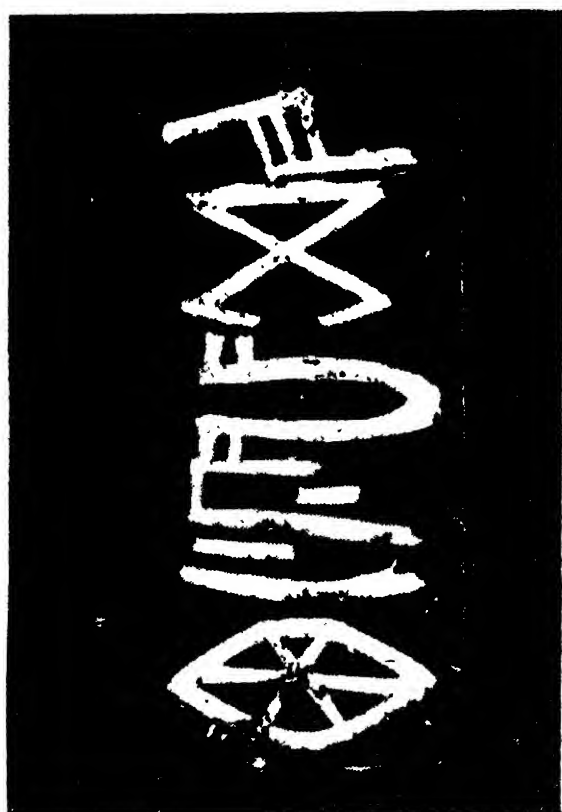
Recent exploration in the Narmada and Tapti Valleys has resulted in the discovery of another important Harappa site in the estuary of the Kim river at Bhagatrav near Jetpur village in Olpad Taluka. That it was a fairly large settlement in the 2nd millenium B. C. can be inferred from the typical Harappa pottery found in the course of a trial excavation conducted by the Central Archaeological Department. Besides black-on-red and chocolate-on-buff painted pottery, terracotta animal figures, chert blade, carnelian bead and copper objects have been found at Bhagatrav. Beakers, dishes-on-stand, dishes, troughs, handled bowls and jars are some of the ceramic forms of Harappa culture encountered at the site. And further interior is a late Harappa site at Hasanpura near Bhatgaon.

At Lothal, the area of the ancient habitation is found, in recent explorations, to extend much beyond the limit indicated by the present mound. So far habitation has been traced over an area half a mile in length and a quarter mile in width.

EXCELLENT SYSTEM OF DRAINAGE

Lothal, like Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, had an excellent system of drainage. Two important streets with houses standing in rows have been laid bare. A row of eight bathrooms in eight houses has been, uncovered in the southern sector of the town, found to have been connected by subsidiary drains with a large public drain meant for carrying sullage and rain water. In the third phase of building construction at Lothal, it is observed that there was a 6-foot wide conservancy lane paved with bricks in the south-eastern sector, but it came to be converted into a public drain in the fourth building period when houses were built on a raised platform nearby. The bathrooms are paved with finely-polished bricks, and lime-mortar is used as binding material.

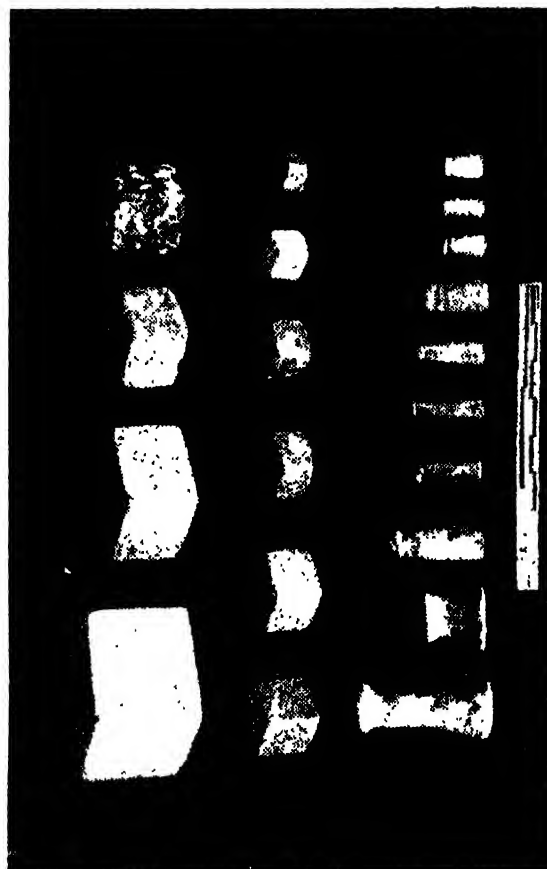
In another lane, parallel to the one referred to above, can be seen manholes with soakage jars, septic tanks and water schutes for easy flow of water, connected



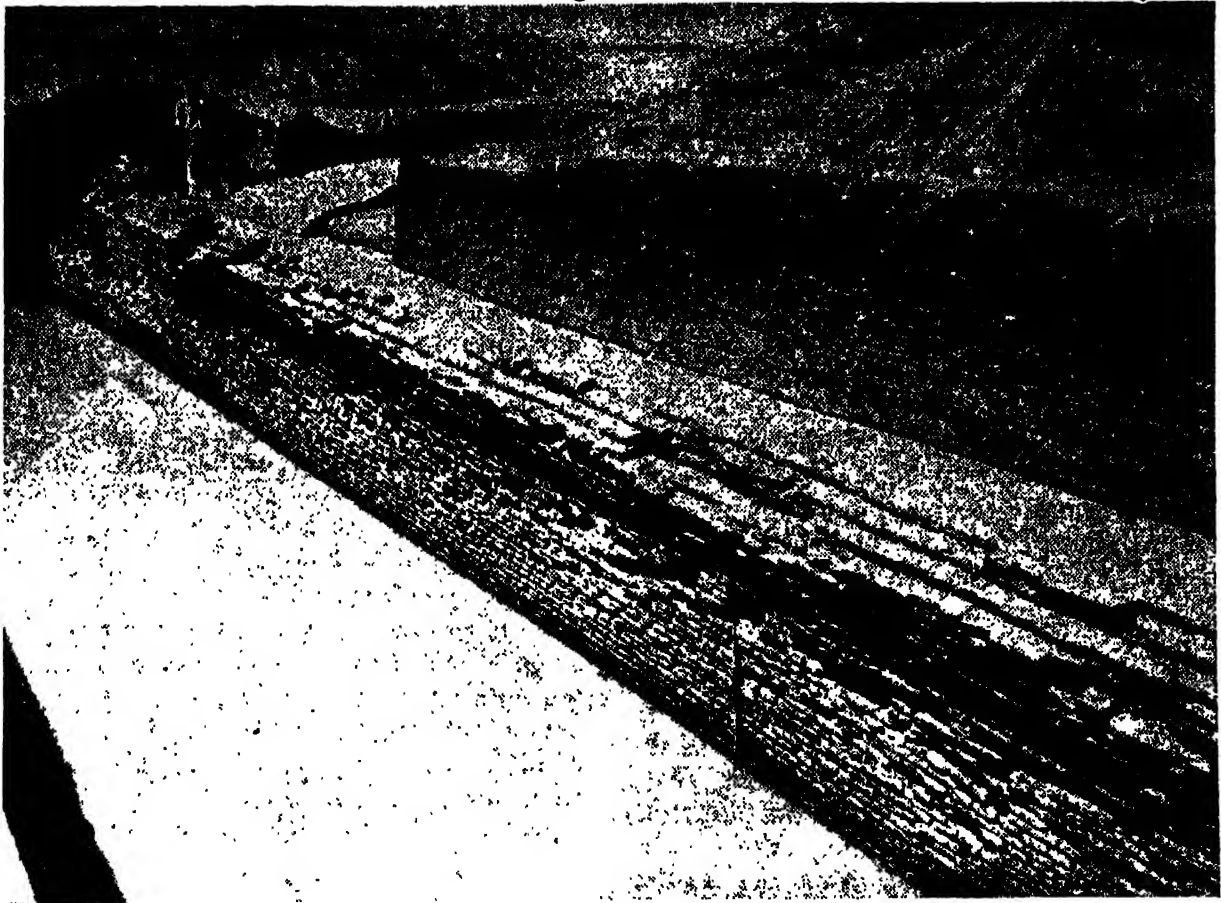
An agate seal bearing the Indus script



Some of the copper and bronze objects discovered at the site excavated at Lothal



Some of the standard weights recovered at Lothal



A part of 250-foot long wall of kiln-burnt bricks exposed at the Lothal site

with a 100-foot long drain covered in some portions.

In the northern sector a 12-foot wide road, with houses built in straight rows on either side besides drains and soakage jars, has been uncovered. It is significant to note that in the third and fourth phases of occupation the alignment of the roads was maintained. It is during these phases that Lothal reached the height of prosperity. In the fifth phase, however, we notice a marked decline in its prosperity. Drains were constructed shabbily and the alignment of the roads was not scrupulously maintained.

BEAD-MAKING FACTORY

Plans of two large houses have been found in the western half of the mound during recent excavations. One of them has a large open courtyard flanked by a row of two rooms on two sides. This was a factory of bead-makers as can be inferred from the large number of finished

and unfinished beads of agate, jasper and carnelian found on the working platform. Not far from this factory is a small kiln with four openings in its roof. This may not have been a pottery kiln but one meant for heating the raw material and half-finished beads.

In the course of the excavation on the eastern and southern peripheral regions two mud-brick platforms enclosing an inner platform on which twelve alters had been built were revealed. They are 45 feet to 60 feet wide and more than 2.0 feet long on each side. They were built in the second phase of occupation in order to prevent damage to the plinths of the houses and inner platforms from the overflowing rivers.

On the eastern side a wall of kiln-burnt bricks 250 feet long, 10 feet high and 4 feet wide has been exposed. It was a revetment for mud-brick structures against sheet flooding. Also a well, which must have served a group of houses, has been found. It can

be said that the plumber's art was highly developed.

There must have been in existence at Lothal a powerful municipal organization exercising control over the layout of the houses, roads and drains and insisting on the maintenance of sanitary conditions. There must have been some arrangement for periodical clearance of manholes and septic tanks.

RITUAL AND RELIGION

The most outstanding discovery of the year is the cemetery where as many as eight burials have come to view; but only two of them have been exposed. One of the burials is found to contain two skeletons, both of which are placed north-south with head to the north. As the graves were disturbed by erosion and due to other causes the earthenwares of the burials were missing. In another burial the head and the legs of the body are also missing. In the ensuing field season, it is proposed to expose the skeletons which when fully studied may throw more light on the racial composition of the Lothal folk.

Some idea can be had of the religious practices of the inhabitants of Lothal from the terracotta and other objects recovered in the excavations. In one place animal skeletal remains are found deposited in earthenware and buried carefully. Last year, in another place, charred animal remains, gold pendants and beads were found in a brick enclosure specially built for ritualistic purpose. Hence it appears that certain animals were sacrificed and certain others were considered sacred. Worship of the mother goddess and snake are suggested by the terracotta and paintings on pottery. Burial was the normal method for the disposal of the dead but cremation might have been practised by a section of the population, for on one of the alters bones and ash were found below two courses of bricks.

ART AND CRAFT

Tools, weapons, ornaments and objects of domestic use have thrown new light on the various arts, crafts, and industries of the

Harappans at Lothal. Copper and bronze axes, pins, fish-hooks, arrow-heads, spear-head and drill-bit indicate the various occupations. Fishing was an important occupation. The drill-bit might have been used by a carpenter or a jeweller for boring beads. Blade-making, bead-making and metal casting were other industries. A beautiful figure of swan in copper is an example of metal-casting. Moreover, for the first time an agricultural implement is represented on a seal. It is a seed-drill that is shown on a terracotta seal.

For purposes of trade and commerce, cubical weights of agate and chert conforming to the standard that obtained at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were used. The arts of painting on pottery and modelling were highly developed. A stag painted on a potsherd, and a deer and sparrow painted on a miniature earthen vase are excellent examples of the attainments of the painter. Similarly the snake, crane, peacock, palm-tree, etc., are found carefully painted on an earthenware. The colour-scheme is pleasing.

So far as the art of modelling is concerned, well-proportioned human figurines, animal figures such as rhinoceros, ram, bull with movable head, peacock, leopard and dog are very well modelled in clay. Engraving of animal figures such as unicorn, elephant and goat besides pictographs on seals has been executed in excellent taste.

Among other important finds seals of steatite, soapstone, agate and terracotta and sealings of terracotta bearing Indus script, and animal figures in some cases, stand foremost. One of the seals bears a Svastika symbol, while another has two lines of writing above a unicorn. One of the terracotta sealings bears impressions of three different seals.

Excavations at Lothal have aroused a great deal of public interest. Hundreds of visitors from the surrounding areas have been visiting the site. Growing attraction of the Lothal site led the Government of Bombay to run special buses for the convenience of visitors. Recently, an exhibition of some of the excavated articles was arranged at the site itself.—*PIB*

EDUCATION IS MORE THAN BOOKS

At Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, undergraduates are afforded broad opportunities to conduct student affairs and to plan their own education.

interchange of ideas possible between teachers and students and among students themselves.

Outstanding at Sarah Lawrence is Sue (Suzanne) McClain, 20-year-old senior



Sue McClain, 20-year-old senior and president of the Student Council is seen in the College Library

They also participate in the formation of college programs, including development of the curriculum. The 388 undergraduates govern themselves, organize dormitory life and enjoy a wide measure of personal freedom.

In this college for women, founded in 1926, each student follows the program of studies which she has decided upon with the advice and help of her faculty advisor. The student analyses her own needs and determines the courses of study and college activities most suitable to her particular abilities and future educational requirements. The college has no set of required courses that all students must take. Classes are small enough to make frequent discussion and



A Tennis match

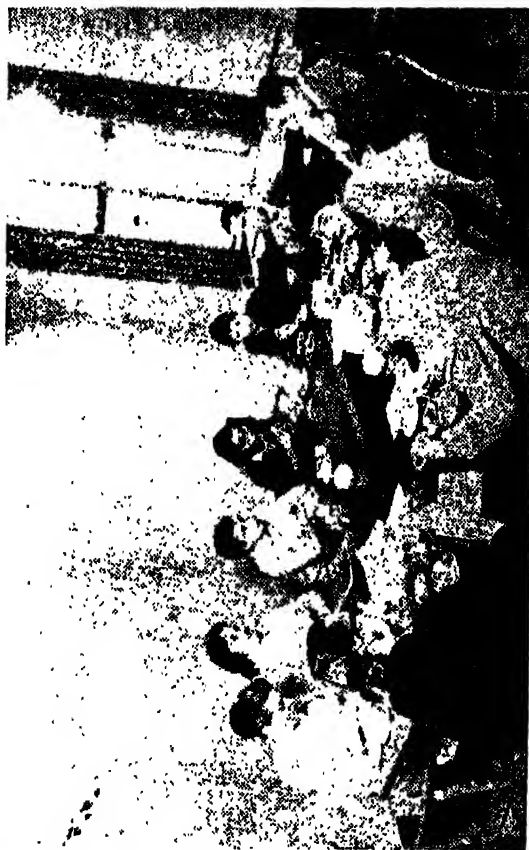
and president of the Student Council, governing body for the student community. Her activities, as these pictures show, provide a view of life at the college.

"Formal education," says Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, "is not something done to the student. It merely surrounds him with the possibility of learning. The teacher's first duty is to show his students how they can arrive at their own honest principles and then teach them that the test of principle is in human action."

Of Sue McClain, Dr. Taylor says, "Sue is talented and competent in many directions. That's why they elected her Council president. I'm sure that she would do a good job at whatever she tried."—USIS



To help pay for her education one of the students operates the college switchboard



The Joint Faculty-Student Committee which is the planning and legislative body on college affairs often meets at lunch time



Sue confers regularly with Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, on campus policy and student affairs and Government



On the tree-shaded campus of Sarah Lawrence College, three students discuss student activities



The Arts centre has become the heart of student community life at
Sarah Lawrence



A meeting of the Student Council



One of the students executes a modern dance



A student plays the guitar

RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

THE Rajputana Museum was formally opened in October, 1908, in the main central hall inside the Mughal Fort (built by Akbar in the year 1572 A.D.) at Ajmer. This fort is situated in the Naya Bazar locality of Ajmer and can be easily reached from the Ajmer Railway Station in ten minutes.

The Museum, according to its founders, was meant for the benefit of the whole of Rajputana of the British times consisting of 22 Indian States and Ajmer. Thus, in the various galleries we come across exhibits collected from all former Indian States of Rajasthan—from Alwar to Banswara and from Dholpur to Jaisalmer.

The Museum has at present five main sections devoted to pre-historic relics, sculptures, epigraphical galleries, coins and paintings together with some photographs.

About five hundred antiquities from Mohenjo-Daro and other sites together with 23 casts of seals with photographs are displayed in the Pre-Historic Relics Section. It was opened in the year 1939 to enable scholars to make a comparative study of pre-historic antiquities unearthed in Rajasthan, as Indologists felt that in Rajputana some pre-historic settlements of the same period as Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro may lie buried in the sands of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

SCULPTURE GALLERY

Housed in the main central hall there are a number of unique Brahmanical sculptures ranging in date from the 7th to 14th century A.D. Of special interest among these are Chaturmukh Sivalingas, Vaivahika Murti of late Gupta period from Kaman, Lingodbhava Mahesvara from Haras Hill, fine Siva-Parvati panels from Katara and Kusma, a number of Suryya, Brahma and Vishnu images and a Trimurti of Vishnu, Hari-Hara and Lakshmi-Narayana.

Images of Navagrahas, Nakshatras, incarnations of Vishnu, Revanta, Varuna and 'Mother and Child' are there too in this collection. Of the female figures, the Saptamatrikas, Mahisasuramardini, Kali, Ganesa-Janani, Ganga and Nagakanya deserve notice. An excellent collection of sculptures including Kuvera, chauri-bearer and numerous other fine images is there from Baghera—a 9-12th century site in Ajmer district itself.

Rajasthan being an important centre of Jaina culture, a fine collection of Jaina objects d'art has been made by the Museum. It includes images of Rishabhanath, Sumatinath, Sreyansunath, Santinath, Parsvanath and Mahavira. Among the Yaksha and Yakshini figures a rare image of Gomukha and a fine Saraswati deserve special attention.

Recently a new interesting section has been added to the Museum for the display of pillar pieces, capitals, Amalakas, Toranas, door-jambs and finely-executed *Krittimukhas* which were so long lying in the godowns for want of accommodation.

EPIGRAPHICAL GALLERY

The epigraphical exhibits in the Museum, which number about one hundred are unsurpassed in many respects in the whole of India. For the early mediaeval history of India they are so indispensable that no researcher in that period can afford to ignore them or do without having a look at them. Of special interest among these are : (i) Brahmi Inscription from Barli (assignable to c. 4th century B. C.) ; (ii) Samoli Inscription of Siladitya dated Samvat 703 ; (iii) Jodhpur Inscription of Banka dated Samvat 894 ; (iv) Pratapgarh Inscription of Mahendrapala II ; (v) two slabs inscribed with *Harakeli Nataka* ; (vi) slabs containing *Lalita-Vigraharaja Nataka* by Somadeva, and (vii) Barli Inscription of the time of Prithviraja III dated Samvat 1234.

A number of copper-plates add to the value of this section. These include : (i) two copper-plates of Maharaj Sarvanatha of Uchchhalkalpa dated 191 (437-38 A.D. if referred to Kalachuri era) ; (ii) Daulatapura copper-plate of Pratihara Bhojadeva (surnamed Prabhasa) dated Samvat 900 ; (iii) two copper-plates from Banswara (forming one grant) of the Paramara king Bhojdeva dated Samvat 1076, and (iv) copper-plate of Rana Kumbha of Mewar dated Samvat 1494.

There are many rare coins ranging in date from the 3rd century B. C. to the 18th century A. D. in the Museum Coin Cabinet. The punch-marked and Sibiyanapada coins from Nagri, the Indo-Greek and Kushan coins from Taxila, the Kshatrapa and Indo-Sassanian pieces from Rajasthan and the gold coins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty deserve special

mention. From the various State Governments have also been acquired more than a thousand coins of the Pathan and Mughal rulers, some issues being from the mint which flourished in those days at Ajmer.

The Paintings and Photographs Section contains more than one hundred exhibits, including a dozen rare Rajasthani paintings.

The photographic exhibits, however, are limited to views of ancient protected buildings.

In addition to the main five sections there are three more sections where old arms and armours collected from Rajasthan, many objects from Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque Ajmer, and duplicates of less important antiquities in the Museum have been displayed forming a reserve collection meant for exhaustive study of various subjects.—*PIB*

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THE ARTISTIC QUALITY OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE GITA

AS INTERPRETED BY BANKIMCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

BY SUSIL KUMAR DEB

QUITE a remarkable feature of Samkara's commentary on the Bhagavadgita, the Song Celestial, is that he has—not without purpose—omitted to annotate the verses of the First Chapter as well as the introductory ten verses of the Second Chapter of this immortal Sanskrit work. For one reason in particular, the keynote address of the Gita being entirely religious, it was not meant to be contained in this portion of the text, and any religious interpretation of it, consequently, was just not necessary. Bankimchandra Chatterjee, the celebrated Bengalee literary genius and modern expositor of this holy book of the Hindus, has pointed out that the memorable occasion for the preaching of the religious doctrines by Krishna or Vedavyasa, the Poet of the Gita, is nonetheless described clearly in the First Chapter. It is unique in this respect. This point, specifically, needs here to be elaborated.

Bankimchandra supports the view that the value of this Chapter consists rather in the delineation of the art of poesy, *i.e.*, in the aesthetic portrayal of the beginnings of the internecine Kurukshetra war. Some essential materials for the epic type of poetry of the rare beauty of the Mahabharata, of which the Gita had become an integral part during the course of long ages of the former's evolution,

seem to have found a place in the First Chapter.

In the field of Kurukshetra, warriors on the opposite sides were drawn up in ranks and files. And everything was in shipshape. It is recorded that the Kaurava monarch Duryodhana observed that the formidable Pandava army on the enemy side had taken up position. No doubt, to this at once he drew the attention of Drona, the venerable military expert, who was his preceptor. As Duryodhana, too, was a little nonplussed at this imposing spectacle, he said, 'Please watch on and guard my general Bhishma!' Seized with a sublime devotion, old Bhishma appeared more enthusiastic and merry-hearted than even a youth. He sounded the first call of the war, by blowing the conch. Bankimchandra reminds us that the conch was the bugle of those days. In response to this call, the panoplied veterans consisting of several companies, who stood in battle array, were roused, and answered back hilariously by blowing their conches, alike from both sides. Military bands, then, using their various musical instruments including the trumpets, the kettledrums *et hoc genus omne*, sounded respectively their orchestras. When the demonstration was done, the music echoed and re-echoed in the skies. It is said that the uproar filled the whole atmosphere of the

earth and the heavens. Thus the grave situation witnessed an increase of enthusiasm of all concerned in this keen contest.

Arjuna, however, maintained his baffling clam. On him, among others, rested the responsibility of winning the Mahabharata war against the Kauravas. Krishna, the living God Himself, was his counsellor and charioteer. Besides, Krishna played the role of the diplomatist in the negotiations of the war. Presently Arjuna pleaded with his Divine guide to hold standstill the chariot between the battle lines. "Let me scrutinize with whom we are in close encounter," he spoke in a reasoned tone.

Thereupon Krishna drove the vehicle drawn, it will be remembered, by some chargers with shining white complexion, into the middle of the two armies confronting each other. "Look on," came the reply from the omniscient thaumaturge.

Meanwhile Arjuna was staggered at the august sight of his kith and kin swarmed about him, ready for the assault. There were, we are told, the elderly relations, in addition to the younger folks—in fact all orders and degrees of relatives, friends and associates in great numbers.

It is touching to note how his body trembled, his face grew pale, his head reeled, and the large bow slipped from his grip. He felt that his heart was sinking. As his interest in the war slackened he began to lament, willing to die for his beloved kindred to save them from the doom. "Krishna! What benefit would accrue, by killing those who are the dearest and the nearest in the kingdom? I cannot launch an attack," he protested. He thought the attack would be a sacrilege.

Already the partisan hordes had rallied for the fight. Above the deafening din of the battlefield came rushing the sound of the orchestras. The war psychosis was unmatched in the circumstances of the moment.

Bankimchandra dwells on this aspect of the question, which assailed or otherwise

menaced Arjuna, who set up as an army chief was loth to take direct action and was self-absorbed.

Would he not have held at his onerous post?

The answer shows up that the Poet of the Gita had to collate and compile a marvellous account of Krishna and Arjuna, round whose sacred memories a whole idealistic philosophy had been nurtured in India. Glancing at the work of the craftsman who enlarges on this theme of Arjuna's predicament, Bankimchandra could not but admire this Gitaic picture as 'scarcely available anywhere else in the realms of world literature.' He quotes the melodious words uttered by Arjuna to prove the intensity of this hero's spirit of fellow-feeling. So it was the deep sense of commonalty of the organized human society that permeated Arjuna's mind and heart at this crisis. Overwhelmed with sheer pity, he cried out, "O Krishna! I shall not relish victory nor also the throne, nor again any pleasures!"

No appreciation of Arjuna's serious and understandable conflict over the issue of the humanity of man to man would be complete without a reference to the alarms that heralded the battle, rich in dramatic hints. At the outset, he quailed at the threat of waging a stubborn war; ultimately he developed a kind of negativity of the mind. So he has been painted, during a brief interlude, as remaining apparently quiescent. This sudden suspense indeed dwarfed all of his other feelings. And so, on the premiss of Bankimchandra, the incident did not have to emerge into the traditional pattern of the drama, dwelling on the characteristically tragic human emotions. On the other hand, this turned out to be a fitting prolegomena to the treatment of the hundreds of impressive, didactic verses throughout the succeeding seventeen Chapters—a melange on arguments and judgments on the Eastern Upanishadic religious culture.



SCIENCE IN EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS M.A., B.T.

Today science plays such an important role in our everyday life that the education of our children will be defective and incomplete, if they fail to understand, appreciate, and apply such scientific methods and principles as will enable them to live intelligently and comfortably in the modern civilized world. At the present moment scientific knowledge and methods are indispensable in every sphere of our life and activities, present-day civilization being essentially based on scientific inventions and discoveries.

We owe all the amenities of our modern civilized life to the scientific inventions and achievements of the day. But for these, we would have still to keep to the primitive mode of living. We are thus enjoying the fruits of the wonderful discoveries and inventions made by the eminent scientists of the world in the field of various branches of science, which have not only added greatly to the comforts of our daily life, but have also brought about the security of our life and property. Science has reduced human labour to a minimum, replacing it by machinery, and has served to do away with the barriers of time and distance to a

great extent. It is with the help of science that man has been able, at least partially, to unravel the mysteries of nature, and to harness her forces for the good of the humanity. Science has done immense good to mankind, and has worked wonders in the field of agriculture too. Modern scientific research has enabled us to increase our food production to a considerable extent, by making even the arid regions of the earth yield the maximum quantity of food. On the other hand, science has also done incalculable harm to humanity, inasmuch as it has brought itself so admirably to the invention of the nuclear weapons of destruction, which constitute a serious menace to the peace of the world. The marvels of modern medical science have taught men how to grapple with the death-carrying germs of diseases, and thus to fight out death even. The wonderful discoveries in the field of surgery have effected the radical cure of innumerable fatal diseases. Today the modern civilized nations of the world pride themselves upon their

marvellous scientific achievements, immensely conducive to intelligent and comfortable living, which have served to raise considerably their standard of living too. The industrial and agricultural development of a country is dependent on its scientific development to a great extent. At the present time the all-round development of our country, as envisaged in the five-year plans, can hardly be achieved unless all the planning is done on scientific lines. Today all our schemes of national development are being formulated and drawn up in terms of scientific principles and methods. All this renders an elementary knowledge of fundamental scientific ideas essential to every child of the day. It will be a great pity if the children of our country remain quite innocent of science in a scientific age like this. So science should form the corner-stone of present-day education.

Now the question is how to teach science to the children of our country, and what place is to be assigned to it in their education. It should be borne in mind that science should never be taught as something external to man, and utterly divorced from the practical interests of his everyday life. First of all, a child must have a knowledge of the physical and biological world, in which he lives, moves, and has his being. He should be taught how to observe and understand the phenomena of nature surrounding him, both animate and inanimate. Every endeavour should, therefore, be made to arouse his natural curiosity, so as to enable him to take an active and intelligent interest in the facts concerning his physical environment, as revealed and embodied in Geography, Geology, and Astronomy. He should be given an elementary knowledge of the physical sciences, such as physics and chemistry. He should, also, be interested in the flora and fauna of his country, and should be made to observe and study the plant and animal life of the region. He should be keenly observant, and should try to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the living things around him. So he needs to be acquainted with the elements of Biology and Botany too. He should, also, be familiarised with the major scientific concepts and the basic vocabulary used in each of the major

fields of science. He must have an elementary idea of the evolution of the fundamental scientific concepts. This sort of knowledge will serve as an introduction to all the major branches of science. Attempts should, also, be made to elucidate and explain the scientific concepts with the help of typical illustrations, as also by means of practical demonstrations, wherever possible, so as to enable pupils to grasp those clearly. An elementary knowledge of scientific ideas will stand them in good stead in their practical life too, and will form the basis of a further specialization in any branch of science that they may go in for in future. This is, also, likely to provide an incentive to their future self-education in a particular branch of knowledge that may interest them. A sound foundation is sure to facilitate their further self-education in the subject of their choice. In the opinion of Mr. Bertrand Russell, the teaching of science in a school should not begin earlier than at the age of twelve. But science should be taught at the primary stage too, it being an integral part of children's education. So at no stage should it be excluded from the educational programme of the day. As soon as children's powers of observation and reasoning develop, they are able to grasp scientific ideas, to some extent. But at this stage, the teachers' mode of approach to the subject or subjects should be entirely different, and should be perfectly adapted to the needs and capacities of smaller children. The teachers should see that the subject-matter to be taught does not prove too difficult or abstruse for the little ones. Care should also be taken that the former do not talk over the heads of their pupils of tender age, to whom the instruction needs to be both concrete and agreeable. Children's intellectual curiosity should not be damped by any means. They also need to be trained in the powers of observation. There are countless things in their physical environment, which fill their mind with awe and wonder. These things seem very novel and strange to them, as they have not yet become inured to these like their elders. So it is quite in the nature of things that small children feel curious to know the whys and wherefores of whatever seems inexplicable to them. Curiosity is a vital need of childhood, which should be

satisfied by all means. But unfortunately children seldom receive satisfactory answers from their elders to the innumerable questions put by them. Very often parents and teachers feel inclined to look upon these questions as unnecessary ones, and take little or no notice of them. Sometimes they are even annoyed with children for worrying them by asking "unnecessary" questions. It is a commonplace of pedagogy that children's innate urges should never be inhibited. So it is nothing short of sheer indiscretion on the part of parents and teachers to let such questions remain unanswered. If they do not happen to know the answers to some particular question or questions, they can find them out from a reliable source of information and tell them later on. In any case children's curiosity and inquisitiveness should not be nipped in the bud. Science may prove of great help to parents and teachers in answering many of the questions put by children. If the former are lacking, even in an elementary knowledge of science, they may collect the information from various books, such as the Book of Knowledge, children's Encyclopaedias and the like. Attempts have been made to compile some children's encyclopaedias in Bengali too, suitable for the juvenile readers. Bigger children may be asked to find out the answers for themselves from such books. The elders should make a point of seeing that children always get the correct answers to all their questions. That general science has been included in the compulsory subjects for the School Final Examination in West Bengal is a move in the right direction. It will help to provide a scientific background both for the teachers and the taught.

The need of well-balanced and broad-based education for the children of our country is being keenly felt by everybody at the present moment. The human mind is a unity and knowledge should be regarded and treated as an integrated whole. Besides, the different branches of knowledge being interdependent, arts and science can hardly be kept in watertight compartments in our everyday life. Different studies should be considered to be the parts of a whole. As has been very aptly observed in the report of

Radha Kissen Commission on Education, "The various elements of education should be pursued in vital relation to each other, so that for any person the result will be the best practical all-round development, together with an effective training in his own field of work." Hence the necessity and importance of well-balanced and broad-based education for children at the school stage. Specialization is to begin at a later stage, after their tastes and aptitudes have been properly assessed.

If education is to be a dynamic force in life, it must needs be a continuous, life-long process, which should never come to a standstill. It should be an ever-growing process of self-development, all true developments being such self-developments and not something imposed from outside. One of the main aims of education is to promote the growth and development of children's mind on the right lines. Both the teachers and taught should be keenly alive to the fact that knowledge is illimitable and boundless. So their mind should never be allowed to get static and rusty. The acquisition of knowledge should always be motivated by children's innate desire and urge to learn to discover things for themselves. They should be taught not to take things for granted. They should always be encouraged to cultivate a scientific attitude towards whatever they have to learn, to discover and find out things for themselves, by dint of their personal efforts. This spirit of scientific enquiry should be stimulated on proper lines. Pupils should not be the mere passive recipients of the information imparted by their teachers in the class-room. The former should always be made to participate actively in the lessons. So mere theoretical instruction in the elements of scientific knowledge is sure to prove dull and uninteresting for them, unless the lessons on science are followed up by a good deal of practical demonstrations. They should also be afforded plenty of opportunities of carrying out various experiments for themselves, under the guidance and supervision of their teachers. A properly equipped laboratory should be provided for the purpose at every school.

Time and space permitting, a science club may be organised on a small scale at every school with the minimum of expenditure. The activities of this students' organization may be included in the other co-curricular activities of the pupils of the school, and when possible provision should also be made for these activities on the school time-table. The members of the club should be duly elected by the students themselves. The object of the science club should be to disseminate scientific knowledge among the pupils, as also to stimulate their spirit of scientific enquiry and to encourage scientific experiments. A science club will thus help to arouse children's enthusiasm, and to create a taste for science, so that they may feel inclined to take an active and intelligent interest in all scientific subjects. Pupils should be encouraged to call regular meetings of the science club, at which various topics of scientific interest as also the interesting scientific experiments carried out by the teachers and the taught at the school laboratory may be discussed to their mutual benefit. With this end in view, discussions on different subjects may also be arranged among smaller groups. Occasional demonstrations of the new experiments to be carried out may be held for the benefit of all interested in science. Excursions to places of scientific interest, too, may be arranged under the auspices of the science club, the members of which may be called upon to organize such excursions and to raise the necessary funds for the purpose of meeting the expenses to be incurred. Various foreign magazines of scientific interest may be subscribed to by the club, and the same should be made available to its members.

This will help to enable the teachers and the taught to keep in touch with the modern scientific thoughts and developments of the world. A magazine either printed or in manuscript may be run by the science club on a monthly or a quarterly basis. Interesting articles on a variety of scientific topics may be invited from pupils and teachers, and these may be contributed to the magazine. The articles may well be illustrated with pictures and diagrams. The magazine may also be turned into an important organ of the science club. It should publish from time to

time all the information relating to the activities of the club, such as brief accounts of the various meetings, discussions, excursions, exhibitions, if any, held, as also any interesting suggestion put forward by any member of the club. Important gleanings from the scientific news of the world, as culled from different foreign magazines, may also be a special feature of the magazine in question. The members of the science club may hold an exhibition at least once a year, at which the magazines, and the various charts, models, diagrams and the like prepared by them, together with other exhibits of scientific interest, may be displayed. Volunteers may be appointed from among the members of the club for the purpose of explaining the exhibits to visitors by means of practical demonstrations. Occasional film shows of scientific interest may also be arranged by the science club, so as to enable children to see what science has been able to achieve in every sphere of life, all the world over. It is science that has enabled man to change the face of the earth entirely, by building up civilizations, even, in the midst of forests and deserts.

A good and well-organized museum should be a necessary adjunct of the Science club. The pupils of different age-groups may be encouraged to collect various things of scientific interest, and to contribute their interesting collections to the museum. When they are taken out for excursions, they may be asked to observe whatever seems to have a scientific value, and to collect such things as may interest them from the scientific point of view, however trifling those may be. The collections made by them as well as by the teachers may be preserved in the school museum, and may be on display for the benefit of all. Children's innate urge to collect things will thus be appealed to. Provision should be made for a properly organized children's section at every public museum, which the school children may be encouraged to visit from time to time, with a view to collecting important information regarding various subjects of scientific interest. They will do well to note down the main items of important and interesting information in their notebooks for future reference. This will also

prove an inducement for them to organize their school museum, on a small scale in a befitting manner. If a museum proper cannot be organized at any school for want of sufficient space as well as of an adequate number of collections of different types, attempts should be made to provide a Science corner at each school. Pupils may be called upon to try to observe and collect things of scientific interest, wherever those are available and to arrange their finds suitable manner in the science corner of their school.

Now that the all-round scientific development of our country is being aimed at, the need of an adequate number of efficient and qualified scientists cannot be emphasized too strongly. It is a pity that today science is not very well taught at the average school in our country. Lack of adequate laboratory facilities as well as the dearth of qualified teachers has much to do with this state of things. The provision of well-equipped laboratories at the schools will touch only a fringe of the problem, until and unless the quality of teaching is improved. Better and more efficient teaching can hardly be secured until and unless an adequate number of trained and qualified teachers of science can be turned out. The present output is anything but sufficient. The prospective teachers of science need to be properly equipped for the important task to be entrusted to them. The teachers will fail to interest their pupils in the subject-matter selected, unless they can instil their own love of it into the mind of those whom they teach. Every endeavour should be made to create a taste for science so that children may naturally take to it. In the event of dull lessons, their interest is sure to flag. If the teachers know how to make their lessons interesting and impressive, they will be able to enthral and captivate the mind of their pupils for hours on end. When carrying out an experiment at the school laboratory they should try their best to inspire children with their own zeal and enthusiasm. The intense thrill of joy and the rapturous pleasure felt by a teacher at the results of a successful experiment should be equally shared by the taught too. Children need to be afforded occasional relief from the bore-

dom of their class routine. The rigidity of the syllabus, too, is likely to lead to the dullness of the lessons. The science syllabus should, therefore, admit of a good deal of flexibility. Teachers should not fall back entirely upon a rigid, cut and dried syllabus.

One of the main objects of teaching science should be to imbue the mind of children with the spirit of scientific enquiry, as opposed to dogmatism in any shape. Their reason must be appealed to, and their thinking should be stimulated on the right lines. This

being a scientific age, dominated by reason, coupled with doubt, children should be science-minded. They should never make a fetish of blind faith and superstition. They should be taught how to reason things out and evaluate them from the view-point of a scientist, as also to apply scientific methods and principles, wherever possible. The children of the present generation being the products of a scientific age, what is expected of them is a rational and scientific approach to all the problems of their life.

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NATIONALISM AND UNITY IN INDIA

BY PROF. G. N. SARMA, M.A.

I

NATIONALISM, as a political force, is inseparable from unity. There have been many definitions of nationalism, each emphasising the importance of some element or other which enters into its formation but all definitions are agreed that it is a subjective and psychological factor, "a way of thinking, living and feeling, of peculiar intimacy, intensity and dignity." It is difficult to subject the idea of nationalism to a practical and realistic analysis because each of its elements, race, language, religion, tradition, common way of life can never by itself be enough for the formation of a nation while most of the elements are by themselves intangible. Even when all the elements are present in a people, the nationality which is a result is psychological and belongs to the realm of the mind and has to be embodied in the visible form of unity which is political unity, under subjection to the state to which citizens owe emotional loyalty. Emotional unification or the spirit of nationality is the foundation of the structure of the nation state.

Until 1947, in India all discussions of nationalism centred around what was described as "Fundamental Unity of India."

Separated from the rest of the world by "almost inviolable barriers", India's geographical unity is beyond dispute. Fixed territory is for a people the material basis on which nationality can thrive. It is to a nation "what the body is to the individual." Thus, quite early in the life of the people India became to its inhabitants the motherland. The Puranas define Bharatavarsha as "the country that lies north of the Ocean . . . and south of the snowy mountains, . . . marked by seven main chains of mountains . . . ; where dwell the descendants of the Bharatas, with the Kiratas living to its east, the Yavanas living to its west, and its own population consisting of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras."

The emotional and religious expression of the idea of the motherland is emphasised in the prayer which every Hindu is required to recall and worship the image of his mother-country as the land of the seven sacred rivers. Another prayer calls up the image as the land of the seven sacred cities, representing important regions of India. The spirit of these prayers is reinforced by the peculiar Hindu institution of pilgrimage which expects Hindus of all creeds and sects to visit with devotion the shrines and sacred places of the land. In some of the sacred

texts like the Bhagavata Purana, or Manu Smriti are found passages of patriotic fervour describing Bharatavarsha as the land fashioned by the gods themselves who even wish to be born in it as heaven on earth for the spiritual stimulus of its environment. The mother and motherland, it is acclaimed, are greater than heaven.

Hinduism is yet another element in the fundamental unity of the country. "India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul", as Macdonald has said. "Hinduism has imparted to the whole of India a strong and stable cultural unity that has through the ages stood the shocks of political revolutions, being preserved in its own system of social self-government functioning apart from, and offering but few points of contact with the state, indigenous and foreign."

A common language, not in the sense of a language in daily use all over the country but as one studied and revered by the learned, respected and venerated by the common folk, acted as a spiritual bond of union among the people. "India, although it has more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language, and only one sacred literature accepted and revered by all the adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language is Sanskrit and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or Knowledge in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry from whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."—(Monier-Williams)

II

We must remark, however, that the so-called fundamental unity of India was more or less like the fundamental unity of Greece which, politically divided and distraught, never able to come together effectively for any purpose or under any emergency (with the single exception of the threat from

Persia), ultimately lost her free life just because of her incapacity for union against external danger. Even before this final end Greek history presents a spectacle of unending hostile combinations and of fratricidal struggles which were to make her finally a part of the Macedonian empire. Greek historians have, like Indian historians, had to dwell on the fundamental spiritual unity of Greece in the absence of outward and tangible unity.

It may, at this stage, be permissible to examine how far this unity pervaded the mind of the people in the distant past of India. Now that we are a nation State in political parlance, we should not mind questioning some of the time-honoured assumptions and arguments of pre-independence days.

The Hindus were, no doubt, fortunate in that they were favoured by a land which they could call their motherland. From the evidence of ancient and sacred texts it would be hazardous to conclude that the idea of the sub-continent as a whole was present in any but a few minds, if at all, in spite of the injunctions of religion that Hindus should visit sacred places spread all over India. Even today when transport facilities are comparatively abundant and tourism is sought to be promoted and encouraged, it cannot be said that many of us have travelled the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent. This notwithstanding the considerable number of people who are able to avail of the transport and tourist facilities provided by the state. Needless to say then, that only an infinitesimal fraction of people would then have travelled over the entire land and cultivated the living sense of the motherland.

Similar considerations would suggest that the binding force of Sanskrit, the "common language", might have been more limited than has been imagined. The achievement of universal education has been more or less an unrealized aspiration of even the present-day states; the evolution of a common language for the country is still a formidable task. How can we imagine that when education was not widespread, literature embodied in a particular language could serve as a bond of union from north to south? Only a very small fraction of the people would have had such

experience of literature as would inspire a sense of unity of the land in which the literature grew. Besides, how could a fellowship of such learned men develop when the means of communication were not yet well developed.

In the same way, although Hinduism was the religion and Dharma in which people lived and moved and had their being, it was known by the individual only in the particular aspect of the Dharma of his class. This helped each individual to find his station in his life and fulfil the duties that were attached to it but the emphasis on the station and on the duties cannot but have led to a stratification of classes and stations. This was the social barrier that counteracted whatever bonds of union there might have been in the past.

III

As social unity or political unity was not achieved at any time in the past in India, the emphasis could be only on spiritual and religious unity—a unity which transcended all diversities of creeds and sects. It may be said that to the extent to which unity was present it was based on the unity of religion in India, more than on any other single factor. This is not to say that the various elements of unity in India were fictions of the imagination or that they were entirely inoperative but that they were not so potent as was imagined at one time. These factors were no doubt present very often in the background and in an inarticulate form but were in crises thrown into forcible and clear expression.

It may be laid down as a broad generalization that all major historical events in India leading to the foundation of new empires or kingdoms had, as their motive force, the upholding of religion. The foundation of Vijayanagar or the rise of the Maratha state or of the Sikh kingdom are some instances which bear out this generalization.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the political movement in our country had the same spiritual background. As a reaction to British rule and policy, a renaissance in various respects was initiated. "... Whatever temporary rotting and destruction this crude impact of European life and culture has caused it, it gave three needed impulses. It revived the

dormant intellectual and critical impulse ; it rehabilitated life and awakened the desire for new creation ; it put the reviving Indian spirit face to face with novel conditions and ideals and the urgent necessity of understanding, assimilating and conquering them."* "There arose in the period a number of reformers, teachers, saints and scholars who have purified Hinduism by denouncing some of its later accretions, separated its essentials from its non-essentials, confirmed its ancient truths by their own experience and have even carried its message to Europe and America."**

Owing to the teaching of saints and reformers as well as to the impact of modern life on traditional India, some of the rough edges of age-old social divisions have been smoothed. The caste system may be said to have lost much of its divisive force. Yet even the survivals of this system are strong enough as obstacles to the realization of social unity. Unless social unity is achieved political unity will be no more than form without substance. As Tagore put it, it is impossible to 'build a political miracle of freedom on the quicksand of social slavery' "Those of us in India who have come under the delusion that mere political freedom will make us free have accepted their lessons from the west as the gospel truth and lost their faith in humanity. We must remember whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions will create in our politics prison-houses with immovable walls."

During the British period the emphasis on the political aspect of freedom was paramount, the social aspect of freedom occupying a comparatively minor and subordinate role. But the political problem of unification was not present in our minds because the British, against whom the struggle for freedom was carried on, had themselves given India a degree of political unity unprecedented in the country's history. This was possible because of the country-wide system of transport and communications and uniform administration all over the country which the British were able to develop in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. Whereas in Germany and

* Sri Aurobindo,

** D. S. Sarma

Italy the struggle for unification was a prelude to the attainment of nationalism, in India unification was not a prelude in the sense that India had not to attain unification by her own effort as part of the struggle for nationhood. Rather, the carrying out of that unification to its logical completeness was the task of independent India. The integration of native states and the abolition of the distinction between Part A and Part B states which followed the achievement of independence is an indication of the loose ends in the administrative pattern of British India. Although the British held control over the native states, the distinction between native states and provinces was maintained as part of the programme of Divide and Rule.

The problem of Hindu-Muslim differences also assumed political prominence during the 20th century leading to the partition of the country along with the attainment of independence. In the long run it should appear that the parting of the disaffected is a gain to the parent body as those that remain within the country may, by that very fact, be regarded as loyal to the country of their choice.

The problem of language with which we are struggling today is a legacy of pre-independence days. It was contended in those days that as the British Indian provinces were multi-lingual administrative units where uniformity was emphasised at the expense of variety, it would be better to split and reorganise them on the basis of the language of the subjects. Arguments in the name of democracy were also advanced to show that as people's opinion could be formed and expressed only through the people's language and not through the language of the rulers, reorganisation of states was imperative. Such arguments were no doubt attractive and effective in rallying people's opinion against a foreign government, using a foreign language. But such arguments have a survival value beyond their time and circumstance and were carried over to post-independence India. Multi-lingual provinces, the argument ran, were not a rational arrangement as they would inevitably lead to the domination of one linguistic group over the others. Thus, soon

after the achievement of independence, when the pressing need was consolidation and unity and meeting the challenge of economic, social and administrative problems, the attention of the country was taken up by the problem of states reorganisation. The reorganisation of states on the basis of language has set the seal of sanction and recognition on a principle which makes more for division than for unity. In order to balance the effects of this centrifugal principle states are again brought together at the zonal councils. The struggle between the forces of union and division is seen in the fact that the first great achievement of independent India which was the integration of states was followed by an unwilling reorganisation of states.

The particularism resulting from the linguistic reorganisation of states has, in its turn, created the problem of a common language for the country. The opposition to British rule was, as was normal, accompanied by hatred of all that was associated with British rule. The English language which in the course of the British period had become the common language of India, had opened the treasures of modern western thought and knowledge to India, and had largely inspired ideas of national independence and liberalism in the minds of the people, had yet to be regarded as a foreign language in order that there may be no softness in the opposition to the British rule. With the coming of independence it has been considered necessary that there should be a national language of India. While some think that English would serve as our national language, others contest that a foreign language cannot serve as a national language and cannot be accepted as such. The language that is spoken by the largest section of the people alone, therefore, can become our common language. This has naturally led to ethnic and linguistic division and contention and in this situation the announcement of a common language for the whole country may prove most impolitic, breeding more bitterness and discord than commonness and understanding.

IV

The above considerations would lead to the conclusion that vague talk of nationalism

and fundamental unity would be entirely inadequate for the present situation. Whatever spiritual unity may be present in the recesses of the people's mind it would avail us nothing if it is not able to weld us into one social body on which our polity may rest securely. A call to revive the Dharmic state as the only form of state consonant with the country's genius would sound antiquarian today because the social foundations of the ancient Hindu state have been shaken and corroded by the impact of the modern age. In the present context it would be impossible to revive the exact forms of the ancient Indian society and polity. The broad tolerance and universal understanding of Hinduism would assuredly serve as a link between peoples of various religions and faiths in India but Hinduism in any sense can be only in the background of the state, in the minds of the people. The state cannot become the missionary of any faith if the state knows its proper nature and province as a human contrivance for providing the external conditions necessary for the realization of the

aims and ideals of the people. If the people are united by the bonds of religion it is assuredly a thing to be welcomed but this sort of unification is the proper duty of religion and not of the state parading as a spiritual or moral force. The task of the state is secular, to provide the material foundation on which the feeling of oneness in the people may grow. Our decision to become a secular state must be viewed against the background of the call, in the days of the struggle for freedom, to revive a truly national state, founded on the traditions of our religion and Dharma. If it is understood in this sense it would be clear that this decision has thrown overboard all the arguments for spiritual nationalism or nationalism on the basis of race, culture and so on. It is necessary to realize that 'States' which may be a better term for our purposes than 'Nations' are faced today with the challenge of economic and social problems more than anything else and their success in promoting the unity and loyalty of their subjects would be measured by the adequacy of the response to these challenges.

-:O:-

A DROP OF TEAR FOR MAHAKAVI VALLATHOL

By KRISHNAN KUTTY,

Late Scholar of the Sorbonne (Paris)

AFTER four score years of active life poet Vallathol Narayana Menon of Kerala breathed his last. In the death of this great poet, who had influenced the Malayalam literature and the cultural life of Kerala for more than half a century, we have lost a good friend of mankind and a fighter for human rights and justice. Literature is the medium of struggle for those gifted with creative powers and imagination. Active interference in the day-to-day affairs do not come under the cadre of their work; theirs is a superior task in the field of creation and sublimation of the human experiences.

If a poet is a true fighter, Vallathol is certainly one among them. He had the

missionary zeal of a poet and teacher who had dedicated his whole life to the noble purpose he had chosen early in life. Born in 1879 in a small village called Thirur in Kerala, the poet began to express his ideas through Malayalam. Later in life he won recognition as a Mahakavi of great originality and vision. Many honours, both official and unofficial, began to be conferred on him. Short poems and long pieces, based on classical themes, found expression in the most beautiful way from the fertile mind of the Mahakavi. "Kochu Sita", "Bandanashanaya Anirudhan" (Anirudhan in Prison), and "Magdalana Mariyam (Mary of Magdalene) will be retained as treasures of the Malayalam literature. Mahakavi, •

who unfortunately is deaf, has given expression to his feelings in "Badhira Vilapam" (Lament of the Deaf). We are rightly reminded of Milton's verses on his blindness.

The great achievement of Mahakavi Vallathol is the pioneer work he had done in reorganising the dance-drama of Kerala, the Katha Kali. The Kalamandalam of Kerala, with its international significance, owe much to the great poet. Many Indian artists from all over India owe something or other to this teacher for his counsel and guidance if not for their entire formation.

Vallathol was associated with the nationalist movements under Mahatma Gandhi, though, of course, he did not come forward for direct actions. Like a true poet he gave shape to his feelings and thoughts and contributed to that revolution that was shaping up in India. Vallathol was a true Indian in sentiments and his ideas were cosmopolitan. The gifted poet

did not interfere with the clicks of the Malayalam literature caused by a few political-minded writers in Kerala. The Mahakavi towered over his colleagues like an eagle over the other birds.

Like the great Tagore who lived, worked and died in Bengal, Mahakavi Vallathol confined himself to Kerala. But the poet had travelled extensively and had assisted many international cultural conferences, including those held in Moscow and Warsaw. Vallathol had been a representative of Indian culture in those missions abroad.

In the death of this great poet we miss from our midst a great soul, a true patriot, a good citizen of India and a fighter for the evolution of mankind. Vallathol belongs to the celebrated poets of India. We mourn the death of Mahakavi Vallathol, but we are sure, his voice will be heard for decades to come and inspire us to good and selfless actions.

-:O:-

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE EARLY RULERS OF KHAJURAHU: By Sisir Kumar Mitra. Firma K. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958. Pp. 253, 20 illustrations, one map. Price Rs. 15.

In recent years considerable attention has been given by a number of Indian scholars to the history of the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti (Modern Bundelkhand), one of those Rajput dynasties which filled the stage of Indian history in the great period of invasion and conquest of northern India by the Muslim Turks. Because of the commanding position occupied by the kings of this dynasty in the

politics of northern India in the 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries and equally because of the rise of Khajuraho as a city of temples in their time, their fortunes have been treated not only in general works on history like the *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. H. C. Ray and the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Volume V, but also in a valuable monograph entitled *History of the Chandellas* by Dr. N. C. Bose (Calcutta, 1956). The present work, which fetched for its author the coveted D.Phil. degree of Calcutta University, is a welcome addition to this list. It is based upon a very thorough examination of all

the sources, literary and archæological, original and secondary, available on the subject, one particular source (namely the *Mahoba Khand*) being analysed in full practically for the first time in the original proto-Hindi. Equally admirable is the author's comprehensive treatment of the topics in successive chapters under such heads as physical and historical geography of the region, the origin, early history, rise and fall of the dynasty, the administrative organisation, the social and economic conditions, the state of religion and the progress of art and architecture. The author's comments on sundry points at issue are always interesting as e.g., in his discussion of the status of the early rulers of the dynasty (pp. 29-33), of the attitude of the Chandella king Yasovarman towards the contemporary Kalachuris (pp. 39-42), and the causes as well as consequences of the invasion of Bengal by two successive Chandella kings (pp. 44-5, 61-3).

We propose to make a few remarks for consideration by the author in the event of publication of a new edition. The question of the origin of the Chandellas (pp. 12-20) should be more fully discussed in the light of the arguments of Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, of R. B. Russell in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, and of G. S. Ghurye in his *Castes and Races of India*. The description of the administration as well as the social and economic conditions (Chs. XI and XII) should be compared with the corresponding accounts of the contemporary Rajput dynasties like the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Paramaras of Malwa and the Chahamanas of Sakambhari and Ajmer. The picture of social conditions, particularly, should be interpreted in the light of the fuller notices in contemporary *Smriti* commentaries and digests. The rise of the Kayastha caste as distinguished from the profession called by that name (pp. 173-75) should be discussed more fully in the light of the available evidence. Under the head "exchange and currency" (pp. 182-84) reference should be made to a valuable hoard of 48 silver coins of Madanavarman discovered in September, 1913 and noticed in JASB 1914, pp. 199-200. In the chapter on religion (Ch. XIII) the picture of the degraded condition of Buddhism and Jainism in Krishnamisra's *Prabodha-chandrodaya* drama should be discussed fully.

The value of this work is enhanced by the addition of 20 plates, a descriptive inventory of the inscriptions of the dynasty, a genealogical table, a bibliography, an Index and a map. Dr. B. C. Sen of Calcutta University contributes an appreciative Foreword.

U. N. GHOSHAI.

POPULATION & PLANNED PARENTHOOD IN INDIA: *By S. Chandrasekhar. Introduction by Dr. Julian Huxley, F.R.S., London, 1955. Pp. XIII, 108. Twelve shillings and six pence.*

HUNGRY PEOPLE AND EMPTY LANDS (An Essay on Population Problems & International Tension): *By S. Chandrasekhar. Preface by Dr. William Vogt, London, 1956. Pp. 306. Twentyone shillings.*

Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. To be had of the Indian Institute for Population Studies, Madras-20, India.

"Population", writes Dr. Julian Huxley in the latest issue of the *Population Review*, "is the problem of our age." If one did not like to go to such an extreme position in one's assessment of the problems of the world, there was little scope for argument about the basic truth in the statement that the increase of population and its relation to available resources and fulness of life remained, as ever, the crucial point in the man's struggle for supremacy over his environment; and that in certain parts of the world (notably in the heavily-populated regions of economically-underdeveloped Asia) the relative positions of population and the state of national economy did in fact give rise to some concern as to the outcome of this struggle. The state of contemporary international relations and the absence of any international agreement on an integrated action in regard to population tended, if anything, only to accentuate the difficulties of the existing situation. In this context every country had only the other alternative of working out a population policy of its own. In the two volumes under review Dr. Chandrasekhar, the internationally known Indian demographer, deals with both the aspects of the problem: national and international. *Population and Planned Parenthood in India* is a contribution to the understanding of the nature of population problems in India

and the lines along which a solution might be sought. In contradistinction to the other writers on the subject such as Pendell and Vogt, Dr. Chandrasekhar's point of departure is humanism. He advocates a policy of population planning in India as part of a broader democratic planning for national welfare and prosperity. Such a policy has already been in operation in India for some years but as Dr. Chandrasekhar points out, its execution leaves much to be desired. It would however be well to remember the author's statement: "Fertility decline is not an overnight process; it is at best an end-result of a slow, silent, social revolution. And such a revolution has begun—as indeed it has in India—it can be accelerated by governmental and other forces that are eventually constructive, morally acceptable and socially purposeful."

In the second book, Dr. Chandrasekhar discusses the great demographic disequilibrium in the present world which arises mainly from the uneven distribution and rate of growth of population in different parts of the world. More than half of world's total population live in about 1/20th of the total land area at an average density of 400 persons per square mile. The greatest concentration of human beings is found in the Asian countries—China, India, Japan and Indonesia—and in Europe. In contrast, the greater part of the world—notably Siberia, parts of Central Africa and South America, the Central and Northern parts of North America and parts of Australia—is very thinly populated. This great unevenness in the distribution coupled with a comparable imbalance in the rate of growth presents a direct threat to world peace in so far as the overflowing population from the heavily populated areas would soon be compelled to seek living places beyond their present borders and opposition would mean an international war. As a possible solution Dr. Chandrasekhar proposes planned emigration from the heavily populated areas (principally Japan, China and India) to the thinly-inhabited areas. Such emigration is to take place only as a part of a wider programme of birth control, industrialization and agricultural development.

There are obvious difficulties in the path of the realization of this solution and the

author also is not blind towards them. Indeed, he devotes considerable attention to a discussion of these problems.

The two books together make an important contribution not only to Indian thinking but world thinking on what Dr. Julian Huxley calls the "central and overshadowing problem of our age" and bring great credit to Indian scholarship.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

TRADE MARKETS IN EASTERN EUROPE: *Compiled and Published by Mr. K. K. Roy from 18/36, Dehi-Serampore Lane, Calcutta-19. Pages 115. Price not mentioned.*

This is a Commercial Reference Book dealing with trade aspects of East European Countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and USSR, Peoples Republic of China, Viet Nam and North Korea are also included although these countries belong to Far East Asia.

Since the attainment of Independence, India has taken up industrialization in right earnest and the country is exploring all possibilities of expanding her foreign trade with the countries which were outside the picture in pre-independence days. The countries dealt in this publication except East Germany and Czechoslovakia were mainly agricultural and USSR although now a Class I industrial country was primarily agricultural before the Revolution. All the countries of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia are practically under Soviet leadership politically and industrially and all these countries have adopted economy of the Soviet type. Of late, India has entered into trade relation with some of these for mutual benefit and USSR is helping India in her Five-Year Plan. India in her non-alignment policy expects co-operation and trade relations with all nations in spite of their different ideologies. So she has financial aids and loans from U.S.A., Canada, Britain, West Germany, Australia and also from USSR.

Although this Reference Book is concerned with the countries which deal in foreign trades through the machineries of their states only, the information and particulars contained in the volume will be of help to businessmen of our country who desire to expand their trade

relations in these regions. The get-up of the book is excellent.

(1) FROM BHOODAN TO GRAMDAN: Pp. 92. Price 60nP.

(2) SAMPATTI-DAN: Pp. 44. Price 30 nP.

(3) SARVODAYA AND COMMUNISM: Pp. 40. Price 40 nP.

All these three booklets are by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and are published by Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Tanjore. They contain lectures and talks given by Vinobaji from time to time in different places in connection with his Bhoodan tour. Vinobaji wants a Samya-yogi Society and a self-disciplined Free India and believes that the way to world peace is through Bhoodan, Gramdan and Sampattidan. He wants to rouse the third force or Jana-Sakti without recourse to any kind of violence. His is a moral force which will lead mankind towards a State-free Society. His idea is to attain Sarvodaya social order where coercion has no place. Satyagraha is the weapon to attain this social order. What was being done everywhere in the name of Satyagraha is no Satyagraha at all—it is a sort of violence and as such cannot change the hearts of men and thereby reform and purify them. Vinobaji is out to create a nation-wide brotherhood of Sarvodaya Samaj, built on service. He is appealing to the people and not to the legislators because people are the masters of legislators.

He wants one-sixth of land-gift, from individual villagers who have land, for the landless; gift of the entire village collectively from all the land-owners of a village for the same purpose. He wants gift of wealth from those who have wealth of different sorts but possess no land. He uses the word 'wealth' in a very wide sense. With this land and wealth gift he would equip his landless brothers of the country for greater production.

When the ideal will be attained there will be no 'state'; the 'state will wither away' as the Communist philosophy would put it. He would meet Communism with Bhoodan. He would convert capitalists into trustees of their capital and wealth. He would mobilize goodness of all. "Marxism will be of use to India only if it adopts itself to the condition of this country," says Vinobaji. He hopes Marxism will merge into Sarvodaya one day.

These three booklets would introduce readers into the philosophy and art of Bhoodan

movement of Vinobaji, the great exponent of Gandhiji's *Ahimsa* and Sarvodaya.

A. B. DUTTA

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM: By Ashfaq Hossein: Pp. 76. Asia Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.75.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose recent death is mourned by all Indians, wrote a commentary on the Quran in Urdu—*Tarjumaund Quran*. An adequate English translation of the same will be a valuable addition to things Islamic in English. The writer has summarised Maulana's commentary on Sena I—Al-fateha in English and has earned the thanks of all non-Urdu knowing people. The author has given a translation of this opening chapter in English; but he should have transliterated it first from Arabic, for the verses of the Quran are written in rhymed prose (*saj*). It has been said that the Arabic is a language in which, like Italian, it is almost impossible not to rhyme. Instead of translating it again he should have given, in our humble opinion, Sir Richard Benton's translation, which according to persons competent both in English and Arabic is the best translation and gives some idea of the rhymes of the original.

The Quran is a difficult book to read, especially in translations, for apart from its arrangement, it is not so much a book as a collection of manifestoes, edicts, discourses, sermons, etc. At the same time the spirit of Islam cannot be understood without a study of its high ethical teachings and its uncompromising monotheism.

The late Maulana Saheb has expanded its teachings in beautiful language, and we are all grateful to the translator for giving us an opportunity to get an idea of it. As he has styled the book—*The Spirit of Islam*, our one regret is that he has not given more, especially the exposition of Maulana Saheb, on Sena 112 At-Taubid, which is called the essence of the Quran, and is said according to a tradition of the prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Quran. Like *Oliver Twist*, we want "more" from the translator, and we hope he will not disappoint us.

J. M. DATTA

GEMS OF ANDHRA LITERATURE IN ENGLISH VERSE—Part 1, *Kavya Period*: By Sri Surya Narayan Peri. To be had of The Manager, Srinivas Publishing House, Rajahmundry. Price Rs. 3-75 np.

Andhra or Telugu is one of the four important languages of South India. Though of Dravidian origin it has been profusely influenced by Sanskrit, so much so that now nearly two-thirds of its words are of Sanskrit origin. The history of its literature may be divided into four periods: the Kavya, the Kavya-Prabandha, the Prabandha and the Modern period. The Kavya period stretches roughly from 1000 A.D. to 1350 A.D. (In this respect there is an anomaly in the Introduction. In page 3, the writer mentions 1300 A.D. as the limit, but in page 5, he indicates 1350 A.D. as such). The author has chosen specimens of poetic compositions of this period and rendered them into English. Nannaya, Tikkana and Errana were the most representative poets of the time. They and other poets of the age all took their themes from Sanskrit classics. This book gives us a fair idea of the literature of the period.

THE BEGGAR PRINCESS (A Historical Drama in Five Acts): *By Dilip Kumar Roy and Indira Devi, Kitab Mahal., 56-A, Zero Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3/-.*

This beggar princess is none other than Mirabai, queen of Chitor, who, as a devotee of Krishna and as a poet, ranks among the highest. The present work is different from ordinary dramas because it depends little on action; it depicts the picture of a dedicated soul. Sri S. K. Ghosh in his Introduction says: "The Beggar Princess operates on two stages—the inner and the outer. The present moment is a point of intersection between what-has-been and may-again-be. It is, therefore, a play in a double sense. To show it thus is perhaps Dilip Kumar's central effort and achievement. To see it thus at once on both levels, will be, for us, real understanding."

NANALAL, POET-LAUREATE OF MODERN GUJARAT: *By Balchandra Parikh. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.*

Sri K. M. Munshi in his Foreword observes: "Sri Parikh has rendered a service by introducing poet Nanalal to an all India public. Perhaps a sketch of the poet's life against the background of contemporaneous literary achievements of Gujarat would have greatly increased the value of this little work." Nanalal, the most outstanding poet of Modern Gujarat of the last half a century, is almost unknown to the rest of India. It is a pity that nurtured for ages by the same culture and tradition Indians are now separated by barriers of language. Frequent

attempts should be made through translations to overcome these barriers and establish inter-communion of thought.

SHADOW AND SUNSHINE: *By K. C. Chatterjee, M.A. To be had at Messrs. P. Ghosh and Co., 20, College Street Market, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1-14.*

A bunch of agreeable short stories. Characters in our modern short stories often verge on the abnormal. Here happily they are not so. These stories have rather a romantic colour though they deal with common life. All the incidents take place outside Bengal—in Bombay, Lucknow and other places; incidentally they provide some refreshing novelty in atmosphere. Unfortunately almost all the stories end in a death; they cast a gloom at the end. The last one is in the form of a short play, probably based on a Jataka story.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BENGALI

BANGLAR NABYA SAMSKRITI: *By Joyesh Chandra Bagal. Visrabharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-0 only.*

Perhaps no other writer has devoted himself so unsparingly to the task of presenting before us a complete picture of our Nineteenth Century Renaissance. The vision of a cosmopolitan world, the youthful spirit that discarded all handicaps and the many-sided efforts for ushering in a new age were reflected in the utterances and activities of the prominent people of the times. Unfortunately we lack their enthusiasm and determination. Whatever reasons we might adduce for that, we do not derive any consolation therefrom. It would perhaps be better for us to remember the glorious past and seek inspiration from it. Reverent study of the achievement of the great pioneers of the last century in religion, society, politics and literature might infuse new vitality into our soul and guide us along the path of progress.

The author gives here brief accounts of the important social welfare societies of the day like the Gaudiya Samaj, the Academic Association, the Tattwabodhini Sabha, the Bethune Society, the Bamabodhini Sabha, the

Bangiya Samaj Bijnan Sabha, etc. From gardening to cultivation of science, industrial progress to female emancipation—nothing escaped their attention. They fought hard to eradicate ignorance and superstition from the country and build up a healthy modern nation. From these accounts we have occasional glimpses of our illustrious men and women who once paved the way for Bengal's regeneration. Though not voluminous the book under review is packed with information and Sri Bagal is well-known for his eye for accuracy and able presentation. His qualities as a historian are evident here as in his other works.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

PARVATI: *By Ramanand Tewary Sastri, "Bharatimanudan". Published by Sm. S. Rani, Professor Colony, Nayapara, Kotah (Rajasthan). Price Rs. 15 only.*

This is an epic poem written during a period of 2 years on the same lines as the

great work of Kalidasa, *Kumar-sambhavam*, running through 27 cantos, and preceded by a *mangalacharan*, *archana* and followed by *arati*, very much in traditional style, but not strictly attending to the traditional variations in metre from canto to canto. The modern tone is also there, the language is simple and lucid.

One must also pay a tribute to the inspiration that could in these days last through the length of the poem, and also to the audience which retains its love of poetry against the drab background of modern materialism. We have here a poet, we shall not say, born out of his time, but a sincere worshipper of the Muses who has pledged himself to whole-hearted devotion to melodious thought.

The poet has imagination and a philosophy of his own, and the reading public, appreciative of poetry, will surely be delighted to read the volume.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Race Conflicts In South Africa

The story of race prejudice and injustice is unfolded in an arltale in *The Argon Path* by Mr. E. S. Sachs, now living outside South Africa but well known for his stand against his country's tyrannical racial laws :

On April 16th, 1958, the Nationalist Party of South Africa, led by the ailing Mr. J. G. Strijdom, scored its third successive victory since 1948, when it first secured a majority of seats and took over the government of the country. The 9,250,000 Africans, the 1,250,000 "Coloured" and the 400,000 Indian people were silent spectators without a voice or a vote, although their fate figured prominently in the election. The Coloured people were removed from the common voter's roll a year ago and elected four European representatives to the Union House of Assembly on April 3rd. The Africans, who constitute 70% of the total population, elect 3 European representatives out of a total of 163. It is doubtful, however, whether they will have any representation at all for long, as Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, has stated that a law will soon be passed to remove native representatives altogether from the Union Parliament. The Indian people have no franchise rights whatever.

Among the 2,000,000 Afrikaners and 1,000,000 British who have the right to vote some are more "equal" than others. In accordance with a law passed by the Nationalist Government in 1953 the 25,000 White voters of South West Africa elect 6 members --in the large cities that number of voters would elect only 2. The rural constituencies which are almost entirely Nationalist have an average roll of under 10,000, whereas the average in the urban constituencies is over 12,000. In spite of Nationalist gerrymandering, they failed to secure the support of the majority of the White electorate when the 24 constituencies which they did not contest are taken into

consideration. On a 49% vote, however, they did succeed in capturing 103 seats against 53 for the United Party. The three candidates of the Liberal Party were defeated only one saving his deposit. The two Labour Party candidates, who had both been in the last Parliament and earned the respect of all intelligent South Africans for their courage and ability, were both defeated, one losing his deposit.

The year 1957 was one of the blackest in the history of South Africa, a country which has known many black years. Unless something unforeseen happens the coming years will see an increase in the oppression of the 11,000,000 non-Whites and in the persecution of Whites who dare to oppose the Nationalist Government's policy.

Civilized people throughout the world have consistently expressed their indignation at the inhuman policy of racial intolerance as preached and practised by successive governments in South Africa, whether that policy is presented in its brutal nakedness of Apartheid by the Nationalists, or as hypocritically labelled "Christian Trusteeship" by the late General Smuts. Yet there are not a few apologists in Britain and elsewhere for that policy. Spokesmen for the Nationalist Government abroad present Apartheid as a policy of "equal but separate development for Whites and non-Whites in the interests of both racial groups." Thus in the Summary of the Report of the Tomlinson Commission (Chapter 4, Par. 3) we find in referring to Apartheid the following :

"In this connection, it must be emphasized at the outset that it would be erroneous to allege that this pattern originated solely or even in the first instance, from selfish and oppressive considerations, or only favours the European. Actually it is based on two clearly perceptible principles, namely (1) self-protection and self-preservation on the side of the Europeans, and (2) recognition and protection of the Bantu's own institutions,

etc., and of their needs, interests and rights. To a large extent these two principles are not mutually conflicting, but complementary, and they are frequently applied as a harmonious entity. However, as the Bantu are introduced into non-Bantu areas and become more and more detribalized and westernized, the European will be confronted with ever greater problems in regard to the maintenance of his position of authority."

When addressing the White electors, however, the Nationalists are not so well-mannered but more truthful, and they sum up Apartheid as "*Die Kaffer op se plek en die Koeli uit die land*" (The Kaffir in his place and the Coolie out of the country).

Even a cursory examination of the history of South Africa, the laws and regulations enacted to further the so-called "equal but separate development for Whites and non-Whites," will prove conclusively that the philosophy and practice of *Baaskap* (White domination) is not only inhuman and immoral and designed to degrade, oppress and impoverish the non-Whites, but that it is unprofitable to the Whites and, if persisted in, will lead to inevitable disaster for Whites and non-Whites alike.

After a hundred and fifty years of *Baaskap*, nine successful Kaffir wars, the seizure by Whites of 90% of the land, the creation of millions of landless African labourers, it was conservatively estimated in 1929 that out of a total Afrikaner population of over 1,000,000 at least 300,000 were poor Whites, living in an abyss of poverty and misery on incomes of less than £20 a year. A similar number lived on an income of about £50 a year. Hopelessness and despair filled their lives; and in the course of time they lost not only the possibility of escape but even the energy to extricate themselves from their misery. They were saved from total degeneration, but not by the champions of *Baaskap* who were quite helpless and could offer only myths about White Supremacy, some charity and prayer.

The industrial development of the country, which proceeded in spite of the advocates of White Supremacy, saved the Afrikaners from disaster. There was no legal colour bar in industry and thousands of factories

sprang up where Whites and non-Whites worked side by side. Today over 1,000,000 non-Whites work in the manufacturing industries, commerce, transportation and other occupations, and about 500,000 Whites. The influx of non-Whites and the improvement in their skill, far from undermining the standards of Europeans and causing unemployment among them, had the very opposite effect. Hard facts indubitably prove that the economic colour bar offers no defence for White workers; on the contrary it undermines their standards.

The fantasies and myths inspired by the leaders of the Nationalist Party rule South African political life: hard facts and realities seem to find no place. The Nationalists know in their hearts that their policy of oppression will not save but destroy the White community; yet, having swallowed the philosophy and technique of the Nazis and determined to maintain themselves in power at all costs, they are relentlessly and with ever-increasing recklessness following the road which must lead to catastrophe.

Those who are conversant with South African facts and realities find the hypocritical talk of the Nationalists and their friends about Apartheid being in the interests of both sections of the community positively sickening. Admittedly the basis for African oppression had been laid long ago. In 1911, one year after the Union was established, the Native Labour Regulations Act was passed, an Act which deprives all African workers of the most elementary rights. In 1912 was passed the Works and Mines Act, which prohibits the employment of African mine workers, who number nearly half a million, in any skilled occupation. In 1913 the Native Land Act was passed dividing South Africa into "Black" and "White" areas. Over 90% was demarcated as "White," in which Africans are prohibited from owning any land, and less than 10% was allocated to the Africans, who constitute more than two-thirds of the population.

Yes, the policy of "Christian Trusteeship" pursued by the Smuts Government was not fundamentally better than Strijdom's policy of Apartheid, yet there are several important differences between the two.

The policy of Christian Trusteeship was an expedient. The White mine-owners and the White farmers needed a vast reservoir of cheap native labour, and Christian Trusteeship was designed to supply 500,000 African mine workers at less than £4 a month and 1,000,000 agricultural labourers at a wage ranging from £10 to £25 a year. Apartheid, on the other hand, has become a national philosophy, eternal, immutable and, according to the Nationalists, designed by Providence. Under Smuts the door was not altogether closed to the Africans; and what a comfort it is to the masses of the oppressed to know that there is at least a ray of hope for them!

Under the Nationalists the door has been shut, the lamps of liberty extinguished and all that the oppressed non-Whites can look forward to is more oppression and humiliation. Those who are anxious to know the truth about Apartheid need only peruse the South African Statute Book since 1948. Under the Group Areas Act every non-White group or community can be forcibly uprooted by the Minister for the Interior and transplanted elsewhere. The Urban Areas Act, prohibiting Africans from living in the cities which they helped to build, compels them to live in shanty towns, in squalor and misery, miles away from the place where they work. These laws also compel Africans to carry numerous passes, and various regulations give departmental officials the power to deport Africans from urban areas. Under the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Acts non-Whites and Whites may be banned from certain areas, banished, removed from any public position they may hold and forced to live in isolation. Gatherings, even of the most peaceful nature, may be prohibited. *The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 provides penalties of five years' imprisonment, ten lashes and a £500 fine for persons participating in or aiding passive resistance campaigns.* The Bantu Education Act of 1953 introduces an entirely new and diabolical principle in education. This law decrees that the entire system of education for Africans shall be designed for making them good servants for the Whites.

From the end of 1956 new waves of

oppression began to sweep the country. On December 5th of that year 140 homes were raided at dawn and 140 men and women of all races, representing a cross-section of South African society, were dragged out and rushed to the Johannesburg Fort and charged with High Treason. Sixteen more were later arrested. A year later 65 were released after a protracted preparatory examination: 91 will face trial by a special criminal court in June or July. High Treason is a capital offence under South African law. Early in January 1957 the new Industrial Conciliation Act became law. Under this Act White and non-White workers are prohibited from belonging to the same trade union, and the Minister of Labour is given unchallengeable power to remove workers belonging to any racial group from any industry, trade or occupation. In due course the University Apartheid Bill followed, as also the Native Laws Amendment Bill *prohibiting social intercourse between Whites and non-Whites even in places of worship.*

Nationalist oppression and terror, far from crushing the spirit of Freedom among the non-Whites and a small number of courageous Whites, has had the very opposite effect. Resistance to tyranny is growing rapidly. Five years ago the African National Congress, the mouthpiece of the African people, had barely 5,000 members and comparatively little influence; today it has a membership of over 100,000 and a following among millions. Over a year ago 150,000 Africans staged a Bus Boycott, deciding to walk to and from work. The passive, silent, dignified march of 150,000 pairs of African feet spread fear amongst their oppressors.

The whole of the African continent is awakening and if the three million Whites in South Africa still refuse to pay heed to the spirit of freedom which is sweeping Africa they will have only themselves to blame if disaster overtakes them.

The Conditions of Liberal Democracy

The following article by the Spanish savant Salvador de Madariaga, who is now settled in Britain as Honorary Fellow at Exeter College, Oxford, has been reproduced in *Bhoodan*.

He has reached conclusions which run so close to Vinobaji's new concept of Loka-niti :

I consider liberal democracy to rest on three essential conditions : government by consent of the governed ; a free press ; a judiciary independent of the executive. On the other hand, I do not consider universal direct suffrage as an essential condition for liberal democracy. It has always seemed strange to me that some countries, France for instance, while adamant on the suffrage issue, let her judiciary fall under the sway of politicians and bureaucrats. This seems to me a far more serious outrage against liberal democracy than any criticism of universal direct suffrage.

I hold that government by consent of the governed is essential ; but that universal direct suffrage is mere machinery and can be adopted or rejected without in any way touching the principles of democracy. I also think that universal direct suffrage can work well only in small communities. That is why in my view it should be restricted to the commune, to what the Swiss call *Gemeinde*.

On the other hand, this commune should, in my opinion, receive many powers now usurped by the central State ; and in particular should have the initial and basic powers of taxation, so that the wider organisms including the federal State should receive their funds from the communes and not as it happens today in so many countries, the other way about. The communes would, therefore, be quasi-sovereign States, and this puts the limitation of direct suffrage to the commune in its proper perspective, since the citizen is given back in actual power within the communal State what he loses in theoretical power in the national State by the mere use of his voting ballot.

I also hold that a nation is not the sum-arithmetic of its inhabitants, but that it is the organic whole of its institutions ; and that, therefore, once the communes have been constituted, they should not be left outside in the cold, but should remain in the live stream of the consent of the governed, which should flow upwards from the citizens to the Central State by the channel of all the intermediate institutions without by-passing any. The present system by-passes them all since

it elects the national chamber directly from the loose, unorganized individuals, voting with no regard for the communal will, which at this stage should be more weighty as well as more competent than the will of the individual. My criticism bears on what amounts to an usurpation by the political parties of a function which really belongs to the communes. Now, the parties are abstract and ideological, while the communes are concrete and empirical. The citizen, by limiting his individual, direct action to the commune or *Gemeinde*, which in its turn has been made almost sovereign, would be forced to "keep his eye on the ball".

If, to be precise, this general scheme were applied to France, the citizens would elect the municipal council, the municipal councils would elect the departmental councils ; and the departmental councils would elect about twelve parliaments, one for each of the old provinces (Picardie, Provence, Bretagne, etc.) : a national senate would then be elected by the twelve parliaments to deal with strictly national issues.

I fail to see why this should scandalize true liberal democrats. To begin with, it would eliminate the two worst evils of the present system : slogans and the dependence of elections on money. It would stabilize politics and would associate a greater number of people to the government of the country at different levels and sizes. It would disperse power and in many ways come closer to the Swiss model. It would by no means do without parties ; but it would force them to face concrete issues ; it would raise the dignity of the communes, now-a-days treated almost like minors subject to the tutelage of *prefest* and *sous-prefest* and make of them quasi-sovereign little republics. It would force a strong draft of freedom throughout the whole nation.

As I wrote these lines the British Press was publishing the opinion of Mr. Gresham-Cooke, a member of Parliament, until recently at the Treasury on a way to deal with inflation. According to this British parliamentarian, since part of the cause of inflation is excessive taxation, and since Parliament is incapable of cutting government expenditure, taxes instead of being collected centrally and

distributed in grants from the central State to the local authorities, should on the contrary be gathered by the local authorities, the surplus going upwards to the States. This decentralization of tax-gathering would, in Mr. Gresham-Cooke's opinion, give the ordinary person more democratic control and so prevent the automatic rise of expenditure in which Parliament finds itself entangled.

In my view, this is the chief issue in Europe today. France, Italy, Spain, Greece are not able to stabilize their political life because they suffer from this superstition of the direct universal suffrage which they have acquired from the Anglo-Saxons. The United States of America is ruled in a nonsensical way because of a system for selecting its leaders by massive votes obtained through a forced compression of issues into slogans and the use of all kinds of mechanical-electrical means such as radio and television. This system is so expensive that the administration that gets elected is politically mortgaged to

the interests that have financed it. The evil effects of the direct universal suffrage are also felt in Scandinavia and Britain in the demagogic outbidding they tend to produce between the parties.

France has been led to her present plight by an all but irresponsible Assembly elected in fact by a number of all but irresponsible parties thinking only of their abstract ideologies and their clientele. If it have been governed by a Senate of one hundred and twenty men elected by twelve responsible parliaments in their turn elected by departmental councils elected by municipal councils born of the local universal suffrage, namely resting on a truly national basis of experience and responsibility, her problems would have been tackled with continuity and common-sense; and her people, far from being less free, would have been freer, since every commune would have enjoyed full liberty to organise its life and government in its own way.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Dogma Is Its Own Enemy

In the course of an article in *Unity*, April 1958, Dr. Sunder Joshi observes:

Religious liberals have no creed or dogma! Are they justified in this?

DOGMA AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The scientific method combines the methods of the natural and social sciences in order to reach rational conclusions based upon verifiable evidence. Therefore, the approach to religious questions will be from the point of view of experience itself. It is obvious that which is beyond experience is also beyond evidence, at least in the present state of knowledge. This is not to say that future evidence of supposedly supernatural phenomena will not come within the realm of the natural in the years that lie ahead.

The liberal approach to religion is primarily based upon the open mind which is not closed to new evidence at any future date. Liberalism consists of reverence for the reverence of other people's religion. However, this does not mean that liberals revere what orthodoxy reveres. To have an open mind means that all our conclusions are subject to change provided there is enough new evidence. We may understand all other religious positions but may not necessarily agree with them.

The important point to remember is that the scientific method stresses the law of change in all organisms and human institutions. History gives us first-rate evidence of this position, particularly in the field of religion. No society is ever static because life itself is always on the move.

Since this is true, the needs and desires of men under specific circumstances formulate the driving force for newer forms of religion. The founders of world religions have addressed themselves to the problems of the time and place in which they lived. Their solutions, whether religious or otherwise, took into consideration the context within which their teachings had to function. It is the life-situation which brought forth the kind of teaching or truth which they expressed in their day.

Therefore, religious truth is true only when it is related to a certain time and place in a specific culture.

It is taken for granted that scientific method does not limit religion to theology but to the whole of life itself. And life is constantly moving, and not fixed. Therefore, any ideas of religion would naturally have to consider the fact that religion is a function of human life and not merely a fixed position reached by some people hundreds of years ago.

Since any truth is a product of the context of experience, which is constantly changing, nobody can divorce the truth from its context without losing the meaning of truth itself. It is obvious from this introduction that any idea or truth, which is fixed and unchanging, has no point of contact with the flow of human affairs. Dogma is a fixed opinion or truth or idea which is the child of a specific context of history. Such dogmas are solutions offered by men appropriate to the times in which they lived.

The tragedy of dogma is that it tries to superimpose a truth, which was true in the context of its time, upon the contexts of succeeding centuries when the circumstances which produced the earlier truth no longer exist. The result is that such a superimposed truth has a very hollow ring to it.

Since dogma defies almost all the fundamentals of scientific method, it can hardly presume to be rationally effective among people who do any critical thinking at all. By remaining rigid and fixed in a world of fluid knowledge, it thereby becomes its own enemy. It drives people toward atheism and agnosticism by ignoring the new knowledge about the universe, the earth, and human nature, which was not available to the people who composed the scriptures in a pre-scientific and pre-democratic world of long ago. If the truth of 2000 years ago is still just as true concerning the universe and man, then modern knowledge is false. You cannot have two unique truths representing opposite positions.

Marriage and the Family in Korea .

The concluding portion of the article "Marriage and the Family in Korea" by Miss Lun Sun Song published in *Korean Survey* is given below :

The traditional Korean family, as it exists in the rural areas of Korea, is patriarchal and monogamous. The key figure in the household is the patriarch, the oldest male member, in most cases. It is he who manages the family affairs. Insofar as ritual is concerned, the patriarch is the priest in the family worship, the breadwinner of the family, and, consequently, it is he who regulates the income of the family. The word of the patriarch is law. His decisions must be accepted by the other members of the family.

The key element in the relationship between the patriarch and his wife is just as Confucius decreed it should be thousands of years ago : respect. Their relationship must be harmonious ; the husband is active and the wife is passive—he is like a needle and she like the thread. He is heaven ; she is earth. All these analogies point out that each of them has specific role to fulfill and that the one cannot fulfill the role of the other. Nor do the husband and wife show their affection toward each other in the presence of their children or friends. There is no kissing custom in Korea—this is strictly a Western innovation—therefore husbands don't kiss their wives. Or if they do they don't do it where other people might see them and make fun of them. Public opinion is a very strong means of social control in Korea !

Although there are modern exceptions to the rule, women are supposed to walk behind their husbands, not beside them, when they are out in public. Formerly whenever the men went out to some party or special dinner they would not take their wives, for in Korea there was a special class of female entertainer, the *kisaeng*, who would dance and sing for the guests. Even inside the home the traditional attitude of the husband is that a man should not work in the kitchen because it is beneath his dignity. But here again there are many husbands, who, when there are

no outsiders around, will help their wives with the cooking and washing the dishes. Some men will not admit it, but they actually *enjoy* cooking.

The relationship of the husband and wife is expressed also in the language. When they speak to each other they may use the somewhat affectionate term, *yobo*. Most important, however, they may not call each other by their first name ! This would be a most serious and insulting thing to do. Instead, they use many different terms such as *pakkan-yangpan* (husband), *uri chuin* (my master), *chip-e saram* (person of the house), *anhai* (wife). More common in the husband-wife interaction is the use of the term *aigi aboji* (father of the child) or *aigi omoni* (mother of the child) to refer to the husband or the wife. Also the name of the child may be used, for example, *Poktong-ui-aboji* meaning Poktong's father. Another interesting fact about the Korean husband-wife relationship is that when they marry, the wife keeps her maiden surname. Thus, if Kim Soon Hi marries a man named Lee, she is still referred to as Kim Soon Hi. If you wanted to call her "Mrs. Lee," you would have to say the equivalent of "Mr. Lee's Wife."

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Sociologically speaking, the Korean family is parent-child centered rather than husband-wife centered, as most Western families are today. It is this parent-child relationship, more specifically the father-son relationship which is the key to the understanding of the Korean family system. The importance of a son in the family can be readily understood in view of the Korean attitude toward ancestor reverence and ancestral tablets in continuing the family line, and "face," an attitude which is strengthened through the teachings of Confucianism. Only through a son can there be a continuation of the family line. Girls will marry into some other families and will no longer be considered members of their true family. In this social context lies the strong preference for male children rather than female. Nevertheless, Koreans would prefer to have daughters than to have no children at all. Another practical reason for the preference of a son is, of course, that sons are better able to work on the farms and can provide for the sustenance of the aged parents.

The father's attitude towards his children is an interesting one. He must always try to be very dignified, so that the children will show him the proper respect; therefore he is not too affectionate toward them, even though he loves them very much. There is no concept in Korea that the father is the "boy's best friend." It is the father's job to discipline the children. Sometimes he spansks them if he thinks it is necessary or makes them go to bed without eating their supper. When they speak to their father they must use a respectful form of language (Korean language is based upon a system of polite forms, some very polite and others less polite, being used between very close friends.) If a child ever used other than the honorific level to his father, he would expect to be punished very quickly. Korean children respect and fear their fathers and it is rare to find children who are hard to handle.

If we compare the parents to the human body, the father is the head and the mother is the heart. It is she who takes care of the food and clothing for the family. As all

of the father's activity is carried on outside the home, the mother works inside the home. She works from dawn to dusk just managing the home. She cannot go to bed until the father has gone and she must get up before him in the morning. You will never find a Korean wife making her husband prepare his own break-fast before going to work.

Mother must do the thousand and one little things which often go unnoticed—things like remembering all the relative's birthdays—so she doesn't go out very often. Therefore she often asks her husband on some family occasion to invite their friends to the house and she prepares a big meal and spends the whole day chatting and gossiping with her friends.

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ALOKA-TIRTHA

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Until quite recently the Korean wife did not work outside the home to earn money even if she was able to do so. It was considered a disgrace for such a thing to happen and the father would lose "face" among his friends and neighbors. Girls were trained to be good wives and mothers—not to be office girls. Boys are brought up so that they might become responsible husbands and fathers in the future. Today as far as the girls are concerned, however, this old attitude is losing ground and many young girls and wives have found it necessary to seek work in offices and factories of the large cities in order to meet the demands of a war-shattered economy.

In most other ways, though, Korea retains the old customs. This helps to explain why there is very little divorce in Korea. In our culture divorce carries a stigma which is greater than in most Western countries, so couples are less inclined to seek divorce as a solution to their problems. But, on the other hand, there is less reason to need a divorce because of the very nature of the roles of the husband and wife. The husband knows what is expected of him and he knows that no one will try to take over his duties unless he gives his permission. The wife is brought up to respect her husband and love her children. There is no conflict as to whether a woman should turn to a career or to housekeeping. The culture solves that problem. In the Western world there are many role conflicts between husband and wife, and the value of individualism de-emphasizes the importance of the family group. In Korea the men are supposed to be authoritarian and active while women are taught to be submissive and passive. Men and women co-operate in order to bring up their children and continue the family name.

The importance of a son to continue the family name helps to explain one of the ancient institutions which has recently been abolished, that is, concubinage. In the old days when a wife was barren the husband had the right to take a concubine in order to have a son. If the concubine had a son he would become the legal heir and she would receive much prestige. Even so, the wife's position would not be endangered, for she was still the wife and no one could take over her position.

I mentioned earlier that the patriarch was the authority in the family. This is quite true, but as he gets older he becomes more of a figurehead and it is the wife who has the greatest influence. Usually the patriarch knows that his wife is assuming more and more responsibility, but he lets her gradually take over more of his duties. If the wife has several sons it is easier for her to gain more power in the household because she already has a great deal of prestige. It often happens that the wife is able to make herself the real authority in the family without the husband's knowing or realizing it. In other words, the husband *thinks* he is the authority but the wife *knows* that she is. This is one of the most important secrets for a happy marriage in Korea.

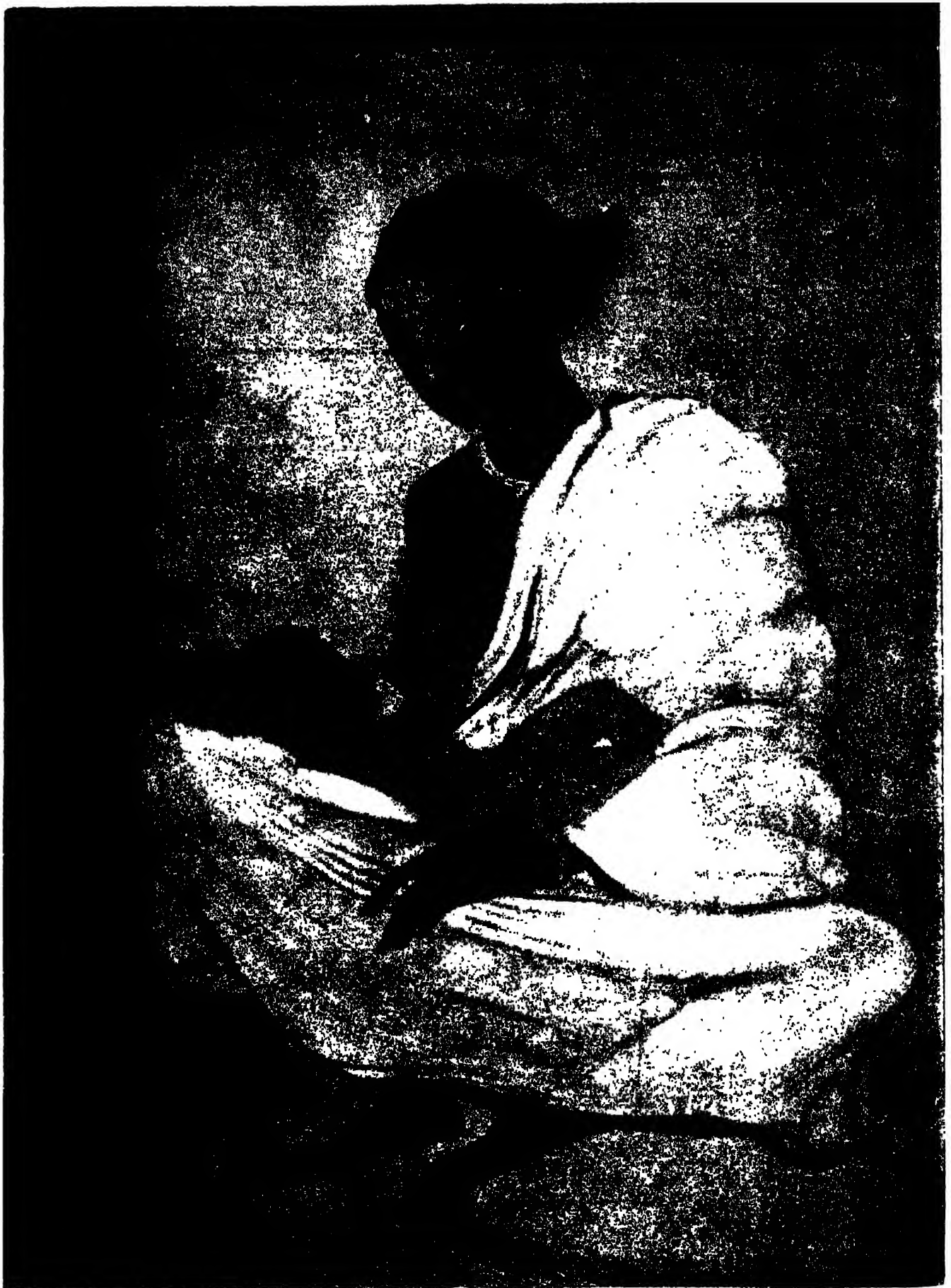
And when the couple is old they may expect that their children (the eldest son in particular) will take care of them for the rest of their lives. So old age, in Korea, becomes a time, not of worry and anxiety, but of peace and happiness, the aged parents secure in the knowledge that they have done their part in continuing the family line and contributing respectable citizens to their society.



Household work
Photo: Tulsidas Singha



Monsoon
Photo: Gour Dutt



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

MOTHER AND CHILD
By Panchanan Roy

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1958

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NOTES

THE LESSON FROM PAKISTAN

India today is a democratic island, in a vast ocean of military and totalitarian rule stretching from Egypt to the eastern confines of Burma. Further east there are a few uneasy democracies, balanced in a precarious state between totalitarianism and democracy. The oldest democracy of the world, France, has also entered into a new phase, of which the full reading is as yet impossible. It behoves all thoughtful persons of our nation to ponder over the why and wherefore of the portents of these recent happenings. The following sentences from President Mirza's proclamation, bringing in Martial Law in operation all over Pakistan, should be given serious consideration:

"For the last two years I have been watching with the deepest anxiety the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses"

"Adventurers and exploiters have flourished to the detriment of the masses and are getting richer by their nefarious practices."

"Agriculture and land administration have been made a hand-maiden of politics"

"My appraisal of the internal situation has led me to believe that a vast majority of the people no longer have any confidence in the present system of government, and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed."

"It is said that the Constitution is sacred. But more sacred than the Constitution, or anything else, is the country and the happiness of its people. It is seriously threatened

by the ruthlessness of traitors and political adventurers."

It is said that every serious malady has specific symptoms, which lead to death or disablement. In the case of a nation, death spells foreign domination or extinction, and disablement means disruption. Martial Law is merely a colossal surgical operation, under anaesthesia of the whole nation, to cut out the affected parts. It may or may not succeed.

President Mirza's proclamation, which we have reproduced elsewhere in this issue, gives the broad outlines of his reading of the symptoms, his diagnosis and the treatment he proposes. We have no comments on those, but we find parallel symptoms, perhaps to a lesser degree in the *malaise* of our nationals. And there is a danger that this *malaise* may develop into a serious malady, unless the Rip Van Winkles at the helm of the State wake up in time and take action. The Constitution, we have, has also failed to prevent corruption.

France has also had to take recourse to drastic measures, bringing in a semi-dictatorship armed with new weapons, in the shape of a new Constitution. Here also we see the results of the disruptive action by ruthless and reckless politicians, backed by irresponsible parties like the *Colons* of Algeria, with an insatiable lust for power and gain. We have in this country legions of such irresponsibles, working under different guises, that have infiltrated into all parties, organisations and administrations, political and otherwise.

The portents, therefore, are ominous.

The Ganga Barrage

It is encouraging to note that the people of Bengal and its Government are now aware of the urgency of the execution of Farakka Barrage both for the sake of saving the port of Calcutta as well as for putting life into the dead and dying rivers of the State. As a result of this awareness the Government of India has been made conscious, though rather belatedly about the Project. But it appears that in spite of the suave assurances of the Central Ministers in this respect much still remains to be done. A general assurance has, of course, been given. But there appears no sign of sense of urgency and exactness regarding it.

One reason for this may be due to the fact that all projects now-a-days are considered from the provincial angle and therefore unless the province and its Government puts maximum pressure nothing happens. On the contrary we have examples when provincial governments put maximum pressure and threatened to make it public, results were soon forthcoming. The Farakka Barrage, however, is not only a life and death question for West Bengal; it is no less important for the country as a whole. For the Barrage will provide life-giving waters to the Port of Calcutta.

The importance of the Port in the context of the developing economy of the country can be gauged from the following paragraphs :

The Port of Calcutta has for the hinterland the States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, part of Madhya Pradesh and Nepal. This covers an area of 5 lakh square miles with a population of 180 millions. In this area is located the richest coal fields of India with an annual output of 40 million tons, ore mines with an output of 760 million tons annually, the entire tea industry of North-East India, the Jute Industry of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and West Bengal. The two biggest existing steel works at Tatanagar and Burnpur with two more under construction at Rourkella and Durgapur are also situated in this area. Besides the heaviest concentration of engineering industry is located here.

This Port handles about 45 per cent of India's import and export of dry cargo.

This amounts to 9 to 10 million tons every year. It is the greatest Foreign Exchange Earner for India. The 4 to 5 million tons of exports that go out of this Port earn very valuable foreign exchange that help to stabilise the economic position of India in the world market.

India is far from self-sufficiency in food-supply. Considerable quantities have to be imported from foreign countries. Calcutta alone deals with more than half of the import of foodgrains. To feed the vast hinterland and to provide them with sufficient food supply from outside India, Calcutta is the only suitable Port for the whole of North-East India.

Besides foodgrains, considerable quantities of iron and steel, machinery, railway plants and materials have to be imported for the successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. The sites where these materials are to be utilised are easily accessible from Calcutta. Hence, this Port forms the most natural receiving and distribution centre for the industrial belt that is building up during the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is due to these obvious and natural advantages that Calcutta has grown to its present position from a cluster of small villages Govindpur, Sutanuti and Kalikatta. But for how long can it continue to maintain its key situation? Signs of decay are not wanting. Newspaper reports remind us ominously of the fate that overtook its predecessors like Gour, Murshidabad and Hooghly. Notes as follows are now quite frequently seen in newspapers :

1. Ships are now not allowed to berth from French Moorings to Howrah Bridge because of heavy silting in the Hooghly.
2. S. S. Marianne (8960 tons) ran aground in the Hooghly below Falta Point about 22 miles below Calcutta on September 17. About 2,500 tons of cargo will have to be discharged before the ship may be of a suitable draft to be refloated. This ship was carrying mostly equipments from the Continent for Durgapur and Rourkella.

3. A bore came up the Hooghly on Monday, the 15th September, 1958. This was followed by very high waves. A number of vessels, some as big as 17 to 18' 6" draft parted both Bore Springs, Port quarter chain and Bore anchor.

4. Calcutta Port faces a crisis because of the rapid deterioration in the navigability of the Hooghly during the past few months. The river is silting up at points at far greater strides than the Port Authorities' dredging operation can cope with.

In spite of these increasing drawbacks the traffic in the Port is still the heaviest in India. This indicates two things that

1. The Port is so favourably situated with reference to its hinterland that trade will continue to come to it knowing fully the delay and loss likely to be met with.
2. The impetus to the industrial development of the country due to the Plans is so great that the trade is going up by leaps and bounds, and must find channels for movement.

The Port of Calcutta must, therefore, be improved unless the tempo of improvement of the country itself is allowed to be hampered. No amount of dredging or training works can do it successfully. *Only Ganga Barrage can do it, so says the Expert.*

Although on the surface it appears that the Central Government is keen to execute the project, the way it is being handled indicates dilatory tactics. Whether this is intended or not is not in question; we are interested mainly with the end-result. We are told that fresh investigations and estimates for the project are necessary before the project can be sanctioned. This argument, however, is rather thin. This project has been investigated over and over again by several experts. Its justification is beyond question. Then where is the difficulty for the Government of India to state in unambiguous terms that the project is included in the Second Five Year Plan? Detailed investigations regarding designs of the Barrage, etc., can take place

thereafter as has been the case on many other occasions. Same is the case for the estimates. We would like to be informed in which case the Centre has given firm estimates of major projects and have not substantially deviated from it subsequently.

May we point out here that in such important projects as the Kosi, the Hirakud, the Bhakra Nangal and the D. V. C. the Govt. decisions were made even before proper designs were ready or any detailed estimate prepared. It is also important to note that in such Civil Engineering Projects design features cannot be finally settled except in the process of execution itself. This has been amply demonstrated in the case of the Bhakra Dam Project or the Hirakud. The design of the Panchet Dam had to be changed even after the last stage as the foundation excavations revealed many faults and problems. The Kosi Project was sanctioned in 1952 although the design of its Barrage has not even now been finalised.

Therefore the important point is for the Government to make up its mind as regards the usefulness of the project as a whole and the technical experts may subsequently go into the details of designs and estimates as a part of the execution of the project.

Further every project of the magnitude of the Ganga Barrage Project requires some time for making preliminary arrangements such as acquisition of land and material that are available in India, construction of roads and railways, connections to the site of the barrage from the nearest railway junctions, construction of workers' sheds, godown for stores and ordering gates and other machineries that may have to be imported from outside. May we, therefore, urge upon the Government of India to announce its decisions without any further delay? May we also ask the Govt. of West Bengal to ask the Government of India for expediting matter? The situation of the Calcutta Port is so serious that any further delay will prove calamitous. If our Governments are too lethargic in this matter, we would request the public to create the necessary public awareness which will force the Government to act.

Benefit Expected from the Barrage

(a) This barrage with a feeder canal will connect Bihar and Uttar Pradesh with the Port of Calcutta and thereby with the outside world by a channel navigable all throughout the year.

(b) It will reduce the flood hazards and improve the drainage of the fertile districts of Central Bengal.

(c) It will remove the salinity of the Hooghly water at Falta and thereby supply sweet water to the city and industrial suburbs of Calcutta.

(d) It will remove the navigation difficulties of the sea route from Calcutta, improving the depths over the bars and reducing the intensity and frequency of the "bores".

"The Hooghly River"

We have received the following letter from a high authority on rivers. In view of the importance of the subject we publish it in the notes. The letter refers to an article in this journal of the September issue:

Shri D. N. Sen Gupta has raised certain points about the factors responsible for the present deterioration of the river Hooghly. One of these, according to him, is the operation of the Damodar Valley Project. Though Shri Sen does not explicitly write that he agrees with this idea, he suggests caution before the Ganga Barrage Scheme is taken up. Further, Shri Sen says that "the construction of the barrage might affect a large area of low country a part of which lies in the East Pakistan."

It is difficult to understand the author's argument. So far as the effect of the Damodar Valley Project is concerned, for the last half a century only a small portion of the total flow of the Damodar used to join Hooghly through the Damodar outfall opposite Falta Point on the Hooghly. This could have very little influence on the river Hooghly at this point. The main flow used to go through the Rupnarain. Though under the new regime this will be moderated, the final effect of this change will have to be watched and compensated, if necessary, by bringing in additional discharge from the Ganga, which is only possible with the help of the Ganga Barrage.

Far from the Ganga Barrage affecting low

areas in the Pakistan, it is likely to help them by reducing, though to a small extent, the flood discharge of the Ganga, while during the driest months of the year, the Ganga Barrage Project will require very little withdrawal from the Ganga.

As the implementation of the Ganga Barrage Project will take 10 to 15 years, the author's only immediate solution to the problem of the Hooghly and the Port of Calcutta is to divert 20 per cent of the D.V.C., water into the higher reaches of the Hooghly and thereby to scour out the silt that is being brought into the river by the Ajoy. The author seems to have no idea about the volume of silt that is being deposited every year in the sea-route of the Hooghly from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour. It is of the order of 400 million cubic feet and the rate at which the capacity of the river channel is deteriorating varies from 0.3 to 1.3 per cent yearly. To expect 20 per cent of D.V.C. canal discharge (i.e., about 1800 cu/sec.), to wash down this enormous volume of silt to the sea indicates that the author's knowledge of the actual position is very limited. The volume and distribution of upland discharge that is essential to counteract the tidal impulse that travels up the river and to help this huge quantity of silt to travel down the river, can only be obtained from the Ganga with the help of the Ganga Barrage.

Economic Development and Instability

Economic instability is a thing that has two prongs, it cuts either way. It is the inevitable result of an economy which is on the process of development and it will also result if the economy of a country remains underdeveloped. An important feature of economic comparative study of the nature of inflationary conditions under which the purchasing power of the people increases at a rate much faster than the increase in the availability of consumer goods and services. The *World Economic Survey*, 1957, published by the UNO, makes a comparative study of the nature of inflationary developments in industrial countries and underdeveloped countries. The study makes an attempt in distinguishing the inflationary tendency in these two types of economy.

The Survey states that the recent inflationary developments which aroused widespread anxiety in industrial countries were of relatively modest proportions in comparison with earlier periods of price increase. What made recent experience significant was the fact that the price advances were no longer the abnormal forces of war or of post-war readjustment but were associated instead with the normal forces of economic growth. Inflation, therefore, appears to be no longer a passing phase, but as a permanent threat to stability. The creeping inflation of recent years in industrial countries cannot be automatically equated with an excess of aggregate demand over supply. Prices and wages in the modern industrial economy are determined not only by demand and supply conditions, but also by such factors as conventional pricing formulae, collective wage bargaining, government regulations. The links between prices and wages forged by these arrangements may frequently be stronger than any indirect links via demand and supply. Because of these interlocking relationships, the Survey points out, any demand or supply factor tending to raise prices or wages in important markets, or any independent move by a major income-earning group to raise its earnings, may easily touch off a chain reaction leading to a cumulative wage-price spiral.

The Survey comes to the conclusion that since price increases have not been due to an overall excess of demand, generalised measures of restraint may succeed in securing price stability only at the expense of permanently curbing the rate of economic growth—indeed, even at the expense of introducing higher levels of unemployment that the economy is prepared to accept. Turning to the countries with centrally planned economies, the Survey notes that the problem of demand inflation in these economies stems from the same sources as everywhere else, namely, from an attempt to take out of the economy in consumption, investment and other uses more than it is capable of producing. The major factor accounting for the imbalance between demand and supply in the centrally-planned economies in the post-war years, is a deficiency in the proportion of output devoted to consumption. The output of food and of consumer goods dependent upon agricultural

raw materials generally fell short of planned levels, while production in heavy industry often exceeded plan targets.

Contrasting the inflationary experience of the underdeveloped countries with that of the industrial countries, the Survey emphasizes the much greater inflexibility in the supply of consumer goods present in the former countries. This has played a crucial role in their inflationary experience. Although there is sufficient man-power, materials and equipment to increase investment without reducing the supply of consumer goods, the increase in demand for consumer goods generated by the added output and income might not be matched by an increase in their supply. Intense inflationary pressure might accordingly be generated even in the midst of unemployed resources.

The Survey finds that the great inflations of the past do seem to have had one basic element in common: a shortage of consumer goods in relation to private income brought about by some upward shift in the appropriation of resources by one of the principal sectors of the economy—usually the government. The inflationary experience of the industrial countries in the past few years, however, did not exhibit this characteristic. In relatively few countries was an overall excess of demand the principal causal factor underlying the advances in prices during the 1950's. During recent inflationary boom in many countries, restrictive policies on consumption were adopted. The Survey, however, contends that this was a wrong policy because it retarded the long-term growth in economic activities. Since price increases during the recent boom were not due to an overall excess of demand, it could not be expected that they would be particularly sensitive to measures designed to restrain the growth of demand. Thus prices continued to rise when the rate of business expansion slowed down and even, in some cases, when production began to fall. Under such conditions attempts to secure price stability through curtailment of demand may not be able to stop short of bringing any advance in economic activity to a standstill if the objective is pursued vigorously.

Coming to the under-developed countries which are regarded as primary producing countries, the Survey states that prices have in

most cases advanced almost without interruption, ranging up to 10 per cent per annum since 1950. While the rate of increase has varied greatly among the primary producing countries, it is only in a few isolated instances that it has been lower than in most industrial countries. Unlike the industrial countries, excess demand has been a major force in the inflation occurring in primary producing countries. The widespread tendency for demand to exceed available supplies of goods and services has frequently reflected the deep-rooted aspirations of countries in the early stages of development to achieve higher living levels through capital formation. To this end, heavy reliance has often been placed upon governmental deficit financing.

The primary producing countries are generally prone to price inflation, not simply because of inflexibility in the supply of food. Food constitutes the major component of consumption in countries with low levels of living and output has often failed to keep pace with the growth in demand. Food prices have risen not only absolutely, but also more rapidly than the cost of living index. The problem of food shortages has formed a significant link in the inflationary process of many countries, since the decline in real income resulting from increased food prices has often provoked claims for higher wages. Rising wages in turn have led to permanent increases in the cost structure and the continuation of the upward spiral of prices.

The instability of foreign trade has been a factor of major consequence in the inflations of many primary producing countries, according to the Survey. The wide variations in export earnings have caused sharp fluctuations both in imported supplies of key commodities and in domestic demand pressure. In contrast to the industrial countries, where the balance of payments often acted as a safety-valve for internal inflationary pressure, in the primary producing countries the trade sector more often initiated pressures which then reacted on the internal economy. While principal reliance must be placed on domestic resources, foreign capital may considerably facilitate the process of stable growth, both by supplementing the supply of domestic savings and by financing imports of capital equipment. Governmental policies have

generally assumed a more restrictive character in recent years. In the field of monetary policy, the possible effectiveness of monetary restraints has commonly been vitiated by increases in the money supply generated by budget deficits or the deficits in foreign balance.

The I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D.

The meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development held recently in Delhi will remain memorable for some important reasons. The sessions provided an opportunity to the leading financiers and other industrialists of the world to look for themselves the achievements made by India in the field of economic developments and it would enable them to appreciate the needs of the country for fulfilment of the targets that still lie ahead awaiting completion. The meetings will be regarded as important because at the New Delhi session the decision was taken to raise the resources of these two institutions by increasing the quotas of the member-countries. The decision to increase the quotas was in the form of a general directive to the Executive Directors and the ultimate decision would be taken by them in the near future.

Notwithstanding all their faults, the economic plannings in India are a pioneering effort to implement planned economy with all sorts of social justices, but without the central regimentation which is an essential feature of planned economy in Soviet Russia or China. Planned economy and regimentation go hand in hand and the planned economy of India makes a departure from that traditional path of planning. The tributes given by the President of the World Bank, Mr. Eugene Black, deserves mention here. He says: "India has become a symbol of mankind's hope in economic development—the hope that the material wealth necessary for human dignity and self-respect can be created without destroying individual freedom which is the foundation of human dignity and self-respect. . . . India is now taking economic development into the centre of her life, with all the radical changes that economic development inevitably entails. No one privileged to play even a small part in India's great adventure today can help but feel that the destiny of

humanity in the twentieth century will be profoundly influenced by the extent of India's success in absorbing these changes without sacrificing respect for individual liberty."

India expects that these are not mere vain compliments to the efforts of India. The country today is struggling hard to implement her scheme and she is faced with a shortage of funds necessary for the purpose. If the Western Powers have realised that India is struggling sincerely and that she and her economy must be saved from utter collapse, then they should come forward to provide help needed for financing the planned projects. The help must be rendered not in piece-meal way as it is now coming, but in a lump sum and absolute amount as was accorded to West Germany after the Second World War.

The Plan and the Deficit Financing: Over the deficit financing in India, Mr. Per Jacobsson, the Managing Director of the I.M.F. made some very pertinent remarks. He says that, "Deficit financing on such a large scale was inevitably accompanied by large fall in foreign exchange reserves." He points out that the amount extended to the Government as credit has its counterpart in the reduction of the Reserve Bank's sterling assets. In his view, deficit financing "is only another name for using up your monetary reserves. Deficit financing within a limit is, however, essential in a planned project particularly in an under-developed economy. But deficit financing carried too far recoils on the economy in the shape of excess purchasing power over the availability of consumer goods and thus resulting in inflationary spiral. But deficit financing does not necessarily uses up the foreign exchange reserves as is stated by Mr. Jacobsson. That was true when the system of note issue in India was based on the proportional reserve. Now that India has switched on from proportional reserve system to the minimum reserve system, deficit financing does not directly involve the drawing down of foreign exchange reserves. But indirectly it will affect the foreign exchange reserves in so far as larger foreign exchanges will be required for external payments on account of the depreciation of the home currency. The adverse effect of the deficit financing can to a great extent be neutralised with an

increase in the supply of consumer goods. But in that respect India is handicapped in her internal production and her imports are severely restricted for the shortage of foreign exchange reserves. In this connection comes the need for regimentation. Soviet Russia also faced the same problem of mounting deficit financing and the shortage of consumer goods as she diverted her resources mostly for the production of heavy and large-scale industries. But she faced the situation with strict regimentation of price and rationing and which can hardly be adopted in this country following the tenets of individual liberty and social justice.

Operations of the I.B.R.D.: The I.B.R.D. was originally set up as a purely financial institution. But now its sphere of operations is much enlarged and political disputes are now mediated by the I.B.R.D. It lent its good offices in settling the dispute between the United Arab Republic on the one hand, and Britain and France on the other with regard to compensation payable to the shareholders of the Suez Canal Company. It continued to render its mediation services over the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan. Now it is in negotiation with the Italian Government for a study of the commercial possibility of using atomic energy for the production of electric power.

Up to June 30, 1958, the total number of loans made by the Bank rose to 204 and the total amount provided stood at \$3,729 million net of cancellation and refundings. During 1957-58, Asia received the largest amount of loan disbursed by the Bank. Of the total loan made during this period (\$711 million), nearly more than half (\$379 million) went to Asia. Among other loans, \$121 million went to Latin America, \$112 million to Africa and \$99 million to Europe. Of the total loan amount of \$3,729 million, Africa received \$479 million, Asia \$948 million, Australia \$318 million, Europe \$1,186 million and Western Hemisphere \$798 million. Of the total loan amount, development loans amount to \$3,232 million and Reconstruction loans amount to \$497 million. Of the development loans, Electric power generation and distribution has received \$1,106 million, Transportation \$1,036 million, Communications \$24

million, Agriculture and Forestry \$315 million and Industry \$545 million.

During 1957-58, India received four loans for an aggregate amount of \$165.5 million. Since then India has received two more loans, one of \$25 million for the D.V.C. and the other of \$85 million for the development of railways. The total cumulative loans made to India so far thus amount to \$507 million. India now occupies the first position among the debtor countries as it has received the largest amount of loan. It has another distinction in being the largest single borrower in the private sector. The Tata Iron and Steel Industry has received an aggregate loan amount of \$107.5 million. Of the original principal amount of \$515.6 million granted to India (including the cancellations), the public sector received \$320 million and the balance of \$195 million went over to the private sector. The railways have received an aggregate amount of \$209 million, ports have received \$43 million, aviation \$5.6 million, power-supply (electricity) \$44.50 million. In India, the largest amount of loan has been accorded in favour of the development of the transport system, the iron and steel coming next and power is the third largest recipient of loan.

The I.M.F. and Economic Depression: It may be recalled that the I.M.F. was set up mainly with the object of eradicating the cyclical depression in world trade and industry. The I.M.F. in its latest annual report makes the observation that to check economic recessions, it is not enough to take measures for stimulation of effective demand for goods and services. It points out that boom is aggravated by over-concentration on the production of heavy industry which the economy at a certain stage is unable to absorb. A wide variety of measures would be required to deal effectively with a recession. Among the measures suggested, the following deserve mention:

Continuous attention needs be devoted to strengthening the structure of the economy, so that any tensions that appear may be more readily withstood, and any tendency to self-perpetuating movements in one direction or another may be checked. In order to maintain an effective control of the flow of credit, it is of vital importance that there should exist a strong

and well-developed banking structure, including institutional arrangements. Sound practices are also required for financing stock exchange transactions, and even more important is an adequate system of mortgage financing. The importance of the role of consumer durable goods in a modern economy suggests the wisdom of moderation in the use of instalment credit for their acquisition as one means of avoiding abrupt oscillations. Caution in the use of sliding-scale clauses that link wages rigidly to changes in the cost of living, or associate other contractual obligations with cost changes would generally facilitate the restoration and maintenance of a proper balance in the economy. During a recession, direct measures of credit control should be chosen in such a way as to ensure that demand is increased without at the same time raising the cost.

The I.M.F. notes that the industrial activity has slowed in some countries mainly because of a cyclical decline following a boom period. The volume of world trade did not rise in 1957 at the same rate as it was in previous years. The I.M.F. rightly points out that the Fund's resources, even when increased, cannot be regarded as the decisive factor in dealing with recession. All countries must resort to concerted action to dispel a tendency of recession. The prevention and corrections of excessive fluctuations are the responsibility primarily of the large industrial countries—a task which they should undertake both in their own interest and in the interest of the rest of the world. The countries with balance of payments difficulties would certainly run a great risk of applying expansionary measures in such a condition.

World Demography

The *Demographic Yearbook, 1957*, recently published by the United Nations, reveals that the population of the world is increasing at the startling rate of approximately 5,400 persons every hour, or 47 million each year. At the present pace, the world total population of 2,750 million people will be doubled before the end of the century. While it took 200,000 years for the world's human population to reach 2,000 million, it would now take a mere 30 years to add another 2,000 million. One of the pro-

factors in population trends is the decreasing death rate over a large part of the world—18 per thousand. In many countries, the death rate has declined by 25 per cent during the past twenty years and in some countries by as much as half. During this period the world population went up almost 25 per cent. While the birth rate is high in Asia and Africa, so is the mortality rate. Latin America with a high birth rate has a lower mortality rate, and consequently it has the fastest growing population in the world, 2.5 per cent annually, against a world average of 1.6 per cent. Asia with its huge numbers of people, contributes the largest number of new birth each year, about 24 million, and this is half of the total birth.

Life-expectancy for individuals in Asia and Latin America and also in Africa is relatively low. Children born in the Netherlands can expect to live longer than children born anywhere else in the world. The life-expectancy in that country is 71 years for males and 74 years for females. India has the lowest current expectancy of life with only 32 years.

Of the world total population of 2,737 million, Asia (excluding the U.S.S.R.) has 1,514 million; Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., has 412 million, North and South America has 374 million, the U.S.S.R. 200 million and Oceania 15 million of population. Asia, excluding the U.S.S.R., is the continent with the largest population, rather more than half the world total. Europe, excluding the U.S.S.R., is the densely populated continent, with a density of 84 per square kilometer; and Oceania is the least densely populated with a density of 2 per square kilometer. Over the period, 1950-56, world population has increased at the annual rate of 1.6 per cent. The annual rate of increase was the highest in Oceania (2.3 per cent), and lowest in Europe (0.8 per cent). For Asia, the rate was the same as the world rate. East Germany has experienced a decline in population in recent years at an annual average rate of -0.8 per cent.

Among the leading killers of man, cancer heads among the five principal causes of death for both males and females aged between 35 to 64. Accidents take second place for males, followed by tuberculosis, while tuberculosis and complications of pregnancy take second and

third place for females. Heart diseases begins to appear among the five leading causes of death in the upper part of this group. But it is at ages 45 to 64 that cancer becomes indisputably the leading cause of death for both sexes, with vascular lesions affecting the nervous system and diseases of the heart following. Tuberculosis is among the five principal killers at this age. The same causes predominate at ages 65 and over for both males and females.

Fifteen per cent of the world's population live in urban areas of 100,000 or more inhabitants, or in the principal city of countries where cities of this size do not exist. More than a third of the 100,000 or more-population cities are located in Asia, but their inhabitants account for only 8 per cent of that continent's predominantly rural population. Another third of these cities is in Europe, with the rest scattered among the other continents and the U.S.S.R. Oceania, has the highest degree of urbanization, with 43 per cent of its population living in twenty cities. North America follows Oceania with 33 per cent of the population in cities of 100,000 or more; Europe with 27 per cent is third, followed by the U.S.S.R. and South America with 21 per cent. The largest city in the world is New York with a population of 7,795,471, Tokyo stands second with 7,161,513. Greater London comes third with a population of 8,270,430 and Paris is fourth with 6,436,296. However, if only the city proper is considered, the first five cities in order are: New York, Tokyo, Shanghai, Moscow and Buenos Aires.

Victory for De Gaulle

The French Constitutional referendum on September 28, resulted in a resounding victory for General Charles De Gaulle. The official result of the referendum for the whole of the Metropolitan France, including Corsica, was "yes" 17,666,828; "no" 4,624,475. Between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the electorate voted and officials said that a record number of the 26,772,255 on the register went to the polls. Although De Gaulle was expected to win comfortably nobody could predict the unprecedentedly heavy poll and, what was more, the overwhelming volume of "yes" vote. De

Gaulle's election as President in the General Elections scheduled for November next was now regarded as a certainty.

The new Constitution might be described as one belonging to the Presidential type. It curtailed much of the existing powers of the French Parliament and transferred those through the Government to the President. It also provided for a shorter Parliamentary Session (to be not more than five-and-a-half months) and also curtailed the legislative competence of the Parliament. It would henceforth not be easy to vote down a Government, or even Government proposals. For both, an absolute negative majority would be necessary. On the other hand the President would be able to dissolve the Parliament much more easily and even to appeal to the people over the head of Parliament—through a referendum. "The great loser in the new constitution," writes Mr. Sal Tas in the *New Leader*, "is clearly Parliament, but the Premier and his cabinet gain only partially. The real winner is the President of the Republic. And this powerful President is neither directly elected by the people nor responsible to the directly-elected National Assembly."

A remarkable provision of the Constitution was the provision which obliged a Cabinet Minister to give up his seat in Parliament. It would mean that party leaders would not like to participate in governments unless they were absolutely sure of their position inasmuch as if they should take part in a shaky government and if that government should fall party-leaders would face the danger of being excluded from Parliament (*i.e.*, from the main arena of politics) for the rest of the session. This unwillingness on the part of politicians to participate in forming governments might result in ministerial posts going to the bureaucrats. This might widen the gulf between Parliament and Government and could lead primarily to an increase in the power of the State bureaucracy—and the head of the State was the same President of the Republic whose powers were fortified in so many other ways.

Referring to the issues at stake in the Constitutional referendum, Shri K. S. Shelvenger, London Correspondent of the *Hindu*, writes on the eve of the referendum:

"Three different sets of issues are involved although they are all mixed in the Constitution which is being submitted to a popular vote throughout France and its overseas territories. In France itself the issue is whether the political institutions of the Fourth Republic should be superseded by a new and more stable Governmental system. In the colonies it is whether to opt for freedom or accept continued French rule in one form or another. And in Algeria, which is perhaps the root cause of the troubles through which France is passing, the real problem is one of national independence."

"The situation in the African colonies seems to be fairly clear. While there are strivings for independence in all of them, they are also acutely conscious of their dependence on France. The forecast, therefore, is that most of them will vote for the new Constitution, in the hope that they will be able eventually to come to some reasonable agreement with Paris about their status and rights as junior partners in the "French community." The outcome is considered to be in doubt only in French Guinea and one or two other West African colonies."

"It is in the crucial case of Algeria that the prospects are quite unpredictable. The army is taking an active part in the elections there, rounding up voters and "persuading" them to say "yes". It can no doubt ensure that there is majority in favour of the new Constitution but the vote, obtained in such conditions, will be meaningless. Moreover, De Gaulle's intentions are still wrapped in secrecy and no one knows whether a "yes" vote will be followed by closer integration with France or negotiations leading to independence. And even "integration" is a word which means different things to different people."

The French Referendum

The following news report is given for record:

Paris, September 29.—In a landslide vote yesterday, France supported the Constitution proposed by Gen. de Gaulle, reports *Reuter*. The official result of the Constitutional referendum for the whole of Metropolitan

France, including Corsica, announced this morning, was:

Yes—17,666,828;

No—4,624,475.

The vote augured badly for those politicians who had been advocating opposition to the de Gaulle Government and the Constitution.

The tremendous "yes" vote, the unprecedented number of votes and the loss of votes by the Communists make it virtually certain that Gen. de Gaulle will in due course be elected President of the Fifth Republic.

Gen. de Gaulle returned to Paris from his country home at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises today. He is expected to preside over a Cabinet meeting tomorrow to discuss the referendum results and the form of voting in the general elections for a new Parliament due to be held in November now that the new Constitution has been approved.

The General said last night that he was "very contented." In his own village only one of the 196 who voted said "no" and General Gaulle commented: "It was not me."

Between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the electorate voted and officials said that a record number of the 26,772,255 on the register went to the polls in Metropolitan France.

In Strasbourg, eastern France 80,930 voted 'yes' and 8,913 'no'.

Official results from 12 Departments with a total registered electorate of 2,668,219 showed that 1,803,996 voted in favour of the Constitution and 350,191 against.

These figures showed 83.7 per cent of those who voted said 'yes'.

At Lyons, south-eastern France, with half a million inhabitants, there were 185,209 votes for 'yes' to 39,891 for 'no'.

In the constituency of M. Mendes-France, principal leader of the anti-de Gaulle opposition, the 'no' vote amounted to less than half the total votes polled by M. Mendes-France in the general election held in 1956.

Another prominent opponent of the General, the Radical Party leader M. Jean Baylet, was repudiated in his own home village of Valence D'Albigeois. He resigned as Mayor after the count.

Saint Cere, home town of the Right-wing

shop-keepers' leader, M. Pierre Poujade, who urged rejection of the Constitution, voted 'yes'.

In Louviers, northern France, 69 per cent of those who voted chose 'yes' even though their Mayor, the former Radical Premier, M. Pierre Mendes-France, has been campaigning against the Constitution.

At Montastruc, the home town of another former Prime Minister, M. Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, who also advocated 'no', 821 voters said 'yes' and 105 'no'.

The two chief Communist leaders in France failed to hold their traditional voting strength in their respective strongholds in the "red" suburbs of Paris.

In Ivry which Maurice Thorez represents in the outgoing Parliament and which is known as the "Communist town" of France, 13,039 people voted for de Gaulle and 12,171 against. In the 1956 elections, the Communists alone polled 14,584 votes.

In Montreuil, the stronghold of M. Jacques Duclos, chief of the Communist group in the National Assembly, 26,151 people voted 'yes' and 17,473 voted 'no'. The Communist vote in 1956 was 21,640.

Lessons of the referendum, as drawn by several political leaders last night, were:

1. France has shown that she is optimistic and enterprising about the future, said the Information Minister, M. Soustelle. This is proved by the disappearance of apathy among the electors.

2. France wants nothing more to do with the paralyzing system which produced a permanent Cabinet instability, said the ex-Prime Minister, M. Gaillard.

3. France is prepared to fight for the maintenance of Algeria inside the sovereignty of France, said M. Georges Bidault.

4. For the first time, serious inroads have been made on what for over ten years has been a solid Communist vote of more than five millions. Partial results last night indicated that a million people at least who have been voting the Communists this time switched over to de Gaulle.

Near final Algerian referendum results showed a tidal wave victory for General de Gaulle's new Constitution and a crushing defeat.

for the Algerian insurgent National Liberation Front.

Of 82 per cent of the electorate which voted in spite of insurgent threats of reprisals, 97 per cent votes in favour of the Constitution with the remaining 3 per cent made of "noes" and spoiled ballots.

The percentage is based on provisional official figures for 3,157,450 votes counted. The total Algerian electorate is 422,890.

Muslim voters in Algeria, including women voting for the first time, in spite of the warnings by the outlawed National Liberation Front, cast their ballots under the encouragement and protection of the French Army, according to *U.P.I.-A.F.P.*

The publication of the Constitution referendum results for certain regions of Algeria would be considerably delayed the Central Commission for Electoral Control indicated today.

A total of 96 per cent of the voters in Algeria answered 'yes', according to partial returns. The number of abstentions was given as 19 per cent of the electorate.

The highest number of abstentions was 42 per cent in the Setif Department in eastern Algeria.

The city of Algeria with 92 per cent recorded the lowest number of 'yes' votes, while the Department of Tiarct in the south had the highest with nearly 99 per cent.

The number of abstentions in Algeria was 25 per cent.

At Chercha, above Blida on the edge of the Kabylie mountains, 1,190 voted 'yes' in a total electorate of 1,200 people, *Reuter* adds.

At Misserghine near Oran, in the west, there were 2,177 'yeses', 50 'noes' and 25 invalid votes. The village is largely Moslem.

Ministry for the Sahara officials said there had been a massive vote in the desolate regions of southern Algeria, with 95 per cent poll in some places.

In French Somaliland 65 per cent of the voters voted 'yes' while the New Hebrides in the Pacific voted 'yes' by 536 to 23.

Dakar, capital of Senegal and the only French West African town where riots marked the referendum campaign, voted 'yes' by 51,680 votes to 46,920.

Senegal, Mauritania, Sudanniger, High Volta, Ivory Coast and Dahomey in French West Africa on average polled 85 per cent in favour of the new Constitution and its offer of a community of self-governing States between France and her African territories, an official in Dakar announced.

In Martinique, incomplete results showed 90 per cent in favour of the new Constitution. Brazzaville, capital of French Equatorial Africa voted 'yes' by 31,842 to 579.

For Moslems a 'yes' vote is thought to mean they favour the continued presence and protection of France, both militarily and financially, rather than being left to the care of the insurgent leaders.

President Mirza's Proclamation

New Delhi, October 8.--The following is the text of President Mirza's proclamation of martial law in Pakistan and the abrogation of the country's Constitution, as available here:

"For the last two years I have been watching with the deepest anxiety the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses, the lack of decorum and the prostitution of Islam for political ends. There have been a few honourable exceptions. But, being in a minority they have not been able to assert their influence on the affairs of the country.

"These despicable activities have led to a dictatorship of the lowest order. Adventurers and exploiters have flourished to the detriment of the masses and are getting richer by their nefarious practices.

"Despite my repeated endeavours no serious attempt has been made to tackle the food crisis. Food has been a problem of life and death for us in a country which should be really surplus. Agriculture and land administration have been made a handmaiden of politics, so that in our present system of Government no political party will be able to take any positive action to increase production.

"In East Pakistan, on the other hand, there is well-organized smuggling of food, medicines and other necessities of life. The masses there suffer due to the shortages caused and the consequent high prices of these commodities.

Import of food has been a constant and serious drain on our foreign exchange earnings in the last few years, with the result that the Government is constrained to curtail the much-needed internal development projects.

"Some of our politicians have lately been talking of bloody revolution. Another type of adventurer among them think it fit to go to foreign countries and attempt to direct alignment with them, which can only be described as high treason.

"The disgraceful scene enacted recently in the East Pakistan Assembly is known to all. I am told that such episodes were common occurrence in pre-partition Bengal. Whether they were or not, it is certainly not a civilized mode of procedure. You do not raise the prestige of your country by beating the Speaker, killing the Deputy Speaker and desecrating the national flag.

"Recently we had elections for the Karachi Municipal Corporation in which 29 per cent of the electorate exercised their votes and of these about 50 per cent were bogus votes.

"We hear threats and cries of civil disobedience in order to retain private volunteer organizations and to break up the one unit. These disruptive tendencies are a good indication of their patriotism and the length to which politicians and adventurers are prepared to go to achieve their parochial aims.

"Our foreign policy is subjected to unintelligent and irresponsible criticism not for patriotic motives but from selfish viewpoints, often by the very people who were responsible for it. We desire to have friendly relations with all nations but political adventurers try their best to create bad blood and misunderstanding between us and countries like the U.S.S.R., U.A.R. and the People's Republic of China. Against India, of course, they scream for war, knowing full well that they will be nowhere near the firing line.

"In no country in the world, do political parties treat foreign policy in the manner it is done in Pakistan. To dispel the confusion as caused, I categorically reiterate that we shall continue to follow a policy which our interests and geography demand and that we shall honour all our international commitments which, as is well-known, we have undertaken to safeguard

the security of Pakistan and as a peace-loving nation, to play our part in averting the danger of war from this troubled world.

"For the last three years I have been doing my utmost to work the Constitution in a democratic way. I have laboured to bring about coalition after coalition hoping that it would stabilize the administration and that the affairs of the country would be run in the interests of the masses. My detractors in their dishonest ways have on every opportunity called these attempts as palace intrigues. It has become fashionable to put all the blame on the President. A wit said the other day, if it rains too much it is the fault of the President, and if it does not rain, it is the fault of the President. If only I alone was concerned I would go on taking these fulminations with the contempt they deserve. But the intention of these traitors and unpatriotic elements is to destroy the prestige of Pakistan and the Government by attacking the Head of the State. They have succeeded to a great extent and if this state of affairs is allowed to go on, they will achieve their ultimate purpose.

"My appraisal of the internal situation has led me to believe that a vast majority of the people no longer have any confidence in the present system of Government and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed and are becoming dangerously resentful of the manner in which they are exploited. Their resentment and bitterness are justifiable. The leaders have not been able to render them the service they deserve and have failed to prove themselves worthy of the confidence the masses had reposed in them.

"The Constitution, which was brought into being on March 23, 1956, after so many tribulations is unworkable. It is so full of dangerous compromises that Pakistan will soon disintegrate internally if the inherent malaise is not removed.

"To rectify them the country must first be taken to sanity by a peaceful revolution. Then, it is my intention to collect a number of patriotic persons to examine our problems in the political field and devise a Constitution more suitable to the genius of the Muslim people. When it is ready and at the appropriate time, it will be submitted to the referendum of the people..

"It is said that the Constitution is sacred. But more sacred than the Constitution or anything else is the country and the happiness of its people. As Head of the State, my foremost duty before my God and the people is the integrity of Pakistan. It is seriously threatened by the ruthlessness of traitors and political adventurers, whose selfishness, thirst for power and unpatriotic conduct cannot be restrained by a Government set up under the present system. Nor can I any longer remain a spectator of the activities designed to destroy the country.

"After deep and anxious thought, I have come to the regrettable conclusion that I would be failing in my duty, if I did not take steps which, in my opinion, are inescapable in the present conditions to save Pakistan from complete disruption.

"I have therefore decided that:

1. The Constitution of March 23, 1956, will be abrogated;
2. The Central and Provincial Governments will be dismissed with immediate effect;
3. The National Parliament and Provincial Assemblies will be dissolved;
4. All political parties will be abolished; and
5. Until alternative arrangements are made, Pakistan will come under martial law.

"I hereby appoint General Mohammed Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and place all armed forces of Pakistan under his command.

"To the valiant Armed Forces of Pakistan, I have to say that having been closely associated with them since the very inception of Pakistan, I have learnt to admire their patriotism and loyalty. I am putting a great strain on them. I fully realize this but I ask you, officers and men of the Armed Forces, on your service depends the future existence of Pakistan as an independent nation and a bastion in these parts of the free world.

"Do your job without fear or favour and may God help you.

"To the people of Pakistan, I talk as a brother and fellow compatriot. The present action has been taken with the utmost regret

but I have had to do it in the interests of the country and the masses, finer men than whom it is difficult to imagine. To the patriots and the law-abiding, I promise you will be happier and freer. The political adventurers, the smugglers, the blackmarketers, the hoarders will be unhappy and, their activities will be severely restricted. As for the traitors, they had better flee the country if they can and while the going is good."

Passing of Pope Pius XII

We append below this sketch from the *Statesman*:

Eugenio Pacelli, elected Pope Pius XII on March 2, 1939, the 262nd successor to the Chair of Peter, was born Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, the third child of Filippo Pacelli and Virginia Graziosi, on March 2, 1876, at the Palazzo Taverna in the very heart of Papal Rome. His father was the doyen of the Vatican Consistorial College. His brother, Francesco, also became a lawyer and played a major role in the conclusion of the Lateran Treaty which, in 1929, established Vatican City and allowed the Popes to come out of the voluntary imprisonment they had chosen since the Italian seizure of the Papal States in 1870. His grandfather, Marcantonio Pacelli, founded the semi-official Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, 96 years ago.

In 1894, Pacelli entered the College of Capranica on declaring his intention to enter Holy Orders. When he graduated from this college his marks were said to have been so brilliant that Pope Leo XIII sent for him and congratulated him personally. After further studies at the Gregorian University and the Pontifical Seminary of Apollinare, where he specialized in theology and philosophy, he was ordained priest at the age of 23 in the Basilica of St. Mary Major at Rome.

From the start Pius XII hoped for a pastoral life, but Leo XIII saw in him a potential diplomat and in 1901 asked Monsignor Pietro Gasparri, later Cardinal and who became a renowned Papal Secretary of State, to make Don Pacelli work in the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. The same year Father Pacelli went with Monsignor Merry del Val, also to become a Cardinal, to London

to convey the Pope's condolences on Queen Victoria's death. Monsignor Pacelli returned to England for the Eucharistic Congress (1908) and for the Coronation of George V.

The next 20 years gave the future Pope many opportunities to watch the practical working of church and State. In April, 1917, he was created a titular Archbishop; the same year saw the beginnings of his diplomatic career when Pope Benedict XV sent him as Apostolic Nuncio to Munich. Shortly afterwards Monsignor Pacelli was received by the Kaiser and gave him a letter from the Pope which urged him to do everything possible to restore peace. In 1924, after negotiating a Concordat (a Church-State agreement) with Bavaria he took up his residence in Berlin. He had four years earlier been accredited as Nuncio to the new German Republic. His chief work in that country was the Concordat he brought about between the Vatican and the Lutheran State of Prussia. The agreement aroused some comment because of the concessions given the Catholics.

In the Consistory of December, 1929, he was created a Cardinal and left Germany for Rome. Two months later he succeeded Cardinal Gasparri as Papal Secretary of State, the appointment falling to the youngest member of the College of Cardinals. He was Secretary of State, a position exceeded in importance only by that of the Holy See itself, for nine years till his election as Pope.

In place of Cardinal Merry del Val, who had died, the Pope made Cardinal Pacelli Archbishop of St. Peter's. He and Von Papen concluded the Concordat between Nazi Germany and the Vatican in 1933, but it was not ratified by Hitler and persecution of the Church continued.

In 1939, on the death of Pius XI, Cardinal Pacelli was elected to succeed him. He chose as his coat of arms a dove bearing an olive branch with the motto *Opus Justitiæ Pax*—Peace is the Work of Justice.

New State of Guinea

The French referendum gave birth to a new State—Guinea, the only French overseas territory to vote against the Gaullist Constitution. There was a provision in the referendum

that territories voting against the Constitution would immediately be asked to secede from the French Union and would no longer be entitled to receive financial or administrative aid from France.

Governmental Extravagance

An index of governmental extravagance was provided by the figures, recently released, about the cost incurred by different Government Departments in sending delegations to foreign countries in 1958-59. This involved the spending of much valuable foreign exchange which could be utilised to finance urgent imports. Since independence with widening international contact Indian intercourse with other nations was understandably increasing. Nobody could justifiably call into question the wisdom of incurring expenditure for this purpose. It was, however, open to argument whether the numerous delegations yearly sent abroad were all really necessary and productive of any benefits to the country. There were frequent complaints about the performance of official Indian representatives abroad. Part of this failure might be ascribed to inexperience but much of it was undoubtedly due to defective selection and unnecessary addition of members. In the same category might be placed the expenditure incurred by various officials for periodical visits to hill stations in summer.

We append the press summary of the report on delegations as published in the *Statesman*:

"New Delhi, Sept. 30.—Altogether 488 people went abroad at Government expense in 1958-59 as members of 122 Ministerial delegations to foreign countries. They spent more than Rs. 25 lakhs, most of it in foreign exchange.

"Inquiries reveal that the Ministry of External Affairs sponsored the largest number of delegations—24. Other Ministries which sent more than 10 delegations abroad in the last financial year were: Commerce and Industry—19; Finance—14; Defence—13; Transport and Communications—12.

"In terms of personnel, however, Defence leads, having sent 128 persons abroad. External Affairs and Commerce and Industry were

also responsible for sending more than 100 officials abroad each.

"External Affairs spent the most money on delegations—Rs. 789,706. Commerce and Industry spent Rs. 525,577.

"Although it sent only nine delegations (comprising 17 members) abroad, Irrigation and Power comes next, having spent Rs. 336,863—most of it presumably on negotiations in Washington with the World Bank on the canal waters dispute.

"Other Ministries which spent more than Rs. 1 lakh are Finance—Rs. 273,465; Transport and Communications—Rs. 237,452; and Defence—Rs. 236,400.

"The Planning Commission and Ministries of Information and Broadcasting and Law refrained from sending any delegation abroad in this period."

Enquiry into Rajasthan Affairs

The rift in Congress circles in Rajasthan, to which reference was made in these columns last month, would be inquired into by the Congress High Command. Mr. Jaynarain Vyas and other dissident leaders were understood to have been asked to furnish explanations for their conduct. Meanwhile, Shri T. M. Jain, General-Secretary of the A.I.C.C., was sent to Jaipur presumably to study the situation for himself and, if possible, to avert an open trial of strength between the rival sections at the ensuing session of the State Assembly.

Reports were also coming of the recrudescence of internal rivalries in the Congress Party in the Punjab.

Introduction of Metric Weights

The metric system of weights would be introduced in the municipal areas of Calcutta and Howrah in West Bengal and in selected areas in other parts of India on and from October 1. By virtue of an ordinance promulgated by the West Bengal Government, the new system would be applicable to Government departments, the Indian Airlines Corporation and such other industrial undertakings as cotton mills, iron and steel, engineering, cement, sugar, paper, refractories, non-ferrous metal, rubber and coffee industries. For two years—

i.e., up to the 30th of September, 1960—people could use either the new weights or the existing weights. The system was introduced in the jute industry earlier—from July 1 of this year.

Retail sales would not be affected for the present. After the people grew familiar with the system it would be extended to cover retail sales and also to measurement of length and volume.

After the introduction of decimal coinage the introduction of metric measures was, perhaps, unavoidable. The system had its obvious advantages and once the initial difficulties were overcome it might prove a great boon to the people. Much would, however, depend upon the manner in which the system was sought to be popularized.

Banaras Hindu University

The decision to close down the Banaras Hindu University, one of the country's premier seat of learning, would be widely regretted. The decision was reportedly taken to overcome "indiscipline and lawlessness" among students.

The Mudaliar Committee's report disclosed a distressing state of affairs in the University. Some unpleasantness was, therefore, to be expected but nobody did expect that the university would be closed down. In the Banaras Hindu University we find expression, in a particularly acute form, of the malaise affecting many of our universities. Group rivalries among managers and the utilisation of genuine student-discontent for narrow sectarian ends by members of the Managing Committee were recently evident in at least one other Central University. It was, therefore, no surprise that the chief object of the University education of students—became the chief casualty.

The closure of a University in normal times could by no means be taken as a natural development. When recourse had to be taken to such an extreme step, the most searching enquiry was called for as were the most radical cures. One could not be blamed perhaps if one should say that no such enquiry or cure was being sought in the particular case with the required degree of zeal and imagination. Little of value would be achieved if all the blame should be ascribed to student indiscipline. Student discipline, it would be well to remember, was

also an indication of the failure of administration. More often than not its root could be traced to some genuine grievances of the students. That undesirable elements exploited such discontent for their own sectarian interests was another matter. The experience in many Indian and Foreign Colleges and Universities would show that given proper imagination and sympathy on the part of educational authorities management of students should not prove a particularly difficult task.

The interest of education and the youths demanded that the University should be reopened at the earliest possible date. While the most stringent measures would be justified in the case of the intriguing elements no efforts should be spared to remove the genuine grievances of the students. By all indications this might require the reconstitution of the present management of the University.

Our Universities

In a most searching article the *Vigil*, the Calcutta weekly, writes editorially on September 27:

"When Lord Haldane was made Minister of Defence during the First World War, he set about doing some clear thinking. An army was for combat. It was to be posted according to the needs of either offence or defence. A place was not to be chosen for stationing a section of the army because it had other advantages.

"In similar terms, a university is for education. It is intended to bring together the best available knowledge, and also promote the acquisition of further knowledge so that man's life may be made richer and better. There are undoubtedly certain minimum requirements for teachers and research workers in a university. But in themselves they do not automatically produce research-mindedness.

"As Einstein once said, organisation or institutions are helpful; but they in themselves do not produce research. A scientist must have the 'spark'; and if he has it, it should be the duty of the organization to give him all the facilities of work which he needs. It is by this kind of fostering care that an organization can really promote research.

"The universities of India today seem to be working under a double handicap. New needs have arisen in the nation's life; while the structure of many of our older universities has remained so inelastic that, perhaps in desperation, the Government of India have been forced to set up institution after institution for research on a national scale. The lack of trust, or absence of confidence in our own universities, coupled with an extraordinary regard for research degrees from universities overseas, without due regard to what kind of university it is, or whether that university is really competent to guide research in a particular subject, has very nearly succeeded in loading many departments of the government (and let us say, also, of universities) with people who do not know how to adopt their methods to conditions prevalent in India. Special skills are often acquired with no chance of their utilization at home. The result is deplorable so far as our intellectual standards are concerned. The official and non-official organization seem to have been caught in a vicious circle of their own making; just because the purpose of research or of organization was not as clearly kept in view as Lord Haldane kept the purpose of an army clear before himself for guidance."

Pleading for a change of outlook the weekly concludes:

"Lord Cromer, while trying to reorganize Egyptian agriculture, laid down the rule for his administrative staff: 'Find out what the fellahin wants, and give it to him.' In parallel terms we might perhaps say in modern India, 'Find out the true teacher and research worker in the universities, and give them what they want.' If there is this confidence in teacher and research worker alike, in spite of some possible wastage, we can perhaps build our intellectual life anew. For although their number may not be very great under the immoral conditions of today, yet they are the people who will count in the new India of tomorrow."

India and Japan

President Rajendra Prasad's recent visit to Japan has undoubtedly gone a long way in

creating an atmosphere of increased good-will and better understanding between these two ancient states of Asia. Observers have legitimately pointed to the significance of the fact that the Indian President chose Japan as the first foreign land to visit in his career.

Japan's role in the regeneration of Asia and the promotion of Asian nationalism is an historical fact of great significance. The defeat Japan inflicted upon the Czarist armies of Russia undoubtedly rekindled the spark of Asian self-confidence. Similarly her role in defeating the Western armies in Asia during the Second World War and the support, however, half-hearted, she accorded to the native governments in more than one country of East and South-East Asia at that time, increased their self-confidence to that degree where the continuation of western colonialism in the areas became no longer possible.

Indians have always had the feeling of the greatest friendship and respect for the Japanese people whose capacity, industry, perseverance and self-sacrifice have always earned the admiration of all. In the present international context in particular, Indo-Japanese co-operation can be productive of the highest benefits to both the countries in the economic and cultural fields.

Tragedy in East Pakistan

East Pakistan witnessed an unprecedented scene when legislators began to fight one another within the Assembly Hall on September 20, and the Speaker was declared "insane." In a resumed session of the Assembly on September 23, the legislators also resumed their fight and following injuries received during that scuffle the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Shahed Ali, died in a hospital in Dacca. An Indian doctor was specially taken there but nothing was of any avail. President Mirza said that such occurrences had taken place before in undivided Bengal. We do not know from where he had received his information but no such incident comes to our memory. Be that as it may democrats cannot but be distressed by the show put up by some of the East Pakistani legislators.

Describing the shocking events on the first day the *Statesman's* staff correspondent says:

"Prior to the melee, which lasted almost an hour, the Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, had, while giving a ruling on a Government party-sponsored no-confidence motion against him, named several members of the Awami League for disorderly conduct to the House. The latter retaliated by forcing the Deputy Speaker, in the Speaker's absence, to put to vote and pass an impromptu motion declaring the Speaker "insane" and demanding the appointment of a committee of inquiry to determine his sanity.

"But, by far the most disgraceful feature of the whole day's events was the fact that participating in the melee on the side of the Government party were two outsiders who were easily recognized by many in the Press gallery. While commenting on this, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, with distress writ large on his face, observed that it was regrettable that "goondas" were allowed to enter the "sacred precincts" of the Legislature. He added: 'It is for the country to judge in which direction our province is being led by Awami League—to democracy or to totalitarianism.'

"At the end of the session, the Inspector-General of Police, it is understood, furnished a strong police guard to escort the Speaker to his house which was also protected by police. It is gathered that he will again be escorted to the Assembly tomorrow evening when it meets again. The Awami League Secretary, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, had, however, been quoted as stating that Mr. Hakim will not be allowed to preside as he is "insane."

"During the fight in the Chamber today, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police came to the lobbies reportedly at the summons of the Chief Minister. The latter was seen discussing with Secretariat officials the allegations about the presence of outsiders in the House. Shortly after this, there was strong rumours in the lobbies that some M.L.A.s were likely to be arrested late tonight.

"Today's disorders in the Chamber started suddenly after an unexpectedly quiet start. Government bench spokesmen, led by the

NOTES

Awami League Secretary, Sheikh Mujibar Rahman, and a former Minister, Mr. Masiur Rahman, frequently mentioned here as a likely successor to the Speaker's post, vehemently protested at the protracted debate on a point of order raised by Mr. Hasimuddin Ahmed of the Muslim League.

"The latter had protested against the presence of the six Awami Leaguers who had been disqualified by the Election Commission and whom he described as outsiders. He said, the Speaker must first restore the House to order by removing outsiders before they could conduct any business.

"He argued that the President's Ordinance of yesterday making the recent National Assembly legislation removing the disqualification provisions retrospectively could not supersede the Election Commission's disqualification orders issued prior to the Ordinance. He added that if the representations of his contention were true it would mean that the legislation could be disqualified by an Ordinance, and, in short, 'we might as well turn the Assembly into an ordinance factory.'

"The Finance Minister, Mr. Monoranjan Dhar, argued that it was permissible to legislate retrospectively and that Article 169 of the Constitution permitted the President to promulgate an Ordinance. He, however, did not clearly counter Mr. Hashimuddin Ahmed's claim that a subsequent promulgation of an Ordinance could not nullify a previous decision of the Election Commission.

"It was when Mr. Farid Ahmed at the request of the Speaker was giving the viewpoint on the matter that the trouble began.

"Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and Mr. Masiur Rahman persisting in their protests argued that the legality of the Presidential Ordinance vis-a-vis the Election Commission's decision could be settled in a court of law. They insisted that the Speaker should proceed with the rest of the business which included the no-confidence motion against the Speaker."

Describing the second day's incidents within the Assembly Chamber the *Press Trust of India* says:

"According to eye-witness accounts, the Speaker's Chamber was cordoned off by the

police making it impossible for him (speaker) to enter there or the Assembly Hall. When the Speaker's entrance to the House was opened, the sergeant-at-arms took position near the Speaker's rostrum. The Speaker's chair remaining vacant after the Assembly had met, the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Shahed Ali went and occupied the chair, which evoked strong protests from the Opposition members and certain objects (believed to be one of the collapsible rests for writing attached to the members' desk) were thrown at the Deputy Speaker, hitting him on the face and causing bleeding injuries. This was followed by steel-helmeted police entering the Chamber along with the District Magistrate.

"At this stage, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, stood up and asked the Deputy Speaker to vacate the chair.

"Meanwhile, the Deputy Speaker left the House, and then Syed Zaul Ashan, a member of the panel of chairmen, went and occupied the chair amidst protests from Syed Azizul Huq whose name was first on the panel.

"Syed Azizul Huq proceeded to occupy the chair. A scuffle ensued thereafter between the Opposition members and policemen who had entered the Chamber earlier.

"There were further protests from Opposition members and eventually the Inspector-General of Police entered the Chamber. Noisy scenes followed and the police, while cordoning off the Speaker's rostrum with chairs to protect the chairman from being hit by missiles thrown at him by Opposition members, advanced towards the latter (Opposition members). There was a melee during which a number of Opposition members were pushed out.

"More incidents followed outside the Assembly Chamber where Syed Azizul Huq was alleged to have been beaten up by the police, as also Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury and two other Opposition members."

U.P.I. adds: "Opposition M.L.A.s today were bodily removed from the House by sergeants-at-arm, assisted by steel-helmeted police for rioting inside the House.

"Later Haji Mohammad Danesh, leader of National Awami Party, moved a motion ex-

pressing confidence in the present Cabinet. The motion was adopted by 157 votes. After the voting the Chief Minister claimed that nine members of his party were absent at the time of voting."

Democracy Breaks down in Burma

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had to cancel the scheduled programme of his visit to Burma on account of the dramatic political changes in that country. Just as the President was on his way to Japan, Prime Minister U. Nu announced the resignation of his Cabinet and the nomination of General Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese armed forces, as the Prime Minister. General Ne Win's Cabinet would take oath on October 28, and would continue to administer the country till a new Parliament was elected by the voters in the General Elections due to be held in April 1959. General Ne Win, the Premier-designate, has since announced the names of the members of his Cabinet which does not have even a single member formally drawn from any political party.

It is too early to say how U. Nu's efforts to stabilise conditions in Burma through the transfer of effective political power to the Army bear fruit. For several months he had been in trouble with his colleagues in the A.F.P.F.L., who did not favour his conciliatory attitude towards the rebel Communists. Earlier this year the split became formal with the formation of a separate party by the dissident wing. U. Nu's latest act would seem show that he is in a very precarious position.

The Algerian Government

The formation of a "Free Algerian Government" was announced from Cairo on September 19, with Mr. Farhat Abbas as the Prime Minister. The timing of this announcement made just on the eve of the French Constitutional referendum was significant and indicated the attitude of the F.L.N. (the Algerian National Liberation Front) towards the new

Constitution. It showed that the Algerian national leaders were not at all interested in the new Constitution and that they were determined to carry on their struggle for independence.

The new Government has already been recognised by some of the principal Asian and African States—notable among them being United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia. France has declared that recognition of the new Government would be treated as a hostile act and the British Government has withheld recognition on the plea that the new Government has no territory under its control. The argument that a government having no control over its territory cannot be recognised might have its validity but the British or the French Government is least entitled to put forward such an argument. For many years after the Russian revolution, the Western Powers had accorded the exiled white-guards the status and dignity of a government, denying the same to the Bolshevik Government which was all along in effective control of the greater portion of the territory of the then Russia. During the Second World War Britain was host to many "governments-in-exile." Even now the People's Republic of China is being denied her rightful place in the UN through the Western policy of treating the rump government of Chiang Kai-shek, which did not exercise even the slightest trace of authority over the mainland of China during the last nine years, as the "legal government" of China.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, 'The Modern Review' Office and the 'Prabasi' Press will remain closed from Monday, 20th October to 2nd November, 1958, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI,
Editor.

EVOLUTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER IN INDIA

Sir Frederick Whyte and Shri V. J. Patel

By PROF. DR. RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

I

IN Parliamentary Democracy the office of the Speaker is held in high esteem. He regulates the deliberations of the House and interprets the rules of procedure correctly. Through his fairmindedness, impartiality and judicious exercise of his power of recognition of parties and groups in Parliament the Speaker can build up the best traditions of Parliamentary democracy.

The title of the Speaker was assumed in India only in 1947 but the institution of the Speaker is a good deal older and dates from 1921. The Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 1919, had recommended that the first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who should hold office for four years, should be a person possessing experience of the working of the House of Commons. Accordingly the Governor-General nominated Sir Frederick Whyte as the first President of the Central Legislative Assembly set up under the Government of India Act, 1919, for a period of four years.¹ He was a Member of the House of Commons and was chosen for his special knowledge of parliamentary procedure.

In England the functions of the Speaker of the House of Commons are three-fold: (i) as spokesman and representative of the House in all communications made in its collective capacity to the Crown; (ii) as Chairman of the sittings of the House and (iii) as custodian of the rights and privileges of the House and of

1. *The Central Legislative Assembly* consisted of 145 members out of whom 104 members were elected and the rest nominated. Among the nominated members 26 were officials and the rest non-officials. *The Indian Legislative Assembly* was a non-sovereign law-making body but it was expected that it will develop into a true legislature in course of time and so it was to model its procedure on the procedure of the English *House of Commons* and to exercise greater influence on the Government of India than was done by the old *Legislative Council*.

their extension. However, in the peculiar conditions prevailing in India it was not possible to observe in all cases the precedents worked out in the House of Commons. It was considered necessary that the Indian Legislative Assembly should evolve its own practice and establish its own conventions for the discharge of its duties as a legislative body. The Indian Central Assembly was peculiarly constituted. It was hedged in all sides by restrictions and could hardly bear comparison with the English House of Commons, which was a sovereign body. The Executive in India was irremovable and was not responsible to the Legislature. A large portion of the Indian budget consisted of non-votable items over which the legislature had no control. Under these circumstances it was natural that a good deal of hostility should develop between the Government and the Opposition. As a matter of fact when Sir Frederick Whyte was appointed, the Indian National Congress had decided to boycott the Assembly and it was not till the last year of his office that the Swarajist Members² decided to attend meetings of the Assembly. However, Sir Frederick Whyte fully understood the peculiar conditions under which he was called upon to discharge the responsibilities of his high office and he conducted his work as a President in such a manner that he elicited praise from all sections of the Assembly.

As Chairman of the House Sir Frederick Whyte was a great success. He was an able controller and guide of the Assembly and was strictly impartial in the discharge of his duties. He gave a liberal interpretation to the rules and always endeavoured to observe the spirit and not merely the letter of the rules and standing orders. He kept speakers strictly to the subject under discussion and did not allow points of order to be confused with points of

2. They were opposed to the reforms of 1919 and wanted to enter the councils, not to co-operate in the working of the reforms, but to non-co-operate from within and bring about a breakdown of the Constitution.

information. He was always ready to assist members in doubt or difficulty. He was fair in his rulings and displayed great solicitude for the rights of minorities to whom he allowed considerable latitude in the matter of discussion.³ During his period of office Sir Frederick Whyte refrained from taking part in politics. On September 27th, 1921 when a reference was made to an opinion he had expressed in a private letter which had been published in an English paper by inadvertence Sir Frederick Whyte remarked that the letter was a private one and not meant for publication and that his private opinions should not be brought into debate, since so far as the House was concerned the Chair had no opinion. His conception of the Chair can be gathered from his memorable speech delivered on the occasion of the appointment of Deputy-Speaker in which he enjoined upon him to exercise complete impartiality in the discharge of his official duties and not to take part in debates or contest elections.⁴

Sir Frederick Whyte's main contribution was the establishment of certain conventions and practices in regard to financial procedure. The first thing that Sir Frederick Whyte did was that he developed the convention of an Annual Finance Bill, so that the Assembly may have the power to review the whole of the Finance Bill every year, to see that its financial arrangements are justified or need modifications. The Government of India Act of 1919 did not require the Government of India to discuss the annual financial statement but it was Sir Frederick Whyte who helped materially in persuading the Government in establishing a convention according to which the Finance Member reviews general economic conditions of the year and states important variations between the budget and revised estimates of revenue and expenditure of the year about to close. Sir Frederick Whyte also displayed liberality of spirit in the interpretation of the scope of the Finance Bill by not circumscribing the discussion to narrow sphere of each individual Act.⁵ He also helped in the establishment of the convention of the

separation of Railway from General Finance. This was introduced from the budget of 1925 and rests upon no statutory foundation.

Sir Frederick Whyte was also responsible for establishing the important convention of allowing free discussion on the non-votable items, although motions of reduction on non-votable items were not in order.

Sir Frederick Whyte is also credited with the establishment of the Committee on Public Accounts which was constituted at the commencement of each financial year to deal with the audit and appropriation accounts of the Governor-General-in-Council. In the beginning only the accounts of the voted expenditure of the Government of India were brought to the notice of the committee, but through the growth of a convention military expenditure, a non-voted item, was brought within the scrutiny of the committee. This helped to enlarge the authority of the Assembly.

Although Sir Frederick Whyte succeeded in conducting the deliberations of the House as an impartial Chairman, he could not discharge his other duties as spokesman and representative of the House and as custodian and protector of the rights and privileges of the members of the House. He disallowed the most essential discussion on fundamental issues connected with the administration of the Government by ruling out a cut motion sought to be moved by Mr. P. P. Ginwala proposing a reduction in the Travelling Expenses and Miscellaneous contingencies of the Executive Councillors and remarked that on such a matter a Resolution should be moved.⁶ Again the President failed to carry out the suggestion made by the non-official members of the House in 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925 for the separation of the Secretariate of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India, although in principle he agreed with members as to the desirability of the separation.⁷

5. *L.A.D.* 22-3-1922, p. 3605.

6. *L.A.D.* 13th and 14th March, 1922, pp. 3372-3375. The President rules that general questions relating to non-votable expenditure could be discussed as nominal reductions under votable expenditure.

7. *L.A.D.* 16-3-1922, p. 2155.

3. *L.A.D.* 18th March 1921, p. 1276.

4. *L.A.D.* 1.9.1921, p. 34.

However, undue importance should not be attached to these instances and the fact that Sir Frederick Whyte was a nominated President and a member of the ruling race must not be lost sight of. It would have been unnatural for Sir Frederick Whyte to play the role of a popularly-elected Speaker of the Assembly and to protect and extend the rights and privileges of the members of the Assembly and it must be ungrudgingly acknowledged that Sir Frederick Whyte carried out successfully the purpose for which he was appointed, *viz.*, that of establishing sound parliamentary traditions in the procedure of the House. In spite of the fact that he was a nominated President, he gave equal satisfaction to all and earned congratulations from every section of the House at the end of the term of his office for the work done by him.⁸

II

THE HON'BLE MR. V. J. PATEL—THE FIRST ELECTED PRESIDENT

At the end of the term of office of Sir Frederick Whyte in 1925 the Legislative Assembly in pursuance of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, was called upon to elect their first non-official President in August 1925. The Swarajist Party put up Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel as their candidate for election to the office of the President. Mr. Patel defeated his rival candidate Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, who enjoyed official support, by a narrow margin of votes, 58 votes to 56. His election was approved by His Excellency Lord Reading on 24th August, 1925, and he held office from 1925 to 1930. He was fully conscious of his role as the first elected non-official President of the Assembly. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919, did not possess vital powers enjoyed by Legislative Chambers in democratic countries, he was determined to discharge his duties not merely as a Chairman but also as a custodian of the rights and privileges of the Members of the House and as its accredited representative. Mr. V. J. Patel interpreted the rules and standing orders of the Assembly liberally in order to safeguard the rights of non-official members of

the House. In regard to right of questions he was careful to see that legitimate use was made of this right by the members and that the Executive also gave satisfactory replies to questions and not simply tried to evade them.⁹ He permitted amendment of certain standing orders for the smooth and efficient despatch of official and non-official business. He discouraged government members from transacting official business on non-official days.¹⁰ He allowed members to table adjournment motions liberally for censuring the Government for its acts and omissions irrespective of the wishes of the Treasury Benches. He did not allow the Government to force legislative measures on the Assembly against the wishes of the members or to curtail debate in the House on Government Bills and tried to safeguard the rights of the Members against official encroachments.

A serious conflict took place between the Government and the President on the question whether reasonable debate was possible over the Public Safety Bill while the Meerut conspiracy case was still pending. The Government had earlier introduced the Bill in Assembly in September 1928, with a view to vest the Government with the power to deport foreigners from India whose stay was regarded as dangerous or undesirable. The Bill was ostensibly directed against the foreigners, but it could also be used against nationalist Indians. The Bill was strongly opposed by non-official members and the proposal to postpone its consideration was carried with the casting vote of the President. However, the Government reintroduced the Bill with additional clauses in January, 1929 and succeeded in getting the measure referred to a Select Committee and by the time the report of the Select Committee came up before the House the Government had launched the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which certain persons alleged to be Communists were tried for conspiring against the Government established by law. President Patel took the view that the subject-matter of the Public Safety Bill and the Meerut Conspiracy Case was identical and it would not be possible to discuss the Bill without referring to the proceedings in the case

8. *L.A.D.*, 24th August, 1925, pp. 26-28.

9. *L.A.D.*, 27-1-1926, pp. 335-337.

10. *L.A.D.*, 9-2-1926.

which was *sub-judice*. He, therefore, withheld the consideration of the Public Safety Bill. The Government did not accept the ruling of the Chair and made it an occasion to deprive the Speaker of the power to give such a ruling in the future by enacting Rule 17A that the President could not, except in virtue of express powers, prevent in future the progress of legislation.

President Patel also came into conflict with the Viceroy who criticized his ruling in the Assembly. President Patel wrote to the Viceroy protesting against the action of His Excellency in criticizing the Chair's ruling which was 'not only unprecedented and calculated to affect both the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair, but also constitutes, in my opinion, a departure from constitutional usages and traditions'.¹¹ The Viceroy disclaimed any intention to criticize his ruling and assured the President 'that he fully shares your anxiety to maintain the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair.'

President Patel found himself in complete disagreement with the Government in regard to the interpretation of the Fiscal Autonomy Convention in the debate on the Cotton Tariff Bill, 1930. The Government of India forced on the Assembly against its will the principle of Imperial preference and violated the Fiscal Autonomy Convention. The Government came before the Assembly with the proposed tariff Bill, in which a small measure of protection was being given to the Indian industry, while British manufacturers were granted equal protection. The Government stated openly that they would accept no other amendment except that of Mr. Chetty which imposed 15 per cent tariff in case of British manufacturers and 20 per cent on non-British manufacturers to help Lancashire interests and if the Assembly did not accept their proposal, they would not proceed with the Bill. President Patel expressed the view that the statement of the Government that they would not proceed with the Bill if Mr. Chetty's amendment was not accepted was calculated to seriously interfere with the free vote of the House. He suggested that official members should not exercise their right of vote

to work the Fiscal Convention in the spirit of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Government did not accept the suggestion made by the Chair and succeeded in passing the tariff bill embodying Mr. Chetty's amendments.

President Patel followed Sir Frederick Whyte in regulating the financial procedure in the House. He followed the convention established by his predecessor Sir Frederick Whyte that on Finance Bill the whole of the administration of the Government of India could be reviewed and interpreted it in a liberal spirit. He also insisted that the report of the Public Accounts Committee should be discussed fully in the House and not ignored by the Government.¹²

Apart from interpreting rules of procedure liberally to safeguard the interests of elected Members of the Assembly, President Patel strove hard to enhance the authority of the House and to assert and consolidate the independence of the Chair. As soon as he was elected President, Mr. Patel took up the question of the separation of the office of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India. He convened the Speakers' Conference to consider the question and the latter unanimously adopted his viewpoint. He took up the matter immediately with the Government in 1926, but progress was very slow. In 1927, President Patel was re-elected to the Chair with the unanimous support of both official and non-official members. Soon after he took up the question again with the Government of India. The latter did not accept the views of President Patel in certain matters which he considered vital. The President, therefore, submitted his proposals direct to the Legislative Assembly and made the emphatic declaration that 'as the President, elected by the Assembly, I am responsible to the Assembly and to no other authority.' On 22nd September, 1928, the House carried a motion moved by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru for a separate Legislative Assembly Department under the President, and after reference to London a compromise was arrived at creating the Department legally in the portfolio of the Governor-General but retaining *de facto* control of the President.¹³

11. *L.A.D.*, 2nd Sept., 1929, pp. 109-112.

12. *L.A.D.*, 18th Feb., 1929, p. 1901.

13. *L.A.D.*, 28th Jan., 1929, p. 2.

Another reform carried out by President Patel to assert the authority of the Chair was the maintenance of his authority and control over the precincts of the Assembly. The Government of India and the Chief Commissioner maintained that they were the sole judge of the adequacy of the protective measures in the House. The President did not accept this view and ordered the galleries to be closed till such time as a settlement was arrived at. After negotiations an agreement was reached. Government control of the outer precincts were unchanged but the inner precincts were placed in charge of a Watch and Ward staff who would be responsible to the President.¹⁴

These two reforms considerably enhanced the prestige of the Chair and secured efficiency in the administration.

President Patel, so long as he was in the Chair, tried to uphold the traditions of impartiality and party neutrality evolved in England in the discharge of his duties. On being elected to office he dissociated himself from the Swarajist Party of which he was an active member prior to his elections and endeavoured to consult the best interests of the Assembly.¹⁵ During his term of office, President Patel kept himself aloof from party interest. In the election of 1926, he refused to stand on the Congress ticket but stood as an independent candidate from his old constituency and was re-elected President unanimously on 20th July, 1927.

During his tenure of office President Patel tried to follow in the footsteps of the notable Speakers of the House of Commons in England. Just as the Speakers of the House of Commons had succeeded in ridding the office of regal influence and in raising the prestige and dignity of the Chair, similarly, President Patel freed the high office of Speakership from the tutelage of the Executive in India. The first step in this direction was the separation of the office of the Assembly from the Legislative Department of the Government of India and the next was the vesting of the control over the precincts of the Assembly in the President. This was secured not without conflict. Like Speaker Onslow, he

enforced the rules strictly and prevented an abuse of the procedure of the House 'as nothing tended more to throw power into the hands of the administration' than a neglect of or departure from these rules.¹⁶ President Patel, however, found that it was not always practicable to follow strictly the British model in view of the peculiarities of the Indian situation. The Speaker of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom helped to facilitate the Government business as the Government there was popular and possessed the confidence of the House. In India, the Executive was neither representative nor was it responsible to the House or removable by it. Under the circumstances, the role of an elected President was not to facilitate the Government business but to safeguard and protect the rights, interests and privileges of the Members of the House from official encroachment. In doing so he had to depart from the stricter limits of Speakership of the English model and had to assume a role which was best suited to the peculiar circumstances of the country.

President Patel's conception of office of Speaker was realistic and appropriate to the political situation. He occupied the Chair as a true servant of the people, zealous in behalf of their liberties and prerogatives and as one who represented their feelings firmly, zealously and openly without fear of offending, or a wish to conciliate the powerful bureaucracy. His tenure of office had throughout been a period of one continuous struggle between the Chair and the Assembly on the one hand, and the Government on the other, and in spite of the money limitations imposed upon the Assembly by the Constitution he always 'endeavoured to uphold the authority of the Chair and the dignity, rights and privileges of the House against the powerful bureaucracy'.¹⁷ President Patel regarded the constitutional machinery provided by the Government of India Act as a stepping-stone to reach the ultimate goal of India's independence and he helped to facilitate the march of the people of this country towards the achievement

14. *L.A.D.*, 20th Feb., 1930, p. 845.

15. *L.A.D.*, 29th Aug., 1925, pp. 36-37.

16. Porritt: *Unreformed House of Commons*, Vol. I, p. 450.

17. *L.A.D.*, 25th April, 1930.

of political emancipation. After serving for a number of years he found that despite his efforts he could not adequately safeguard the dignity, rights and privileges of the House against the bureaucracy. After the Government of India had forced down the throats of an unwilling Assembly the principle of Imperial preference and as a protest against which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other patriots tendered their resignations, he felt convinced that it was useless for him to preside over an Assembly which existed merely to register the decrees of the Executive and where it was not possible for

him to safeguard even the freedom of vote and freedom of expression. On 25th April, 1930, the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel tendered his resignation to take his proper place in the struggle for freedom initiated by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi as he failed in all his efforts to explore avenues of British Government's honourable settlement with the Congress. In carrying on the struggle with the British bureaucracy President Patel acted in the best traditions of Speakership established in pre-revolutionary England and in the British Dominions and Colonies.

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INDIA'S ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

By RAJANI KANTA DAS AND SONYA RUTH DAS

II

2. INDO-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS

IN response to India's rising demand for self-government and independence, there were important changes in the British policy towards India from the vague promise of Dominion Status in 1917 to the definite offer of independence in 1947, involving a long series of negotiations.

THE WAR AND INDIAN POLITICS

World War II brought a new aspect to India's political movement. Immediately on the outbreak of the war, India was declared a belligerent nation by the British Government without the consent of, or consultation with, Indian political leaders, and the provincial autonomy provisions inaugurated by the 1935 Constitution were immediately suspended. On September 3, 1939, the British Government passed measures empowering the Viceroy to rule by decree, to prohibit meetings or other forms of propaganda, and to arrest without warrant. On September 14, 1939, the Congress Working Committee, while condemning German aggression in unequivocal terms, invited the British Government to define its war aims with special reference to

India. About the same time, the Moslem League assured the Government of India of its co-operation in the war efforts on condition that Moslem interests were protected by the government against the Hindu majority. On October 17, 1939, the Government of India issued a White Paper, implicitly accepting the Moslem League's claim to speak for the Moslems of India, whereupon the Congress gave up the hope of any British concession and called upon the Congress provincial ministers to resign.

The recognition by the British government of the Moslem League as the spokesman for the Indian Moslem community encouraged the League to put forward the demand for Pakistan, or a "pure Moslem State," as its goal and for dividing the country into Hindu and Moslem States in 1940. It was, however, immediately condemned by the nationalist Moslems, including many League members, and the All-India Azad Conference, supported by nine Moslem religious organizations, passed a resolution on April 1, 1940, declaring that "India with its geographical and political boundaries is an individual whole and as such it is the common homeland of all citizens, irrespective of race and religion."

The All-India Congress Committee declared in March, 1940, that India's freedom cannot exist within the orbit of British imperialism, but in July it re-opened the question and offered active co-operation with the British Government in the defense of India, demanding, however, immediate recognition of India's independence to be effected on a certain fixed date. On August 8, 1940, the British Government reiterated its famous offer of free and equal partnership for India in the British Commonwealth under a Constitution framed by the Indians, subject to a provision for protection of the minorities and to the fulfillment of the Government's obligations to the Indian States but without any constitutional change during the war; at the same time an expansion of the Executive Council was promised. Because this offer was not immediately satisfactory, the All-India Congress Committee thereupon withdrew its offer and on October 20, 1940, Gandhi took the leadership and started what he called 'individual' or 'limited' civil disobedience. Some 25,000 Congress leaders and workers, including Abul Kalam Azad and Nehru, as well as 398 members of the Provincial legislatures, 31 ex-ministers, and 22 members of the Central legislature were arrested. Moreover, Mr. Churchill's refusal to apply to India the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which he himself together with President Roosevelt, drew up at sea in August, 1941, pledging to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they would like to live, dashed to pieces all hopes raised among the Indian people. In the meantime, the war situation in Europe became more serious and on December 4, Nehru, Azad, and several other Congress leaders were released from jail.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the American military and naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and won a great victory, and on December 9, 1941, the United States declared war on Japan. Japanese entry into the war and their rapid victories in Hong Kong, Malaya, and Dutch East Indies enormously intensified the strategic importance of India in the Allied Nations' war effort. On January 15, 1942, Gandhi resigned his leadership of the Congress movement in favor of Nehru, apparently paving the way for active co-operation of India

with Britain against the Axis powers, if a solution of the political situation could be found. Singapore fell on February 15, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek visited India, and urged, in a statement on February 21, 1942, the British Government to grant real political power to India and to make her a strong military force among the Allied Nations.

BRITISH WAR CABINET'S OFFER

A great achievement of the political movement in India was, in fact, the War Cabinet's offer, which was announced by Prime Minister Churchill on March 11, 1942, i.e., three days after the fall of Rangoon, and which Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Council, took to India and presented to the leaders of different political parties at New Delhi on March 29, 1942. The chief provisions of the offer were as follows: First, the creation of a new Indian Union soon after the war with its right of withdrawal from the Commonwealth, if it so desired; second, the setting up of a Constituent Assembly immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, to be chosen by a system of proportional representation from the newly-elected Lower Houses of provincial legislature sitting as an electoral college, and the acceptance by the British Government of the Constitution so framed on two conditions: (a) The right of a British province to retain its present constitutional position with the right of subsequent accession to the Union, and the recognition by the British Government of a non-acceding province as a separate dominion; and, (b) the conclusion of a treaty with the constitution-making body covering the transfer of responsibility and the protection of national and religious minorities; and third, the retention by the British Government of the responsibility of national defense during the war period.

The offer was rejected by all political parties in India, though for different reasons. The proposal for the division of India into two or more independent States or Dominions was rejected by the Hindu Maha Sabha, National Liberal Federation, All-Party Committee of the Sikhs, the All-India States People's Conference, and the Independent Moslem Conference, as well as by other religious communities. The

Moslem League was satisfied at the implied recognition of its claim for Pakistan, but regretted that the offer did not definitely provide for Pakistan. The League Committee under the leadership of Jinnah rejected the offer of the British Government as it was not open to any modifications.

The Congress Working Committee under the chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the leadership of Nehru, who undertook the negotiation, rejected the offer on the following grounds: (1) The principle of non-accession applied to British provinces might prove destructive to Indian unity; (2) the lack of any provision for 93 million people of the Indian States to voice their opinion in framing a Constitution under which they were going to live; and (3) the lack of any provision for the Indian people to have any part in national defense, which during the war was practically the whole government. But the Congress was willing to compromise, and a formula was arrived at providing for the appointment of an Indian Defense Minister in the interim national government and the retention of the Commander-in-Chief as a War Member of the Government of India. As described by Maulana Azad, the Congress Working Committee had no desire to upset, in the midst of the war, the present military organization and arrangement made by the British Government. The Committee demanded, however, that the interim government should be a truly national government in all civil affairs with full power and not a subordinate advisory body in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Sir Stafford refused to take this demand into consideration and the negotiation broke down, and the British Cabinet offer was withdrawn on April 11, 1942.

Both the merits and the defects of the offer were apparent. The offer was a precise and definite promise of Dominion Status under the Westminster Statute of 1926, with the right of Indians to formulate their own Constitution and to secede from the British Empire if they so desired. The offer had, however, also serious defects, such as the concentration of the real power of the State, *e.g.*, finance, defense, and foreign affairs, in the hands of the Viceroy during the war, and the lack of any provision for immediate participation by India in the civil

and military defense of their own country. The real causes of the breakdown of the Indo-British negotiations were, however, the reluctance of the British to part with power, their refusal to allow the Indian leaders to form an interim national government functioning as a cabinet, and the lack of confidence in the British promise on the part of Indian leaders.

The breakdown of the Indo-British negotiations was a great loss to India's national cause. India was deprived of a great opportunity in taking a leading part in the struggle of the democracies against nazism, fascism, and dictatorship, in uniting and co-ordinating different factions, racial and communal, into one component national whole, and in associating herself as equal partner with the progressive and independent nations in winning the war and maintaining the peace of the world.

A most serious effect of the breakdown was the declaration by the All-India Congress Committee of the non-co-operation and non-violence and "quit India" movements on August 8, 1942, for which Gandhi was directly responsible. Although great disappointment at the breakdown of the negotiation, nationwide resentment, and anti-British feeling led Gandhi, whose proposal for an interview with the Viceroy for a compromise was turned down, to propose such a measure, it had serious effects both in India and abroad. First, it led to the wholesale arrest of Gandhi himself and other Congress leaders and workers; second, such arrests were followed by almost spontaneous outburst of anti-British feeling in most parts of the country, as indicated by strikes and lockouts and riots and sabotage of railways and of postal and telegraph offices; and third, it gave the British the justification for withholding the transfer of power from England to India.*

The failure of the Cripps' Mission and the imprisonment of Congress leaders left India without any political activities for over two years. In June, 1945, the political deadlock was,

* The results of the arrests and riots and sabotages are indicated by the following facts covering August, 1942 to January, 1943: 60,000 persons were arrested, 26,000 condemned, 18,000 convicted, 18,000 detained without trial, 2,630 injured, 940 killed, and as many flogged.

however, broken by Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, who developed a scheme for the solution of the problem. The scheme consisted of: (1) The reorganization of the Viceroy's Executive Council representing all the political parties; (2) distribution of all the memberships of the Council to Indians except that of defense, the Viceroy retaining, as before, the veto power of all the Council's decisions and legislative measures; (3) the establishment of responsible governments in all the provinces; and (4) appointment of accredited agents for representing India abroad. It was presumed that all the members of the Council should co-operate wholeheartedly in carrying out the war against Japan. A conference of all political leaders was convened under the chairmanship of the Viceroy at Simla on June 25, 1945. The conference agreed to appoint fifteen members in the Viceroy's Executive Council, consisting of five caste Hindus, five Moslems, and five from other communities, thus establishing a Hindu-Moslem parity. But a difference soon arose on Jinnah's claim that he was the only authority to appoint all the Moslems as Congress representatives. Both the Viceroy and the Congress party objected to Jinnah's demand and the conference ended in failure on July 14, 1945.

BRITISH CABINET MISSION PLAN

The victory of World War II was followed by important changes in the relative position of the British political parties. The Conservative Party lost its power and the British Labor Party, which won the political victory in the election of July, 1945, realized the necessity of changing British policy towards the colonies and dependencies and adopted a liberal policy towards India, as indicated by the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, when he said: "My government will do the utmost to promote in concurrence with the leaders of Indian opinion, an early realization of self-government in India." The Labor Government decided to send three top-ranking Cabinet Ministers, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty, on a mission to India to help in framing her Constitution and in

establishing a Coalition Government. On the occasion of their departure for India, the Prime Minister made a speech in Parliament on March 15, 1946, and said: "India must choose as to what will be her future constitution and what will be her position in the world."

After its arrival in India, the British Cabinet Mission arranged a round-table conference of the Congress Party, the Moslem League, and the British Government at Simla on May 5, 1946, and laid down a five-point program for discussion: Defense, foreign affairs, communications, the creation of two groups of provinces, one predominantly Hindu and the other predominantly Moslem, and the delegation of the maximum authority to provincial units. On the settlement of these questions, there would be a union of India with authority on these points. Each party was represented by four members and two of the Congress representatives were Moslems. Jinnah again denied the right of the Congress party to appoint any Moslem as its representative and the Conference ended in failure on May 12, 1946.

On May 16, 1946, the Mission issued a White Paper in New Delhi and outlined its plan for a Union of India and an Indian Constituent Assembly. The Union Government would comprise an executive and a legislature and have authority only to deal with foreign affairs, defense, and communication together with power to raise the necessary funds for this purpose. All other subjects and residual powers should be vested in the provinces, which would be free to form groups with executives and legislatures. The pivotal point of the plan was the creation of a group of Hindu-majority provinces in a section and a group of Moslem-majority provinces in two sections, thus: Section A, comprising six provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Berar, which Jinnah wanted to include in "Hindustan"; Section B, comprising Sind, British Baluchistan, N.W.F. Province, and the Punjab; and Section C, comprising Bengal and Assam; the last two sections being the Moslem-majority provinces of Pakistan, which Jinnah would like to separate from India.

The Mission rejected the League's demand

to divide India on three grounds: First, the area claimed for a larger sovereign Pakistan would contain 37.93 per cent non-Moslems in the north-west and 48.31 per cent non-Moslems in the north-east, and would still leave 20 million Moslems in non-Moslem India, thus leaving the communal problem still unsolved. Second, the setting up of a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Moslem-majority areas would require the exclusion of (a) the whole of Ambala and Jellunder divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal including Calcutta, and such a Plan would be unacceptable to the Moslems. Third, transportation, communication, and other defense schemes had been set-up on a United India basis and the separation of these areas for Pakistan would entail great danger. Moreover, the two Pakistans separated from each other by 700 miles would depend on Hindustan's good-will both in war and peace. The Mission also rejected the Congress scheme of a complete unitary India on the ground that in spite of safeguards it did not give the Moslems the necessary feeling of security for their cultural, political, and social life. The minority communities should have legislative protection and an advisory committee on their rights as well as on those of the tribal excluded areas.

INDIA'S INTERIM GOVERNMENT

In the meantime, steps were also being taken for the establishment of an interim government in India as a preliminary measure for the development of a dominion Government. As a war measure some changes had already been made in the Government of India. On July 3, 1942, the Viceroy's Executive Council was enlarged to fifteen members, eleven of whom were Indians. The principal posts, *e.g.*, of defense, finance, and home affairs, remained with the British members, and the Viceroy retained his special responsibility and discretionary powers as before. As noted above, it was on the question of the Viceroy's position *vis-a-vis* the power of the proposed Council or Cabinet that the Cripps Mission broke down. On March 15, 1946, an India Bill was passed

by the British Parliament repealing the emergency powers of the British Government in India and providing for an All-India Advisory Council to the Viceroy.

On the cessation of the war, Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy, took steps toward India's constitutional development and, in consultation with the British Government, laid down the following procedure: (1) The election of the Central and Provincial legislatures which had been postponed during the war; (2) the setting up of a Constituent Assembly of elected Indian representatives charged with the task of framing a new constitution; (3) the formation of an interim executive council consisting only of Indians; and (4) the negotiation of a treaty between the British Government and the constitution-making body.

The elections were largely held in the first three months of 1946. They became of unusual importance for two reasons: (1) The decision on the Moslem League's demand for Pakistan; and (2) the formation of a Constituent Assembly from the members of the provincial legislatures, in view of the fact that they were elected under the Constitution of 1935 and represented 13 per cent of the population in contrast to the members of the Central Legislature, who were elected under the Constitution of 1919 and represented only 2 per cent of the population.

On May 16, 1946, the British Cabinet Mission also proposed the setting up of an interim government composed entirely of Indians drawn from the major political parties. This government was later created within the legal framework of the Viceroy's Legislative Council but with the Viceroy's veto power reduced to a minimum. Its formation was delayed, however, first, because of the disagreement between the Congress Party and the Moslem League as to the number of representatives from each party and, second, because of Jinnah's denial of the right of the Congress Party to appoint any Moslem as its representative.

September 2, 1946, was indeed a great day for India for a two-fold reason: First, the inauguration of an interim government composed of all Indians for the first time, with six members from the Congress Party, five members

from the Moslem League, and three members from the minority groups, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Council. The Moslem representatives refused to participate in the government, but their seats were distributed among the Congressmen. Secondly, it was indeed a great day for India to have an Indian at the head of her government after several centuries of foreign rule. As the power of the Governor-General as the Chairman of the Legislative Council was reduced to the minimum, Pandit Nehru was practically the head of the Government; greetings and good wishes poured from all over India and abroad, and on September 7, 1946, Pandit Nehru, the Vice-President, acknowledged them and promised that India would co-operate with free peoples to build "one world."

On October 25, 1946, the League representatives joined the Interim Government, but refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly, which by the terms of the agreement, they were supposed to do. Moreover, instead of co-operating with Congress representatives, they formed a "King's Party" with the active support of the anti-Congress British officials. The most important question was, however, the interpretation of the British Cabinet Mission's statement on the groupings of the provinces. The Congress Party maintained that the provinces in the sections should be permitted to opt out at the very outset of the Constituent Assembly discussion, while the League insisted that the decision of these sections should be taken by the simple majority vote of the whole section. On December 6, 1946, at a special conference with the League and Congress representatives in London, the British Government supported the League's interpretation.*

3. PARTITION OF BRITISH INDIA

On February 20, 1947, the British Government issued a White Paper announcing its decision to transfer the responsibility of Indian Government not later than June, 1947. This announcement had a profound, though diver-

gent, effect on India. While the Congress Party acclaimed it as the fulfillment of its "Quit India" movement of 1942, the League intensified its drive for Paksitan in order to capture those provinces which it would like to include in it. The League forced out the coalition government in the Punjab, although it failed to establish its own government. The chaos and confusion following from the "Direct Action" of the League convinced the non-Moslem population of the necessity of dividing Bengal and the Punjab into Moslem and non-Moslem provinces.

On June 3, 1947, the British Government issued another White Paper to supercede the statement of May 16, 1946, and proposed the division of British India into the dominions of India and Pakistan, releasing the princely states to join either dominion or to remain independent. The new dominions were to be governed by their respective constituent assemblies, which would perform the function of legislating and constitution-making. During the period of transition, the Government of India Act of 1935 would continue to apply with due omissions, adaptations, and modifications to be made by the Governor-General or the dominion's legislatures. There would be a Governor-General in each dominion and his power would terminate on March 31, 1948, or at an earlier date at the discretion of the dominion legislatures.

The Moslem League violently opposed the scheme of dividing Bengal and the Punjab, but on June 9, 1947, accepted the plan as a compromise. The Sikhs opposed it strongly as it broke up their territorial integrity. The Congress Party had always stood for a United India but, on June 14, 1947, accepted the British plan. A brief Bill was introduced into Parliament and passed as Indian Independence Act on July 18, 1947. On August 15, 1947 the two dominions of India and Pakistan were established with their area and population, respectively, of 1,220,099 square miles and 337 million, and 361,311 square miles and 70 million.

The partition raised several problems: First, the fixation of boundaries between East and West Punjab and East and West Bengal, which was immediately accomplished by a cabinet boundary committee with the help of

* Based mostly on the material collected by the writer from official reports of the Indian and British Governments during the period concerned.

various local sub-committees. Second, the transfer of the population from one area to the other, which was the most complicated and tragic. During the first two and a half years of national independence, the number of people who migrated either way have been estimated from 13 to 15 million, i.e., about 6.5 or 7.5 million Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab, Sind, and North-West Frontier Province migrated to India and a similar number of Moslems migrated from East Punjab and other parts of India to West Pakistan. Moreover, it has been estimated that about one million lives were lost in the violence and riots arising out of population exchange. A dislocation of people has also taken place between Bengal and East Pakistan, as will be discussed later. Finally, the division of money and material between the two provinces, such as the cash balance of the former United India, public debt, sterling pounds due from Britain (amounting to about five billion dollars), military supply and ordnance factories were practically settled within the first three months of the establishment of the two dominions.

The immediate effects of the partition were the communal riots and disturbances which took place especially in Bengal and the Punjab. The first large-scale riot broke out in Calcutta on August 16, 1946, as a result of "Direct Action" of the League, even before the actual partition, leading to the death of 270 persons, injuries to 1600, the burning of 900 houses. "Pro-Pakistan elements started this Direct Action from Noakhali and inflicted untold sufferings on non-Moslem inhabitants. This was followed by revenge in Bihar. Later Hindus and Sikhs were killed in the Frontier Province and West Punjab and these were followed by the killings of the Moslems in East Punjab and Delhi," as described by Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir. The announcement by the Boundary Committee on August 17, 1947, allotting Lahore and Amritsar to Moslems and non-Moslems, respectively, intensified riots and disturbances and about one million persons were driven out of their homes and many of them were killed. By August 29, the situation became still more serious and the government had to take drastic action. Loot and larceny, rape and abduction,

and arson and massacre became the order of the day. At last, on September 20, the governments of the two dominions pledged to remove the causes of the conflict and to facilitate the movements of the refugees, including (1) a joint organization to bring about the return of the abducted women; (2) the return to the refugees of their money in banks and safety deposits; (3) compensation to the displaced persons for their property.

The fundamental causes of these communal riots and disturbances are deep-rooted and will be discussed later. The immediate and main causes of the riots and disturbances were, however, Jinnah's two-nation theory, demand for division of India into Hindu and Moslem states, Direct Action of the League to achieve its goal, desire for parity with the Hindus who were twice as many as the Moslems, and the exchange of populations, involving the uprooting of the people from their century-old homes to unknown and unfamiliar regions. The contributory causes, such as direct help by the League, including the distribution of arms and lorries and the employment of professional goondas (gunmen). No special inquiry into the real causes of these riots and disturbances has yet been made, but the *Calcutta Statesman*, an English daily paper, condemned unsparingly the Bengal (Moslem League) Government for "lamentable failure in judgment and executive ability" (August 18, 1946) in the case of Calcutta's worst communal riot.

The greatest tragedy resulting from the partition of India was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948. It was the earnest desire of the Mahatma to secure independence for a United India. But the partition of India, especially the exchange of populations, involving riots and disturbances, created bitterness and animosity between the Hindus and the Moslems. In order to create unity and peace between the two communities, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast on January 13 and ended it on January 18 on the promise of Hindu and Moslem leaders that they would carry out his peace program, such as safe return of the Moslems to Delhi, lifting of the boycott against them, and restoration of their mosques. These

concessions were regarded as appeasements to Moslems and a group of reactionary and fanatical Hindus plotted against Mahatma Gandhi and he was shot to death. Like Abraham Lincoln giving his life in extending the freedom of the American people to the Negro slaves, Mahatma Gandhi died a martyr in his attempt to establish peace between the Hindus and the Moslems of India.¹

4. PAKISTAN BECOMES SEPARATE STATE

Pakistan², the largest Moslem state, was inaugurated at Karachi on October 15, 1947, and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founding father, became its Governor-General. This moment was the climax of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's career. Pakistan as a separate dominion parceled out of India owes its origin to two distinct factors: First, the single-minded devotion, personal pride, extraordinary zeal, and master strategy of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who was supported by the land-holding and other privileged classes of the Moslems claiming their descent from old Moslem conquerors and rulers of India as well as by anti-Congress British officials still in the service of British India; second, the age-long imperial policy of 'divide and rule,' which was the basic policy of British rule in India, and which was actively carried on by the Government of India and the British Government and the Conservative Party in Britain.

From the very beginning of its origin in 1906 until the partition of India in 1947, the Moslem League received direct and indirect encouragement and assistance from the Government of India in its endeavour to advance communal interests. Moreover, the British accepted Jinnah as the sole spokesman of all the Moslems, gave him dictatorial power in all the tripartite conferences, and accepted the League's scheme of grouping the provinces into Hindu-Moslem-majority provinces and the League's interpretation of its White Paper

recommendation of May 16, 1946, that the single majority vote of each section of provinces would determine the allocation of territories, which finally broke down the Congress opposition to partition and facilitated the establishment of independent Pakistan.

The League's claims upon a separate Moslem state were challenged from both inside and outside. First, the League wanted Pakistan for the preservation of its cultural interests, but such Moslem communities as the Ulemas (divines), Momins (weavers), Sheas (the second largest Moslem sect), and many prominent Moslems were opposed to the Pakistan scheme. Second, the six provinces originally demanded by the League for Pakistan contained 109 million population, of which 48 million, or 44 per cent, were non-Moslem. While refusing the domination of 24 per cent Moslem by the 76 per cent non-Moslem population in a democratic state, the League at the same time demanded the domination of 44 per cent non-Moslem by the 56 per cent Moslem population in a state which they wanted to make Islamic. Third, the League's contention that the Moslems were a separate nation was not in harmony with the fact that from 80 to 85 per cent of Indian Moslems were estimated to be racially the same as the Hindus and formed a part of the linguistic and cultural group of the provinces where they lived. Finally, the League's demand for Assam with its two-thirds non-Moslem population, and a newly-elected Congress Government, as well as for Bengal, as a part of East Pakistan, in spite of the fact that it would have 48 per cent non-Moslem population, was guided not by cultural affinity but by economic consideration, inasmuch as most of the British-owned industries and investments, *e.g.*, jute mills, coal mines, and tea-gardens, as well as joint-stock companies, were located in the provinces of Bengal and Assam.

As to the future of Pakistan, it must be remembered that it consists of two parts, the West and the East, which are different from each other in race, language, and cultural history, *i.e.*, in everything except religion. The importance of religion, especially Islam, which is not only a religion but also a civilization, cannot be minimized. But social, political, and

(1) The same as the foot-note for Section 2 (p. 31).

(2) The total population was 75.6 million comprising 33.5 in West Pakistan and 42.1 million in East Pakistan in 1951 (Census of Population, 1951).

economic activities have immensely increased becoming in a new and progressive state in the in modern times and dominate a modern state. modern democratic age.*

West Pakistan is geographically, ethnologically, and culturally closely related to the neighboring states of Afghanistan, Iran and even Arabia. A common religion has brought them into a still closer association. West Pakistan has already allied itself with the Middle East; the Arab League has found in West Pakistan a valuable ally, and power politics has also extended its scope to include the dominion of Pakistan in its sphere of influence. Recently Pakistan has entered into a military alliance with the United States and Turkey. By restricting and selecting immigration, only the people of the same or similar racial origins have been grouped together in the new State and 4.9 million non-Moslems have left or been forced to leave West Pakistan. West Pakistan has also been created and baptized in blood and violence, loot and arson, rape and abduction, involving a great loss of lives in exchange of population. It would not be easy for the people displaced by partition to forget these tragedies and sufferings. Moreover, with an abundant supply of fertile land and irrigation potentialities for the production of wheat for food and cotton for commerce, and with a considerable proportion of her population more or less homogeneous in race and especially in religion, West Pakistan has emerged as a permanent Moslem State. Furthermore, under the recent decision of February 1955, steps have been taken for the merger of four provinces, ten princely states, and some tribal areas into a single province of West Pakistan.

East Pakistan is, however, different from West Pakistan in several aspects: First, the formation of a single state out of two regions 1,000 miles apart is regarded in certain quarters as "geographical monstrosity." Secondly, in physiography, ethnology, language and several other cultural aspects, East Pakistan or East Bengal as it used to be called before partition, resembles more West Bengal than West Pakistan. Finally, while all the population of West Pakistan are Moslems, about one-fourth of the population in East Pakistan are Hindus. By declaring Pakistan an Islamic State, there has been created a feeling of second race citizenship among its Hindu Population, a situation scarcely

5. INDIA'S EMERGENCE AS DOMINION

With the declaration of India's independence as provided by the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and the establishment of India as a Dominion, which was virtually an independent state under the Westminster Statute of 1926, all the earlier frame-work of the Indian Constitution was swept away. The Governor-General became a constitutional ruler functioning with the advice and consent of the Council of Ministers responsible to the Constituent Assembly in which the sovereignty of India rested. The Government of India Act of 1935, as amended, came into force on August 15, 1947, and remained so until the acceptance of the new Constitution by the Indian Parliament and the declaration of India as a sovereign independent republic on January 26, 1950.

August 15, 1947, when India became independent, was a most glorious day in the annals of Indian history. It was on that day that India regained the mastery of her own destiny after several centuries of foreign rule and after several decades of silent revolution. The Indian people began to celebrate it at midnight, August 14, when British rule ended and Indian rule began. While Mahatma Gandhi, the chief architect of Indian independence, was occupied in a Hindu-Moslem Peace Mission in Calcutta, the Constituent Assembly of the Union of India convened at Constitution Hall at New Delhi, and, after the singing of *Bandemataram*, the national anthem, observed two minutes of silence "in memory of those who died in the struggle for freedom in India and abroad," and then at the stroke of midnight took the oath administered by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, its President. The national flag was unfurled atop Constitution Hall. The Assembly assumed the governance of India and appointed Lord Mountbatten as its Governor-General. On August 15, he took his office and administered the oath to

* *India—A Reference Annual—1953-57*, Government of India, Delhi. *India—Annual Review—1953-57*, Information Service of India, India House, London.

the first Cabinet of the Union of India composed of fourteen members with Pandit Nehru as its Prime Minister.

The emergence of India as an independent state brought great rejoicing all over the country. But the partition of British India into India and Pakistan Dominions created profound sorrow and indignation among all classes of people, and Congress leaders were taken to task for yielding to the Moslem League and for not accepting the Dominion Status for a limited period, thus avoiding the partition scheme. It was the general belief that if the British knew that the Congress Party would accept Dominion Status, they would not have yielded to Jinnah's demand for partition. That the Congress leaders had often dealt with the League rather leniently and had even shown their weakness and spirit of appeasement cannot be doubted. But they were more convinced that they could not have any real settlement of the Indian question while the British were there, and so they were willing to concede everything to the Moslem League in order to have its co-operation in settling Indian affairs with the British. Moreover, a study of the events leading to the partition of India shows that it was the best possible way to get out of the difficulty in which the Congress Party found itself at the end of various negotiations with the British and with the League.

In spite of a reduction in size and population, India has acquired a much greater opportunity of building a strong consolidated democratic and progressive nation: First, she has won a double victory of national independence

by overthrowing the two-century-old British domination and by getting rid of those communally-conscious Moslems who prided themselves on being the rescendants of old Moslem invaders, conquerors, and rulers, and who therefore, claimed separate nationhood and parity with over twice as many Hindus, and demanded the partition of the country. Second, the division of the Punjab and Bengal into Moslem and non-Moslem provinces has saved the Sikhs and the Hindus from the domination of the communally-minded Moslems. The sacrifice of the Sikhs was immense, but instead of being a minority group in the old Punjab, they have obtained Patiala and East Punjab as a major State in the Indian Union, where they are the majority, and they have thus improved their position. The social and political position of the Hindus has also improved in West Bengal. Finally, the confederation of the various States of India only on the basis of foreign affairs, defense, and communication would have prevented India from becoming a solid and consolidated nation. Moreover, the acceptance of the Moslem League's demand of weightage to the minorities, and especially to the Moslems, would have interfered with the development of a true democracy which grants one vote to each person regardless of race, caste, or creed.*

(Concluded)

* *India—A Reference Annual*—since 1953, Government of India. *Indian—Annual Review*—since 1953, Information Service of India, India House, Aldwych, London.



BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

An Appraisal

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WHAT IS BASIC EDUCATION?

BASIC education is in essence an adaptation to Indian conditions of the methods of the activity school practised in Western countries for a long time by Mahatma Gandhi more than 20 years ago. It is activity-centered. This activity is to be in the form of crafts and centres round the physical and social environments of the child, for education to be effective and meaningful must be based on the life-activities of the community which it is meant to serve and the environment for which the child is to be prepared. Teaching in the Basic school must be co-ordinated by means of correlation technique with some purposeful and socially useful craft activity which must be productive in character, e.g., spinning and weaving, agriculture and gardening besides wood and metal work so that the education may in the main be self-supporting. In the elementary stage it should offer 8 years integrated education (7-14) through the mother tongue. Its ideological aspect rests on its aims and objectives which, according to Gandhiji and the sponsors of the orthodox Wardha type of Basic education, consist in the creation of a new social order (Sarvodaya Society) in the country based on non-violence, non-exploitation and social justice. Some of its sponsors are even now so enthusiastic about it that they say that the time has come when it should be introduced at all stages—elementary, secondary and University, as it has been actually done in Sevagram, Bihar, and the sporadic experiments in several other states.

PATTERN OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Like every other idea associated with Mahatma Gandhi it was surrounded by a sort of halo which accounted for its acceptance in many provinces soon after the first tentative syllabi for Basic Schools and Basic Training Schools were framed by the committee appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain till recently the Government of India declared it to be the pattern of

national education both for rural and urban areas. The Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution which called upon all State Governments "to further as early as possible the policy of spreading Basic education so as to implement it fully both in rural and urban areas in a systematic and planned manner within a period of 10 years." On account of the association of the scheme for Basic education with the Congress Governments in the provinces it is true that a certain amount of extraneous and even spurious prestige clung to it for a time.

WARDHA VS. ACTIVITY TYPE OF BASIC EDUCATION

But even from the very inception an important and responsible school of thought and educational opinion in India differed from the original Basic idea of craft-centred and self-supporting type of elementary education, although its educational implications were admitted by educationists as thoroughly sound. These criticisms centred round two of the essential characteristics of Basic education, viz., the imparting of education through productive craft-work and its self-supporting character. Attempts have, therefore, been made by the sponsors of Basic education even from its very inception to meet these criticisms in annual conferences on Basic education. In spite of this, two types of Basic education ultimately crystallised, viz., the orthodox Wardha type of 8 years' craft-centred Basic schools and the more liberal craft-biased but activity-type of Basic schools in 2 stages, viz., Junior Basic stage of 6 to 11 plus and Senior Basic stage up to 14 plus with the result that at the moment we find two types sponsored by the different States. It may be stated that the Central Advisory Board has also advocated the latter type of Junior and Senior Basic schools mainly for financial reasons. This is the type followed in West Bengal as against the Wardha type sponsored by Bihar, Orissa and other States.

ASSESSING THE RESULTS OF BASIC SCHOOLS OF THE ACTIVITY-TYPE IN WEST BENGAL

Let us, first of all, try to understand the *Educational Implications and Actual Achievements* of these two newer types of Basic education in West Bengal. These two types of schools are virtually a *Reaction Against the Old Regime of 'Board-Chalk-and-Talk' through Formal Methods and The Conception of Massed Teaching*.

The Junior Basic schools offer 2000 sq. ft. of teaching and 2500 sq. ft. of residential accommodation where the building is put up *de novo*. West Bengal started with 36 such Basic schools in 1950-51, with 8,803 pupils and a total expenditure of Rs. 1,67,572 was incurred for their running costs besides Rs. 7,70,000 for buildings. Since then a minimum of about 100 such schools is either being set up *de novo* or reconditioned every year. Besides, during the First Five-Year Plan period some 200 more Primary schools were reconditioned. Besides the Junior Basic schools, Senior Basic schools which constitute an entirely new organizational type of secondary education, are also being set up in advanced areas in West Bengal as in other States.

EDUCATIONAL CRAFT-WORK IN JUNIOR AND ARTISAN CRAFT-WORK IN SENIOR BASIC SCHOOLS

The Junior Basic schools in West Bengal follow the syllabus prepared by the School Education Committee appointed by the Government in 1948. In preparing the syllabus the Committee kept in view the principle of learning through creative activities of a varied character to suit the aptitudes of children, leading to a Basic Craft or Crafts according to local conditions, regard being had to the fact that *on no account should educational consideration be subordinated to those of 'production.'* The following are some of the typical creative activities of these schools, turned out by the children as parts of the educative process—leather goods, clay-models, cane and bamboo-work, coir-work, weaving, wood-work, needle-work, card-board-work, toys, and teaching equipment.

It is true that in some States a part of the running cost of maintenance of Basic schools has been met out of the sale proceeds of these

articles. But in West Bengal this economic aspect of crafts in a Junior Basic school has never been seriously explored for the simple reason that educational craft-work in which certain articles of everyday use just get turned out by the children as a by-product of the educative process and, as such, they can never compete with the standard of craftsmanship and finish of similar articles sold in the market as the latter are manufactured by adult craftsmen. No one expects the products turned out by little children to be ordinarily saleable in the open market and 'that at a competitive price'. Actual production in a spirit of joyous spontaneity is the characteristic of educational craftwork in a Junior Basic school while *Artisan Craftwork* conforming to the tradition and standard of craftsmanship demanded from adult craftsmen so that such crafts can be readily saleable in the open market, is what we aim at in our own Senior Basic schools.

With the latter object in view government have been sponsoring Senior Basic schools in advanced areas where there is a demand. So far back as in 1951, Government-sponsored a Senior Basic school with Agriculture as a Basic craft besides Weaving and Dyeing as subsidiary crafts at the extended Middle School with agricultural continuation classes at Raipur in the district of Birbhum, as a logical sequence to the establishment of a Junior Basic school in this State with the object of developing it eventually into a full-fledged Senior Basic school on the lines contemplated by the Central Advisory Board. Since then Senior Basic schools have been multiplying. Thus when a network of such schools will have been established in West Bengal, the time will come to think of an alternative educational ladder leading from Senior Basic school, Technical High school, college, to the Technical University.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH

In all these new types of Basic schools emphasis is laid upon the personal and social development of the child in the setting and atmosphere of a democratic society, free from academic prohibitions, peculiar to the old types of formal schools. Consequently an important part of the work of the Junior Basic schools is

to give opportunity and encouragement to the child for freedom of expression and creative play. Much of this play is dramatic in essence and, as such, dramatic activity plays a very important part in an Activity school.

Thus the disciplinary organisation of the Basic school carries within itself the possibility of the child creating for itself a measure of self-discipline without which there can be no real and enduring state of society, if the school is at all to function as a democratic community. The child is accordingly left free to make his own decisions on his own initiative but with the advice of his teachers. Brought up under such conditions, the children of Basic schools develop a right confidence in themselves and the ability to manage their own lives, founded on their personal experience, especially the experience of failures.

Children are taken out on school journeys which are not just a random series of visits which would in themselves make a rather un-integrated impression on their minds but which are invariably followed up by creative works, such as, personal scrap book, creative writing in the form of 'projects', letters to pen-friends based on actual life-situations, etc. The object of such journeys, nature rambles, excursions, etc., is to open windows on to the other world to enable children to understand some of its wonder and magnificence in order that school studies based on actual experience may become more alive and meaningful.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF BASIC SCHOOLS IN WEST BENGAL

Assessing the results achieved so far and comparing the same with those of the orthodox Primary or Middle school, it would seem that Basic school children are admittedly healthier, stronger and more supple in body, more alert intellectually and more aware socially. Moreover, their appreciation of the beautiful is certainly greater as is their power to create it and their knowledge wider, more ordered, more integrated and their grasp of subjects more strongly grounded on the solid bed-rock of actual experience in solving day-to-day life-problems. There is not the least shadow of a doubt that the Basic schools are making a serious attempt at establishing certain habits

and attitudes towards life in the nation's children on the socio-moral plane, leading to higher behaviour standards, such as, promptness, orderliness, obedience, social-mindedness, self-control, self-confidence, truthfulness, good manners, power of taking responsibility, etc., qualities which the traditional schools have so far failed to develop.

THE DEBIT SIDE OF THE EDUCATIONAL LEDGER IN BASIC EDUCATION

Turning from the credit to the debit side of the educational ledger, however, we do find some loss in mechanical arithmetic and spelling in which the formal school excels because it can provide intensive and repetitive drill in these subjects but surely there is hardly any loss in the mastery of fundamental knowledge—a fact the truth of which has now been amply borne out and established as a result of a series of experiments conducted under standardised conditions at the Basic Post-Graduate Training College at Banipur.

UNIFORMED ADVERSE CRITICISM OF BASIC EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

It is true that Basic schools in West Bengal, as elsewhere, have had to face a serious challenge from its critics—not to speak of parents and lay public only, but even from teachers trained under the traditional lines and supporters of the Wardha School of Basic education. Such criticisms of activity-methods in education invariably spring from ignorant conservatism, failure to understand the implications of educational craftwork as distinguished from Artisan craftwork, and resistance to novelty. This is very often the case in all other countries where a new organisational pattern in education, embodying an altogether new concept, is placed before the public for the first time. It should be remembered that no new movement—and the movement toward activity methods is powerfully under way in West Bengal—is the better for being allowed to escape public criticism.

THE FUTURE OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The future of Basic national education is now engaging seriously the attention of educa-

tionists all over India for understandable reasons. It is true that things have not moved with the expected speed, that Basic education has not had a fair trial in some of the States even in the context of freedom and the number of Basic schools also started has not been up to expectations in some States. But mere numbers cannot be the only consideration, for in a recent conference of Basic education at Madras, Sri Ramchandran, one of its sponsors, who has had a long-standing experience of the two types opined that the work in many of these schools has been unsatisfactory when compared with the traditional elementary schools. So the most important thing is the question of efficiency which can only be tested as a result of a series of experiments under standardised conditions.

The report of the Expert Committee (Lakhani-Pires Committee) appointed by the Central Board of Education has definitely expressed the opinion that although the Basic schools do not fetch more than 8 to 12 per cent of the total cost of education they have undoubtedly introduced altogether a new atmosphere of freedom, creativity and initiative and are bringing up a new race of children independent, self-reliant, hopeful, resourceful and hard-working. These are undoubtedly valuable gains for a growing democracy. If the Basic schools did not do anything else this alone would have secured for them a place of honour in the educational system. It is claimed by another expert committee, appointed later by the Central Government that the Lakhani-Pires Committee had definitely underestimated the financial contributions of the Basic schools to the total cost of education. Bengal and U.P. have never bothered very much about the productive aspect of Basic schools but have concentrated on creative activities in turning out happy, self-reliant and responsible individuals. The extension of this Basic spirit has also infiltrated into some of their craft-biased Secondary schools, as recently reported by their Post-Graduate Basic Training colleges where researches and experiments under standardized conditions are now being carried on.

Let us now turn to the complete picture of the latest assessment of Basic education in India by another Expert Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1956. This Committee submitted its report in August, 1956. Here is a summary of the Committee's assessment with its definite recommendations: In the first place the method of developing Basic education through compact areas or pockets or in patches attempted mainly in Bombay, Mysore, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, Assam and West Bengal has failed altogether. Instead of expanding Basic Education in ever-widening circles from these pockets, compact area schools have tended to create rather artificial conditions, which retard real growth along natural lines of development. In certain States educational authorities have understandably looked upon Basic schools and Basic Training schools as institutions kept in a kind of "quarantine" lest they should infect the non-Basic schools. Secondly, fanciful interpretations of Basic Education by educational authorities in certain States, notably in U.P., and West Bengal, have led Basic education along a blind lane, leading nowhere. For instance, in U.P., all elementary schools are called Basic, in West Bengal "productive" work which is of the very essence of Basic education, is either discounted or discarded in favour of "creative" work. It is conveniently forgotten that productivity and correlated teaching are fundamental to Basic Education. So what is being attempted in these States is nothing but a caricature of Basic education which is masquerading for "activity" schools. Thus there is mis-direction and mis-interpretation of Basic education at the highest administrative level. Thirdly, there is a dearth of really competent teachers of Basic education because short course training and re-training courses are considered effective instruments of training in Basic education. Some of the principal defects of Basic Training schools and colleges in almost all the States are: Understressing of productive work, too much of text-book teaching, too little correlated teaching, little attempt made to correlate with the natural and social environments of pupils, defective study of child psychology and lack of proper understanding of the concept that learning can only take place through pupil-activity in real life-situations, no integration of subjects of study, no research worth the name.

in Basic Training colleges, etc. Fourthly, there are some good Basic schools in the different States but many bad ones, *e.g.*, in the compact areas of Bombay, Mysore, Kerala, West Bengal, etc., Basic schools in Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Basic Training schools in Bombay are generally better. It is a patent fact that the all-round development of personality and general mental equipment and tastes, aptitudes, etc., as a result of 8 years' integrated Basic education in these States, have been manifestly superior to those of an equal period of schooling in the traditional type of schools. It is also true that in these States Basic schools have really been transferred into community centres with the result that the usual attitude of hostility or indifference of the public has changed into one of active sympathy, support and co-operation. It has also been seen that Basic schools in some areas of these three States have led to the revival and re-orientation of local culture. Whenever a Basic school has been started, it has brought about a change for the better. Children have been found to be more alert, practical, inquisitive and resourceful; their character and habits have changed. Basic teachers properly trained, invariably make better teachers who are more imaginative and resourceful and more ready to keep pace with the fresh demands of a new situation. Fifthly, Basic education has not been dovetailed, co-ordinated and integrated with higher education. Senior Basic school leavers are consequently uncertain about their future career. Integration has not been attempted in the lower stages. In some States, *e.g.*, in West Bengal and U.P. it is still confined to 5 years (Junior Basic). In one State complete 8-graded elementary schools exist with only 5-grades converted into Basic. There must be continuous education for 8 years without a break for Basic schools to be of any lasting benefit to the nation. There must be post-Basic schools as the next step to Senior Basic schools in the educational ladder leading up to the rural University. It is true that post-Basic schools have been

started in Bihar, Orissa, etc., but no decision has been taken yet to permit the post-Basic school-leaver to enter appropriate courses of study in the Universities.

The Government of India Assessment Committee Report is a timely pointer to the present inadequacies, defects, mis-conceptions and plague-spots of Basic education in India. It is time all State Governments at the highest administrative level realised the true implications of Basic education and implemented effective measures for reform. It is time also to think of some alternative crafts as educational media for Basic schools in towns to fit them into the structure of the industrialized communities, now being evolved as a direct result of the implementation of India's Five-Year Plans. It has to be recognised that correlation with the natural and social environments of pupils will vary according to changes in the social milieu and, as such, schemes of correlation as between the craft and subject-matter should be worked out by different State Governments somewhat on the lines indicated by Bombay Government in the little pamphlet issued by its Education Directorate for official use. If the Basic system is at all to be universalised as the accepted pattern of future elementary education in India it is time Government of India dovetailed Basic education with higher education throughout India.

In spite of obvious defects Basic education in India has justified its worth and existence as a suitable pattern of education for democracy. In this changing world of today where a thinking and educated democracy is essential, people with initiative, self-reliance, creativity and the power of self-discipline are required more than ever and the nation's Basic schools—Junior and Senior—must, therefore, develop a new sense of values involved in the exercise of all those valuable qualities which they are developing in the nation's children and pursue them relentlessly and with vision and courage in spite of uniformed adverse criticisms, advanced from time to time by reactionaries and die-hards.



THE CRISIS IN ARAB LAND

By PROF. S. C. JAIN,
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THE Arab land is in turmoil. The myth of the Self-same, the endorsement of faith in his Pro-sleeping East has been exploded by a series of phet, the cosmological theory and details re-current events succeeding one another with a presented the revision of ancient heritage in lightning rapidity—the Egyptian revolution, the light of the contemporary pressures and the Persian oil question, the Syrian-Egyptian character of Arab Society. To secure the federation, the military coup in Iraq and more unity amongst the Arab people such elements recently the events in Lebanon and Jordan. as idolatry, polytheism, etc., were rejected. Although the immediate issues at stake might be the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Lebanon and Jordan, the recognition of Arab nationalism by Western powers, the settle-ment of oil question, and a satisfactory con-clusion of Palestine issue, yet a deeper analysis reveals that the causes of these tensions are rooted in the historical experiences of the Arab people, their own diagnosis and outlook about their problems, and the great crisis of the civilization itself which has led to the polar-isation of world into ideologically hostile camps. It might be in the interest of a stable, secure and prosperous peace in the Arab land that the truer causes of tensions and instabilities are re-cognised and acted upon to mitigate the threat of a global conflagration.

THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION

The Arab land has been the home of the civilizations of the fertile crescent which gave the world the rudiments of language, the science of Astronomy, a rich tradition of primal democracy and a heritage of cosmological legends enshrining in a symbolic form the philosophy of basic relationship of man with the larger collectivity and the Universe itself. The cultural heritage passed through the Judaeco-Christian civilization and contributed to the emergence of the Greek civilization both of which were to leave an indelible mark upon the Western thought and culture.

ISLAM EXPANSIVE, ADOPTIVE AND DEFENSIVE

After a few centuries of oblivion, the basic elements of the old civilizations were revived by the birth of Islam. The affirmation of social solidarity and brotherhood under the common paternity of God who was declared One and

the endorsement of faith in his Pro-sleeping East has been exploded by a series of phet, the cosmological theory and details re-current events succeeding one another with a presented the revision of ancient heritage in lightning rapidity—the Egyptian revolution, the light of the contemporary pressures and the Persian oil question, the Syrian-Egyptian character of Arab Society. To secure the federation, the military coup in Iraq and more unity amongst the Arab people such elements recently the events in Lebanon and Jordan. as idolatry, polytheism, etc., were rejected. Although the immediate issues at stake might be the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Lebanon and Jordan, the recognition of Arab nationalism by Western powers, the settle-ment of oil question, and a satisfactory con-clusion of Palestine issue, yet a deeper analysis reveals that the causes of these tensions are rooted in the historical experiences of the Arab people, their own diagnosis and outlook about their problems, and the great crisis of the civilization itself which has led to the polar-isation of world into ideologically hostile camps. It might be in the interest of a stable, secure and prosperous peace in the Arab land that the truer causes of tensions and instabilities are re-cognised and acted upon to mitigate the threat of a global conflagration.

However, by fifteenth century the vitality and adoptability had markedly shrunk. The force of tradition was becoming the chief form of securing conformity and preserving the original cultural forms when a wave of reversal had begun. The decay had broken the resistance to withstand the counter-pressures of a civilisation which was recovering its vitality and gathering the elements of its strength to meet the challenge against the right of self-existence.

CULTURAL STRESSES UNDER THE PERIOD OF WESTERN MANDATE

The Turkish domination of the Arab world for a period of four centuries had not forced radical changes in the traditional pattern of Arab life except quite indirectly through the creation of a privileged class of Sheikhs closely allied to and identified with the interests of the Constantinople government. However, the collapse of Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of First World War brought the pres-

asures of a rapidly-growing technocratic civilization close to the doors of the Arabs. The scramble for the booties of War which resulted in the establishment of French mandate over Syria and Palestine and British mandate over Iraq and Egypt did not signify merely a political storm which was to have passed away as rapidly as it came. Nor were the objectives of newly-entrenched powers—of course, in the name of Democracy and a Civilizing mission—merely the pursuit of glory which shines in the extended limits of an Empire and the flow of revenues from a vanquished state. It was the impact of a civilization which was becoming increasingly self-conscious of its powers and was growing enormously greedy and acquisitive having learnt the techniques of organised exploitation of wealth and human resources. A parochial, secular nationalism blatantly irresponsible to the moral principles, and bolstered by a high degree of economic selfishness and technocratic achievements stared in the face of an old oriental civilization on its defensive and growing grim with the dreadful prospects of extinction.

The first tragic blow to the staggering people was delivered by the mandatory powers when they chose to freeze the administrative divisions of Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and subdivisions of Lebanon and Jerusalem (called Vilayat and Sanjaq respectively under the Turkish rule) into permanent political divisions, working under different political systems. To pacify the expansive designs of Abdullah with his eyes upon Syria and designs of an Arabia united under a single crown, the British created a further puppet state of Trans-Jordania. The Arabs expected independence after the conclusion of the First World War as a mark of the recognition of their efforts for the cause of the Allies but received mandatory status, the division of Arab land and seeds of discord and disunity in return. The foreign rule again succeeded in creating a privileged class, closely identified with the interests of the foreign rulers and trained after the manners of their overlord. This widened the gulf of estrangement between the Arab people themselves.

After the successful prospecting of petroleum by the thirties, the exploitation of the oil

resources brought an undreamt amount of wealth and led to a marked improvement of the means of communication, building of new schools and hospitals and provision of other material facilities, the characteristic gifts of the Western civilization in which it still prides itself. English and French education created a band of impatient young men, imbued with Western ideals and dazzled with its progress. They felt suffocated under the closed, rigid and unprogressive social system with which they had to work while the acceptance of inferiority status in relation to the class of foreigners and privileged ones in their own land hurt their self-pride deeply.

GROWTH OF NATIONALISM, REFORMISM AND XENOPHOBIA

This so-called effendi class was the chief vehicle of the new outlook. While the exploitation of petroleum brought unprecedented amount of wealth in the land, it tended to increase the gulf between the rich and the poor by placing at the disposal of the former the highly organised and much thorougher means of amassing wealth. The attitudes of the privileged class in arrogantly denouncing the native capacity and talent and giving discriminative treatment in sharing the fruits of civilization stinged the growing consciousness of self-respect and rudely shocked its faith in the foreign powers in ultimately granting the Arabs the right of national self-determination. This coupled with the handling of the Palestine issue roused in it a furious rage against the domination of foreign powers. It was not difficult to convince the common masses that all their difficulties, poverty and backward conditions flowed from the alien interests in their land, interests which had carefully nurtured divisions amongst the people to prevent and weaken their united resistance and had ruthlessly exploited its natural resources, draining the wealth away to the shores of imperial countries. While the masses suffered from abject poverty and hunger, palaces were being raised and while a few rolled in luxuries the common man sweated and toiled under the scorching heat of the sun.

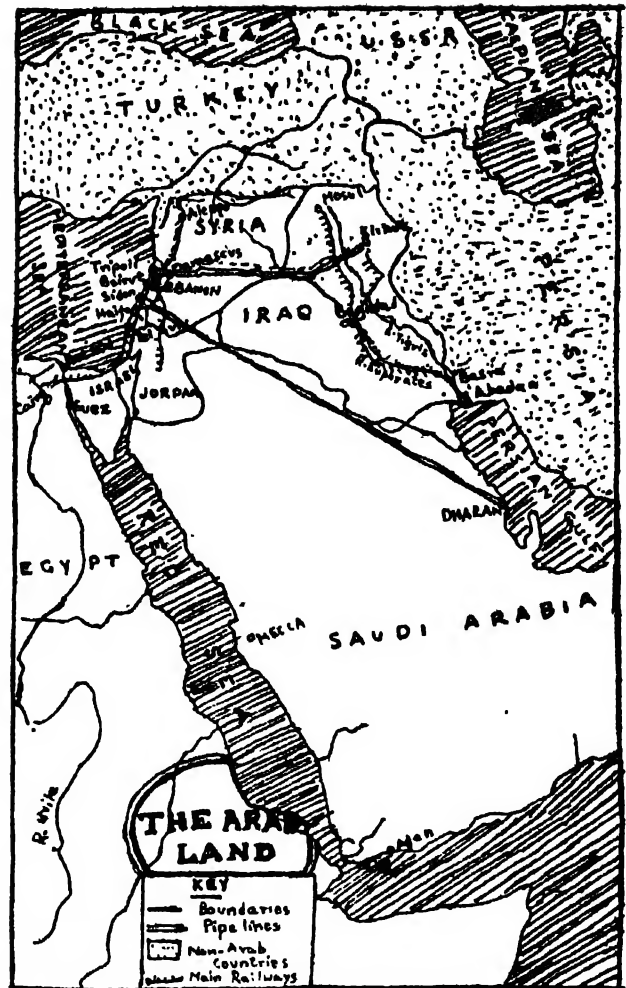
This sense of inadequacy and frustration had its internal targets—an unprogressive so-

THE CRISIS IN ARAB LAND

cial structure which enchained a whole people with Tradition, divided it into exclusive communities, opiated it with false and perverted notions and tolerated the crushing poverty and abominably inferior status of women amidst the pretensions of a high-flown philosophy of life. To assimilate the progressive elements of modern civilization, its technology, its free institutions, its philosophy and practice of individual liberty and equality and unite the country from exclusive divisions a complete overhaul of the existing society and break-off from the past appeared necessary. A new society based on the principles of secular nationalism, adopting the democratic structure and values and raising the standard of living by the judicious use of western science appeared to be the natural way, the way Turkey and Japan had gone.

Another form of response to meet the new challenge came in the form of reconstruction and readoption of the Tradition in the light of the needs of the new age. Conceding to the superiority of the western culture so far as the technology and science was concerned the new movement soon detected its virus—the luxuriant living, exhibitionist tendencies, moral irresponsibility and so on. In the beginning, the new form consisted in the defence of the old system. Through a superb effort at torturing the texts and a series of brilliant generalisations, it directed its energies in proving that the newly-valued forms were contained in the original Islam. Gradually, it became assertive and chauvinistic till it took the extreme course of propounding old puritan ideals and traditions as basis for social reconstruction. The atavistic reversion was not an unexpected form of response. It was the mechanism of self-defence of a culture which had been threatened with the extinction and obliteration by the onslaught of new forms and ideals. It was an unhealthy response, nevertheless, because it had obstinately refused to accept what was valuable in the new culture and assimilate the same in the growing vigour of its health.

Under both the circumstances, hatred against the foreigner and his way of life, suspicion and xenophobia were the natural outcome. The policy of double-dealing in good



many cases confirmed the Arab fears rather too hastily, that the Western powers were bent upon the perennial subjection, dismemberment, impoverishment and even obliteration of the Arab race. The large-scale distribution of arms, and incitement to the activities of sabotage during the War period had paved way for the growth of a terroristic movement which was carefully manipulated and displayed against foreign imperialism, when it appeared to delay the process of Arab liberation as a part of its solemn promises given during the course of war for siding with the Allied efforts. Strong campaigns of hatred, huge demonstration and the retaliative fury born of repressive measures shook the Arabland. The French had to depart from Lebanon and Syria under humiliating conditions for which the role of British Embassy in Egypt and Iraq was not less responsible. The British followed the French.

The departure of the last battalion of the

foreign troops, however, did not bring about and revised and the jurisdiction divided between the two, the national courts existing side by side with the religious councils, a theocratic declaration co-existing with the enunciation of the principles of secular democracy and a number of other distinctive features. Given the proper appreciation of the spirit of the new institutions and a sense of fair-play, the new Constitutions might have succeeded in meeting the aspirations of the Arab people. However, the hopes of bringing about social changes through the new Constitutional means receded further, as the Opposition lost hopes for a fair chance because the party in power shunned fair play, manipulated the election-machine and took to other dubious devices to keep it saddled in power. The peasantry being illiterate, unconcerned about the working of the new power-machine and passivised through regular subjections under threats and pressures was unable to apply the self-corrections in a peaceful constitutional manner which Democratic order implied. The disarmed and emaciated mass could hardly bring about the revolution in the power-structure so long as the military continued to give solid support to the entrenched regime. The middle-class effendi, or the semi-skilled labour could foment discontent and formulate it but the odds of an organised military force, well-served with the blessings of technology, were heavily against the virtually unarmed and defenceless uprisings. Only the alienation of the military class from the fold of the ruling aristocracy could bring about the change.

foreign troops, however, did not bring about the abatement of hatred against the Western powers. The Western powers had committed themselves for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, of course without prejudicing the rights of the local people. The Balfour declaration, under which this guarantee was given, came to be interpreted as the Western support for a separate State of Israel to be carved out of the home of the Arabs. As the war receded, the Zionist terrorist organisations became active till their sabotaging zeal found enough scope for wrecking the land synchronous with the withdrawal of the last regiment of foreign troops from Palestine. The American support and sympathies were openly for the Jews. British neutrality only weakened the Arab cause inasmuch as it stopped the supply of machinery and weapons needed to keep the British-model war-machinery into gear. Lack of organisation and co-ordination was keenly felt as a shortcoming against the Zionist resistance which was highly organised, well-planned and ingeniously directed. Joint action under Arab League was planned, but due to lack of full co-ordination, ill-prepared character of steps, self-seeking role of politicians, British neutrality and similar other reasons, the joint resistance to the Zionist movement grievously failed. As the frustration mounted, mutual recrimination between the military and the political leaders began. In part it was deflected upon the foreigners who were believed to have connived and aided the ruin of Arab resistance. The anti-West feeling was at its climax.

THE DECADE OF COUPS AND REVOLUTIONS

The new wave swept aside the religious control. An alternative bond of national solidarity was slow to emerge. Self-seeking, corruption, nepotism, and sectional outlook ran high amongst the politicians and amongst the power-ridden class which seriously damaged the prestige of newly-installed democratic institutions. The new Constitutions themselves were a mixture of secular institutions and traditional practices placed in juxtaposition to each other. One could witness the phenomena of a Shariat Law existing side by side with the national secular law, the former being reformed

The young military leader, drawn from the educated middle class like lawyers, teachers, dissatisfied with their own professions, was ambitious and had sympathies with the people of his land. In his clubs, he discussed the luxurious living of the ruling aristocracy, the plight of the people, the incompetent and rotten leadership at the top and the difference, a clean, honest and people-oriented administration might make. He was being approached for leading the country which would hail him as the liberator and saviour. He was not aloof from politics inasmuch as he was courted by the rival claimants to the power. The precipitating hour came when the politicians tried to escape the stigma of public opinion caused by the fiasco of joint Arab resistance against Zionist terrorism by

ORIGINALITY IN ART



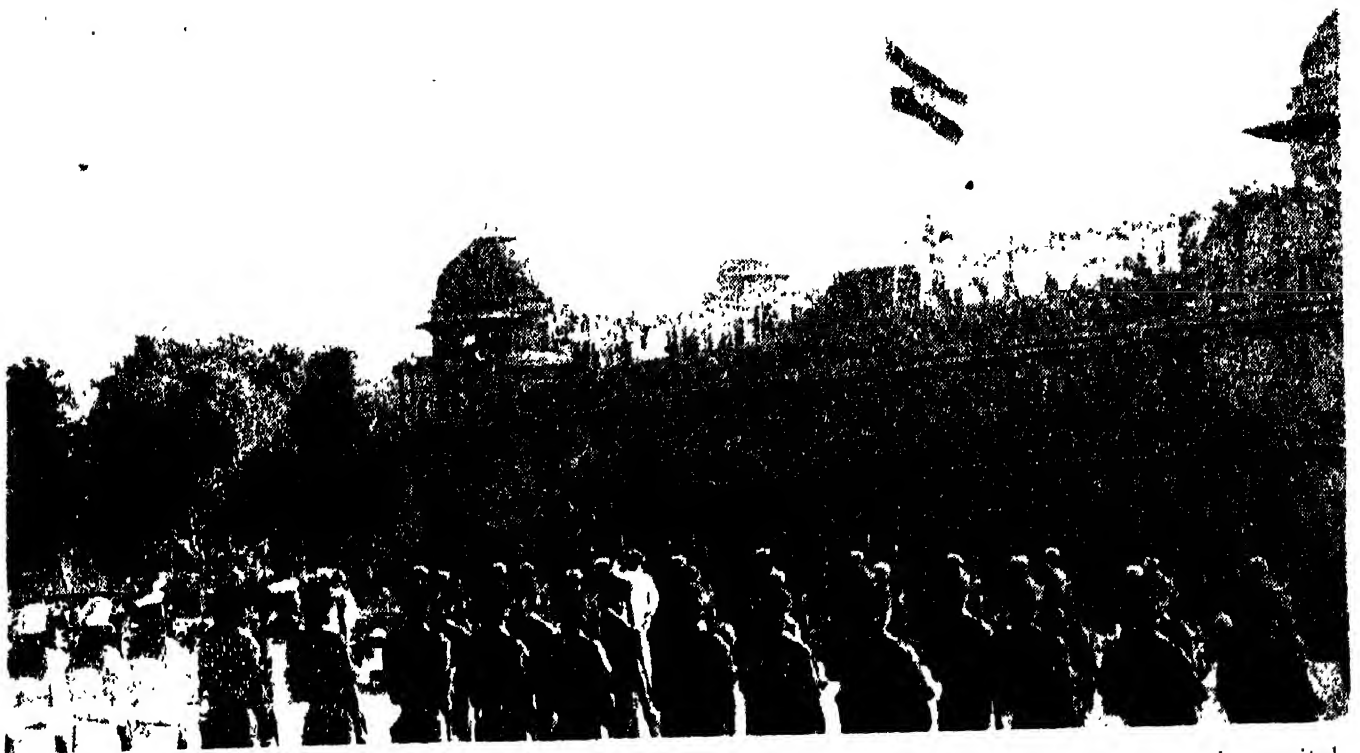
Buddha
By Sudhir Khastgir



Milk Maids (*terra-cotta*)
By Sudhir Khastgir



Members of Parliament wishing bon voyage to the President before his departure to Japan



The Prime Minister unfurls the National Flag on the ramparts of the historic Red Fort in the capital on August 15, 1958

shifting the blame upon the military leaders who realised that the self-seeking role of politicians in the mishandling of strategy had brought utter disgrace to the Arab cause and its people.

A series of military coups and revolutions gave the indications of the events to follow. After a series of military coups Shisakli was brought into power in Syria, to be succeeded by Kuwatly after four years of absolutism. On the morn of 23rd July, 1952, Egypt awoke to find itself under the tutelege of the military revolutionary council led by Gen. Naguib. With the deposition of King Farouk, an era of monarchy came to a close with virtually very little hopes of its revival. Mussadique's bold attempt at the nationalisation of Iranian oil and stubborn resistance by the affected foreign interests sent a wave of anti-imperialist agitation amongst the Arabs. Another wave brought Zahidi and Nasser into power in Persia and Egypt respectively. The success of the daring attempt made by Nasser to nationalise Suez Canal even in the teeth of armed opposition from some Great Powers—although a sharply reacting world opinion in favour of Egypt had substantially contributed to the withdrawal of British, French and Israel forces—sent a crescendo of approbation for his bold anti-West action. His leadership was generally looked upon with optimism in the cause of Arab unity which became much more real with the Union of Syria with Egypt in the form of a new State 'United Arab Republic'. A sudden revolution in Iraq which brought into power a regime sympathetic to the Nasserite doctrine and the ensuing gravity of troubles all over the Arab world showed the direction of the new wind. The Lebanon trouble results from the resistance of a non-Arab majority, created artificially through political manipulation on the part of mandate-holding powers, from being swept aside by the Pan-Arabic movement. Not only the power-structure in Jordan and other Arab countries has been deeply shaken but the defence pacts like MEDO have been subjected to tremendous pressure by the growing feeling of Arab unity and the Nasserite doctrine of positive neutralism which seeks to carve out an independent place for itself as distinguished from an alignment with either of the power-blocs.

THE PETROL-POLITICS, MID-LAND, MID-AIR STRATEGY AND IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURES

The discovery of petroleum reserves and its importance in running the peace-time industry and war-time machinery immensely increased the importance of the area and invited some more foreign interests including the U.S.A. The Middle East produces as much as 18 per cent of the total world output of petroleum and is known to contain over 50 per cent reserves. Western Europe, Africa, and South Asia draw 85 per cent of their requirements from this source. The world consumption has expanded 8 times the level of 30 years ago. The per-gallon cost in the Middle East is much less than that in U.S.A. because the per-well output in the Middle East is 500 times the corresponding per-well output of U.S.A. It was, therefore, natural that Great Powers should be interested in maintaining their hold upon an area of such a strategic and economic importance.

The smooth running of the Petroleum supplies involves co-operation among the 5 Arab countries through which the pipe-line passes and a number of foreign companies. The political pressures and the financial exigencies of these countries play a considerable part in the oil-politics of the Middle East. The Muscovite pressure from the North, the rise of nationalism in Arab countries, the Palestine issue have further complicated the matters culminating in the repudiation of the agreements, confiscations, breakdown of normal work and severe damage to machinery forcing down closure many times. The West has big stakes in a continued supply of oil for obvious reasons. Besides, its capital investments in oil run in billions of dollars and its profits millions of dollars per day.

U.S.A. is, however, chiefly interested in the Middle East for strategic reasons. With the stopping of the Russian advance in Western Europe, U.S.A. fears the Soviet expansionist designs in Middle and South-East Asia. The Soviet intentions could be gleaned from the demands made by Molotov in 1940 and the common objectives of Russian foreign policy since the days of Ivan the terrible. Molotov had asked for the concessions of Dardanelles, Constantinople, the oil fields south of Baku and an outlet in the Persian Gulf from Hitler. The

Russian influence in the Middle East may set heavy odds for the defence of South-East Asia and Africa. It may even strangle the Western Europe of its strategic materials in the case of the assumption of hostilities by cutting off oil and supplies from the South-East. Even for the purpose of self-defence the existence of a hostile influence in Arab land is a threat to the security of U.S.S.R. for the Russian oil region, the Caucasus sites of atomic bombs production, important hydro-electric power stations and the Ukrainian coal and steel complex are all within the hitting distance for a would-be aggressor. From the view-point of land strategy the Middle East provides excellent positions for amphibious landing in order to attack the Soviet mainland through a thrust in Bulgaria. Besides the Middle East air-space being centrally located is in a controlling position for air-routes between Europe, Africa, South Asia and powers north of the Middle East. It is an all-weather year-round air-route. To thwart the Russian designs for a sphere of influence in the Middle East, to which the weak, strife-torn and virtually defenceless Arab nations are vulnerable, the U.S.A. has forged out collective security arrangements like MEDO and SEATO and linking the same with NATO through common membership and other bilateral arrangements. To prop up the defensive capacities of the MEDO members and other partners in the defensive alliances sponsored by U.S.A., the latter country has extended enormous dollar aid and technical assistance to modernise the defence equipment and save the staggering economies from collapse.

The threat of military encirclement grew serious as U.S.A. secured military bases from some of the MEDO countries. The U.S.S.R. engaged itself in a series of cold-war moves to counter-act the position of advantage gained by the U.S.A. It sought to achieve this by bolstering a feeling of strong antipathy against the Western powers through an alliance with the nationalist cause, by encouraging the cause of positive neutralism and by fomenting the discontent against the pro-Western rulers by using as a tool a fanatic, leftist labour-effendi movement. It had its tools ready at hand—the jobless unsettled refugees for whom any change could be for better only, the educated women

who found it impossible for themselves to reconcile their status with the medieval social structure, the educated students who had really no productive opportunity in an economically static society, the half-educated, semi-skilled labour that was allured by the promises of a much better deal in the Communist regime than it could expect within the existing socio-economic structure of the society. The peasant, however, was still loyal to the traditional social values and its institutions despite volatile leftist propaganda to sever him. Besides, the Soviet diplomacy tried to overcome the resistance of a suspicious attitude against Communism by sending cultural missions and groups of Muslim pilgrims carefully selected from its Muslim republics. These behaved ostensibly like devout Muslims, attending their prayers and religious functions and trying to convince their Arab brethren, that the Communist U.S.S.R. provided full liberty in religious matters. The objectives of moves like this, attended by a loud fanfare of publicity, were usually to allay the fear that the materialistic and atheistic approach was inconsistent with the Arab way of life for which the faith in one God was the central theme. The Soviet indirect offensive also took advantage of financial crises by constantly playing the theme of the inequity of social order and appalling poverty in the Arab land through its own press and radio, through the aid and advice to the local Communist parties led by Moscow-trained leaders.

The arousal of xenophobic nationalism was bound to undermine the Western influence while the fomentation of discontent was designed to produce serious crevices in the existing social structure. A nation looking for stability, security and new values of social order outside both these approaches was more likely to see in Communism an effective alternate for rebuilding the structure of human relationship. Besides, the careful infiltration of the Communists in the nationalist movements and taking over the nucleus of its terroristic cells could deflect the same towards the desired purposes at the opportune moment.

The Soviet policy also allied itself—and still continues to do so—with neutralist leaders who fear the dreadful consequences of the pos-

sibility of a conflict between the two power-blocs and seek an independent line without alignment with any of the power-blocs. The position has its risks and advantages. The risk is that they may be left without any powerful friends and the advantages are those concessions which a marginal position like this is likely to bring. The refusal of Egypt to join MEDO, the union with Syria, the possibilities of reversal in the policy of Iraq with the revolutionary change in the government and the favourable Saudi Arabian attitude has resulted in carving out of the Middle East a sizeable neutralist area which seeks to pursue an independent line. The U.S.S.R. has precipitated the matter further by supplying modern arms and jet planes to the Egypt which has caused an arms-race between Egypt-led countries and Israel, Lebanon and other MEDO countries—all at high tension with the former. Once again the Arabs are finding themselves being handled like pawns on the chess-board of global strategy in the power-game between the two giant systems.

THE CHOICE OF THE PATH

The causes of instability and turmoil in the Middle East have been traced to the several contributory causes—the meddling in Arab affairs on the part of some Western powers in the balance of power struggle, the impact of Western technological civilization with its induced thirst for industrialisation, the upsurge of Arab nationalism, the impact of libertarian civilization with its forms but without its norms, the pressure from the egalitarian Communist outlook, the arrest of cultural growth for the last four centuries, etc. It depends upon the Arab people themselves and the consent of the world opinion as to the choice of a suitable path to ensure a peaceful, prosperous and progressive civilization in the Arab land—once a cradle of civilizations.

The fundamental problem for Arabs—and for other people too—is to gather the technological elements of the civilization into a meaningful whole and base the same upon the foundations of a correct view of relationship between the individual, the collectivity and the universe. The democratic solution with its emphasis upon the right of self-determination

for the individual and the collectivity and the assurance of the right to cultivate individual differences has been deflected towards an atomistic egoism of persons, parties and nations, clamorous of rights upon each other, but failing to cultivate consciously and adequately the obligations and sense of responsibility for mutual fulfillment. The process may head towards endless squabbling, mutual acrimony and blaming till society realises the danger of disintegration under the pressure of self-seeking individuals and their selfish collectivities which are largely based upon the programmes of common economic interests and fed and sustained by a threat to overthrow and be overthrown by rival parties and powers. The totalitarian solution, whether of Communist or Fascist type, with its affirmation of the solidarity of the individual with the collectivity, class or nation, may enforce so strict a conformity as to muzzle the play of the forces leading to progressive reconstruction through the law of individual variation which Nature intends to use for the realisation of the deeper purposes behind the evolution of the species of *Homo Sapiens*. The cult of nationalism, the way which Turkey and Japan chose and the one which is attracting the other Arab countries too may tempt the Arab leaders sever their emotional attachment from the past in their youthful ardour for building a new people out of the foundations of a new culture, more progressive and more adoptive. This task, on consideration, must be found infested with insuperable difficulties for the factors that go into the making of the community—language, common experiences of historical comradeship, traditions, a distinctive way of living, feeling and acting in some characteristic situations and so on must make it impossible to insulate the past from wielding its influence over the neo-cultural foundations. If this process is pushed too further, a chronic amount of insecurity and a feeling of meaninglessness which too sharp a break from continuity involves may haunt the people unless they choose to depend too much upon the experiences of the people who have already learnt to live in accordance with the postulates of the new culture. A process of imitation, even blind aping, may ensue giving a momentary satisfaction to the initiated few till something deep within the thinker himself

calls aloud in a rebellious note: "Are we intended to be a carbon copy of this or that culture?"

The way which the reformist movement has gone does not seem to give a satisfying solution to the problem till it gathers the elements of individuality in the culture and integrates the technological elements of the twentieth century civilization and the new norms within its outlook. A religion arrested in growth for centuries cannot hold together the society through the simple force of traditional inertia and conservatism against the powerful onslaughts of the progress-hungry forces, unless it is renovated to assimilate the new gains which the human race has achieved in its march through the centuries.

A neutralism motivated by the negative fears of being crushed under the weight of power-bloes, or the selfish motives of seeking concessions through the careful manipulation of its position and avoid all risks and responsibilities attendant upon such gains may hardly survive the force of world opinion unless it justifies itself by the necessity of preserving and promoting a way of living which if allowed to flower would make useful contribution in solving the riddle of existence.

The bolstering of an egoistic, negative and xenophobe nationalism may serve its original purpose of uniting the people under the stress of a common external threat and displacing the aggression born of frustration though only inadequately, but in the long run it must generate tensions and conflicts. By evading the real issues it may only postpone the day of severe catastrophe and by an obstinate refusal to accept what is new and fresh in the civilization it may only invite the days of anxieties when the past stocks of cultural experiences have run out or are inadequate to meet the current requirements without an open-minded commerce or borrowing.

The Arabs have been caught up by the acquisitive and mechanical outlook of the West expressed in that alluring phrase 'standard of living' and 'scientific planning for the use of resources and man-power.'

The religion of human brotherhood and

solidarity has to be based not upon a dogma—libertarian or egalitarian—supported precariously by the expansive and aggressive ego-forces but upon the deeper truths of human existence.

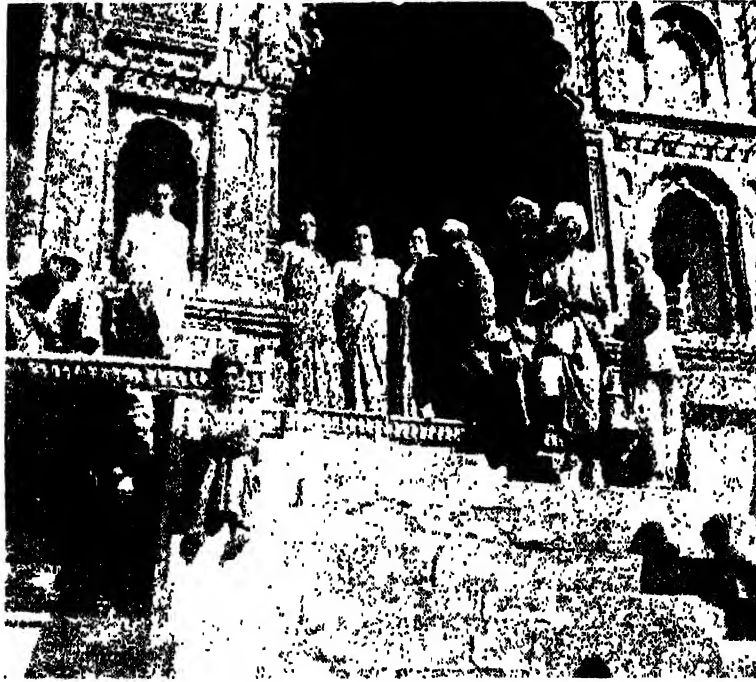
If this were an acceptable approach, the central problem for the Arab people—or for that reason other peoples too—is to identify its own individuality expressed in its millenium-old culture and develop the same as its own contribution to the secret strivings of the humanity and for that matter the Cosmic Nature. If that were accepted as a long-term task for a people, its energies have to be devoted to its achievements, avoiding alluring bye-paths and lanes and evaluating the situations in terms of the over-all objective accepting or rejecting this or that alternative with a more or less degree of emphasis but with eyes fixed upon the chief aim. The political bubbles or even financial exigencies may not be insuperable obstacles, provided a proper perspective is taken of the situation and the elements for emphasis are selected after careful evaluation. The establishment of free institutions may be found desirable to liberate thought without which the task of discovery is rendered futile and some form of economic planning and effective organisation may be needed to gather the material elements of the culture and release energies for dealing with more subtle problems. But they need not be regarded as ends in themselves, with an air of sanctity attached to them. There has to be modifications and recastings in the vehicles of the civilization to accommodate the growth of its spirit. It would be repeating the mistakes of the old—exchanging the shackles of tradition with those of meaningless conformity to modernity. Even the presence of Israel need not cause consternation for the Arab land is replete with the tales of the genii who have shown marked ability to integrate the elements of a novel culture and establish the liberal traditions of cultural exchange. Let us hope that Arab culture would recognise the central problem of gathering the elements of its cultural health and solve the problem of living with their human and material environment more successfully.

TRIP TO BADRINATH

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

BADRINATH is one of the four holiest places in India, the other three being Rameshwar, Dwarka and Jagannath Puri. It is situated in Uttarkhand, i.e., the Garhwal portion of the

Our party of nine including two children and two servants left Indore on the 15th June and reached Rishikesh on the 17th. Next



Badrinath Temple

morning, we left for Shrinagar (66 miles) by bus and halted there for the night in the Kali Kamliwala

dharmshala which is a commodious double-storied building on the bank of the Alaknanda. Unlike other *dharmshalas* or *chattis*, it has a bath-room and lavatories. On the way is Devaprayag on the confluence of the Alaknanda and Bhagirathi and the united stream is henceforth known as the Ganga.

Here Shri Ramachandra is said to have practised penance for a thousand years to get rid of the sin of killing Ravan, a Brahman. Shrinagar was the old capital of Tehri State till 1803 when it was ceded to the British along with the eastern half of the State for their help in driving back the Gurkhas. The famous

Himalayas which is considered as the Tapobhumi of India. This holy land has been hallowed with the association of numerous sages in the past who had their hermitages here and practised austerities to attain divine knowledge. Some of the later Vedic hymns and major portions of the Upanishadas were composed in this land. In his *gupha*, i.e., cave at Mana, near Badrinath the great sage Vyas divided the Vedas into four parts and compiled the various Puranas including the Mahabharata. It is, therefore, naturally the ambition of every devout Hindu to visit the place described in the scriptures as heaven on earth once in his life to escape from the recurring cycle of births and deaths.



Nilkantha

Kamaleshwar temple dedicated to Shiva is here. Pindar which comes from the Pindar glacier. It is said that while worshipping Shiva with a thousand blue lotuses, Vishnu found one lotus missing which the god had secretly removed to sun god. Then comes Nandprayag where the



Badrinath Puri

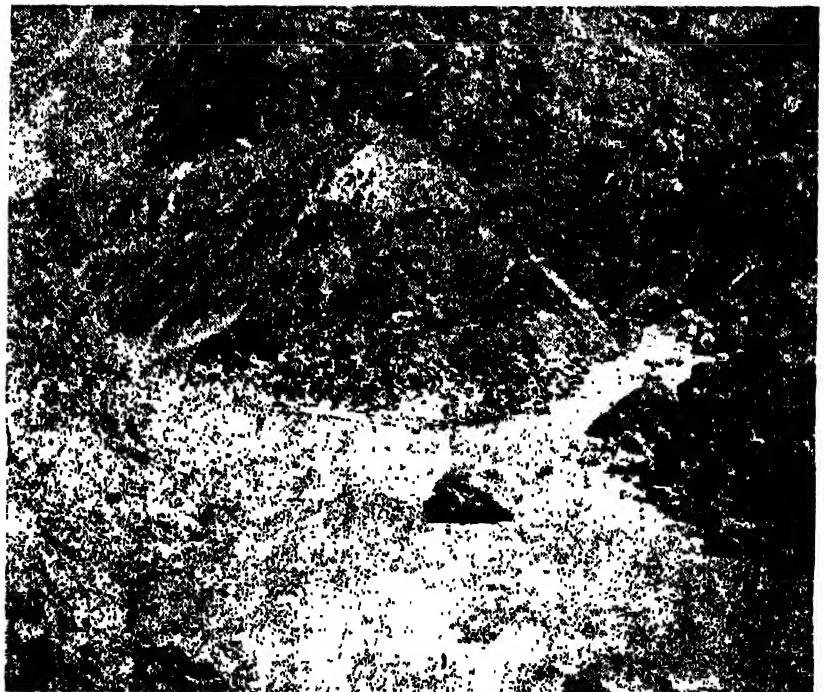
Here famous Karna of the Mahabharata is said to have performed austerities in honour of the Mandakini joins Alaknanda. The place is locally known as 'Kanasu', i.e., Kanvashrama and is associated with the romance of Dushyanta and Shakuntala.

test his devotee. Vishnu supplied the missing lotus by offering one of his own lotus-like eyes and received the Sudarshan Chakra in appreciation of his devotion. Here we engaged for our luggage four Nepali porters who were proved to be troublesome. It is always better to engage porters at the bus terminus. We left Shrinagar at 5 A.M. next day and reached Pipalkoti (69 miles) by noon.

On the way is Rudraprayag on the junction of the Mandakini and Alaknanda. The road to Kedarnath (48 miles) branches from here and runs along the bank of the Mandakini. Fifteen miles from Rudraprayag is Gaurichar which was the landing ground for the now-

defunct 'Himalaya Airways Ltd.' Six miles beyond is Karnaprayag situated at the meeting place of the Alaknanda and Karnaganga or Kamliwala Dharmshala. We started early

footpath and reached Garudganga in the evening where we stayed in the fairly good Kali Kamlivala Dharmshala. We started early



Keshavprayag

next morning and reached the dreaded Patal-ganga in a couple of hours. For a mile and a half the path runs over a huge landslide and the boulders above appear to be so perilously placed as if they would fall down if one just 'coughed a little.' The rivulet meanders about a thousand feet below, justifying its name. This was the most thrilling and dangerous part of our journey and we heaved a sigh of relief when we successfully negotiated it. The road *via* Belakuchi bypasses Patalganga. After halting for lunch at the Gulabkoti Inspection House, we pushed along and reached Joshimath at about 9 P.M. after covering a distance of 15 miles during the day. It was raining and we had some difficulty in finding the Inspection House.

Joshimath or Jyotirmath, 6,105 feet high, is one of the four monasteries established by the great Shankaracharya who revived Hinduism in India and died at Kedarnath at the early age of 32 in the eighth century. When the temple at Badrinath is closed during the winter, the festival image of the god is brought here for worship. Joshimath has several temples including the famous Narsimha temple. The image of Narsimha is of black marble and the left hand is withered. It is said that when the hand will be broken due to accumulation of sins, the Nara and Narayan mountains which flank the Badrinath temple will meet blocking the way to the temple and that the new place of worship will be Bhavishya Badri, about eight miles to the north-east of Joshimath. We left next morning at 10 after a light meal for Pandukeshwar (9 miles). The usual rule in the Himalayas is to start in the small hours of the morning before sunrise and to reach the destination by about 10 to avoid the scorching sun. But we could not follow the wholesome rule as the ladies and the children in the party could not just manage to get up very early in the morning. Fortunately we were not much troubled by the sun as the weather was generally cloudy and the altitude beyond Joshimath is high. There is a steep descent for about a mile and half from Joshimath to Vishnuprayag, where the Alaknanda and Dhaulī meet in a boisterous embrace, causing the waters to boil and fume on the rocky bed. Pandukeshwar is

associated with King Pandu who stayed here with his two wives and it was here that the five Pandavas were born. It has two very old temples said to have been built by them. One of them contained four valuable copper plates which are now kept in the Badrinath temple. We left for Badrinath (10 miles) on the 22nd morning and halted at Hanuman Chatti for rest. There is a fairly steep ascent of nearly 4,000 feet from here to Badrinath which is 10,244 feet high and it is advisable to hire ponies here to climb the ascent. About a mile before Badrinath, when the ascent is over, one gets a view of the temple from a spot called 'Devadarshini dwar'. We stayed in Badrinath for three nights as enjoined in the scriptures. The Inspection House overlooks the town and temple of Badrinath and commands a glorious view of the peak of Nilkantha, 21,640 feet high, which looks like 'a magnificent pyramid of frozen silver against the limpid blue sky'.

The present temple is 'painfully' modern and has been recently electrified. In the *sanc-tum sanctorum*, along with the principal image, are the images of the two brothers, Nara and Narayan, Narad, Ganesh, Kuber and Uddhava. The golden canopy of the temple was given by Maharani Ahalya Bai Holkar of Indore. The Rawal or priest is always a Nambudri Brahman appointed by the Ruler of Tehri State. He alone can touch the image, unlike in Kedarnath where the pilgrims traditionally embrace the *Linga*. Below the temple, about 75 feet away, are the three *kunds* or cisterns, *viz.*, Taptakund, Naradkund and Suryakund. The Taptakund which is served by a sulphur spring has a temperature of 129° F and is close to the icy waters of the Alaknanda. It is surrounded by the five *shilas* or rocks named after Narad, Varash, Narsimha, Garud and Markandeya. About a furlong from the temple is Brahmakapal where the fifth head of Brahma cut off by Shiva is said to have fallen. Here, if oblations are offered to the manes, there is no need to give them again.

Unlike Kedarnath, Badri Narayana is a creation of Shri Shankaracharya. It is said that when he visited the place, he had a vision in his dream that an idol was lying immersed in the Naradkund. He took it out and installed

it as Badri Narayana, i.e., Vishnu. As it was under water for years, it has lost its features, as can be seen when it is bathed in the morning before being clothed in ceremonial dress. It is in the *padmasana* pose and is unlike the usual Vishnu image; it looks more like an image of Buddha or Shiva. The name of the place is Badrinath while the deity is called Badri Narayana. In this part of the Himalayas, a place is invariably named after its deity, e.g., Kedarnath, Tunganath, Gopeshwar, etc. It is, therefore, clear that originally this was a Shaivite place of worship with Badrinath as the deity. The Bhagwat Purana states that while shuffling his mortal coil, Shri Krishna told Uddhava to go to his Badarikashram,* which was like the eighth heaven in this world.† The Lord of Badri, i.e., Badrinath is also described as having his seat amidst the five *shilas* mentioned above.** There are no ber trees in Badrinath and they could not have been there before also as they cannot grow at this altitude. In a niche in the Taptakund which is situated amidst the five *shilas* is seen even today a cluster of 200-300 stone bers oozing water on a stone-*linga* below. There is, therefore, no doubt that the real Badrinath is in this niche in the Taptakund. Being in the Taptakund, the *abhisheka* on the *linga* is ensured even in winter when no worship of Badri Narayana is possible at Badrinath. During the heyday of Buddhism, there must have been a temple here dedicated to Lord Buddha and when that religion declined in India, the idol was apparently thrown in the neighbouring Naradkund by the Hindus. Later it was rescued by Shankaracharya and installed as Badri Narayana. It may be asked why Shankaracharya installed the image as Badri Narayana instead of Badrinath. Apart from the fact that Shiva was originally a non-Aryan god, he clearly wanted to create a centre of worship which would bring the Hindus and Buddhists together and named the Buddha image as Badri Narayana, i.e., Vishnu, who is supposed to have been born as Buddha in his ninth incarnation. That this image was origin-

ally of Buddha is also shown by the fact that when the idol is bathed in the morning, it is called *Nirvana Darshan*, as the word *Nirvana* is particularly associated with the Buddhist faith. Further, it is a place of pilgrimage for Tibetan Lamas and certain Tibetan monasteries pay it tribute even today. The Jains, too, think that this idol in Yogic pose is of Parshwanath, one of their Tirthankars. In fact, it is only this idol of Badri Narayana in the whole of India which fully illustrates the idea contained in the famous Sanskrit verse:

"May that Hari, the Lord of the Universe, grant us our desires; he who is worshipped as Shiva by the Shaivites, as Brahma by the Vedantists, as Buddha by the Buddhists, as Supreme Spirit by the logicians who are adept in the means of arriving at correct knowledge, as Superior Divinity by the Jains and as religious rite by the followers of the Mimamsa philosophy!"*

A mile beyond Badrinath is Mana (old Manibhadrashrama), our last village on the Tibetan border. Here is Keshavprayag formed by the meeting of the Alaknanda with Saraswati. Close by are Vyas Gupha and Ganesh Gupha where Vyas and Ganesh, scribe of the Mahabharata, are alleged to have lived. Vyas Gupha is about 25 ft. × 12 ft. at its widest and has an image of Hanuman in its enclosure. Ganesh Gupha is smaller still and has an idol of Ganesh in it. Two miles away is Vasudhara, a lofty waterfall over 400 feet in height. With the sun's rays 'playing on these waters like dancing rainbows' Vasudhara is a most enchanting sight. About five miles beyond is the peak of Alakapuri, the abode of Kuber, the god of wealth, from where the Alaknanda which is a constant companion of the pilgrims from Devaprayag to Badrinath takes its origin. Further, about 15 miles from Badrinath is Satyapath or Satopanth lake at an altitude of 14,400 feet. A little beyond, the Himalayan peaks rising one above the other appear like a flight of steps which is called Swargarohan,

* यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिकः ।

बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तन्ति नैयायिकाः ॥

अर्हन्निति जिनानुशासनरताः कर्मणि मीमांसकाः ।

सोऽयं नो विदधानु वाङ्मतिफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

* गच्छोद्धव मयादिष्टो बदर्याख्यं समाश्रमम् ।

† त्रैकुण्ठो ह्यष्टमो लोके साक्षात् बदरिकाश्रमः ।

** ह्येतत् पञ्चशिलामध्ये आसनं बदरीप्रभो ।

i.e., ladder of heaven. Though the Pandavas are sometimes said to have followed this path on their way to heaven, they actually took the great snowy road of the 'Maha Prasthan' at Kedarnath.

From Ghat Chatti, a mile before Pandukeshwar from Joshimath side, branches the bridle path to the world-famous valley of flowers and to Hemakund or Lokapal. The valley, locally known as the Bhuindar valley

after the name of the last village in it, was discovered and so named by Mr. F. S. Smythe, leader of the Kamet expedition in 1931. It has a profusion of variety of flowers some of which are rarely seen elsewhere in the world. Lady Jane, sister-in-law of Lord Halifax, who was collecting some rare specimen for the Kew garden slipped and was killed here. Guru Govind Singh is said to have practised penance

at Hemakund in one of his earlier births and received divine command to be born for the preservation of religion. The place was discovered in 1936 and the Sikhs have built a big shrine and Gurudwara there. Here at an altitude of 14,250 feet, is a lake of crystal clear water which is indeed a beauty spot in this part of the Himalayas and lies amidst eternal snows. From Ghat, there is a common path up to Ghangariya (7 miles), which has a Forest Rest House. From here the valley of flowers is three miles to the north-west where Hemakund is two miles to the north-east. There is a Government guide, Monal Singh, at the village Punn, two miles from Ghat. Porters are available at Ghat for Rs. 24 at the rate of one rupee one per mile, and it is advisable to have them as the trip, especially to Hemakund, is very strenuous. The best time to see the valley is from mid-July to the end of August when it is in full bloom.

Badrinath is the easiest of all the four dharmas or holy places in Garhwal Himalayas and it will be still easier when a *pucca* bridge is built on the Alaknanda at Belakuch. It will then mean only a walk of 19 miles from Joshimath. It is hoped that the motor road will not be taken still further, as it will spoil the charm and sanctity of Badrinath. The best time to do the pilgrimage is about the beginning of September when everything is clean and green and there are very few pilgrims and almost no

flies which are a great nuisance in summer.

The Inspection Houses on the road which are provided with flush are a veritable blessing for those who require a little privacy for bathing and answering calls of nature. They should be reserved by writing to the Executive Engineer, Garhwal Provincial Division (Buildings and Roads), Pauri, District Garhwal, in good time. The motor road cut out of rocks is very narrow at several places, has numerous hairpin bends and is more hazardous than the road in the Banihal Pass. It is only the skill and strong nerves of the drivers which saves many an accident. The words 'God, you are our only help'† painted on the back of several buses correctly depict the attitude of the drivers as well as of the passengers. It would be better if the State Transport Corporation were to take up the pilgrimage route, as the private buses are rickety and the drivers are often rude and unhelpful.

Though the Badri Narayana temple is rich and receives large sums from thousands of pilgrims who visit it every year, little has been done by the Temple Committee for the comforts of the pilgrims or for improving the sanitation of the town. In the reading room attached to the temple, only one- or two-week-old issues of the *Hindu* were available. There does not seem to be any proper check on the income and expenditure of the temple, and a judicial inquiry is said to be in progress into the alleged embezzlement of the temple funds. Badrinath Puri is liable to damage by avalanches and houses and even the temple building have been damaged in the past. The proposal to set up a township on the other side of the river appears to have been shelved. The Pandas are not allowed to enter the temple with their clients and seem to be less rapacious than their confreres elsewhere. It would be worthwhile to have a legislation on the lines of the one in the Madras State to control temple funds and regulate religious observances in Badrinath and other holy places in Uttar Pradesh.

If a few precautions are taken, pilgrims will not suffer from any bad effects on their health. It is essential to have inoculation

† 'ईश्वर तेरा ही सहारा है'

against cholera and to preserve the certificate for inspection. Tap water is available everywhere and should be boiled or treated with potassium permanganate. River water should not be used on any account. Fresh and light food should be taken and trekking should start before sunrise and end by about 10 or 11 at the latest. A few essential medicines, an iron-tapped stick, torch and a rain coat will be very useful. Milk, rice and potatoes are easily available on the road.

Old persons and their grandchildren form a goodly proportion of the pilgrims. They come from all parts of India and emphasise the potency of the Hindu faith and the fundamental unity of the country. The area from Nandprayag to Keshavprayag is called Badri Vishal. In this holy region, 'none of the stiffness of a meaner world prevails' and the usual cheerful and fraternal salutation of the pilgrims to one another on the road is 'Jai Badri Vishal'.

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ORIGINALITY IN ART—ARTIST'S VIEW

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR,

Principal, Govt. College of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow

A NEW interpretation in artistic creation is very difficult indeed. It is only a few highly imaginative persons, who have experienced and drunk the nectar of God's innumerable forms of creation, can produce something original. Not only by true and life-like interpretation but sometimes by sublimating

the ideas and forms entirely in a different way depending mainly on unconscious and imaginative expression.

Yet, it is rather difficult to find anything truly original, when you compare the creation of man with the Master-creator's eternal and infinite chain of creation. Repetition is going on everywhere, in every life—human, animal, insect or plant. This cycle has been moving with the eternal changes for centuries after centuries, birth followed by death, day followed by night, happiness by sorrow. We are born to die: fully knowing and experiencing this fact one cannot possibly do original and creative work. Yet we do, we do enjoy a glorious sunrise, we enjoy and appreciate all the beautiful things God has given us and around us and we sing and dance in ecstasy to express our feelings. God's greatest gift to human beings is to bless mankind with the sensitivity and capacity to love. One cannot weigh love. It is unfathomable as well. The depth of it depends on the capacity of each individual being. The creative urge in a man is the outcome of this great gift. From this fountain of love, we are inspired to express our feelings of gratitude in various different and original forms. It is not sheer duty, it is the idle enchanting discovery of the 'viewless



At Play (terra-cotta)
By Sudhir Khastgir



Old Tree (*oils*)
By Sudhir Khastgir

winged inspiration of new ideas and forms in Nature. We are kindled by the overwhelming inspiration conveyed to us by God's innumerable creations and we want to interpret eternity in our own way. This is keeping up of the tradition, connecting the link with the great and ever-changing evolution.

Repetition is the keynote of all designs in Nature, we find by proper repetition dynamic force can be achieved. Yet too much of it may be taken as the sign of weakness and stagnation. The more the artists see and deeply study Nature the more are they near to the beauties of various forms and figures, which can be found in it. They are thrilled to become one with it, their hearts vibrate being in tune with the ever-lasting celestial music. It is with the help of that vibration that artists create works of originality.

Yet is there any other way to express one's own originality? Yes, but one has to be a master-artist with varied experiences and above all with a sympathetic soul and understanding power to divulge in such methods of expression. Purush—the Almighty Creator—surely never believes in only stiff rules and regulations. Indian philosophy says, Purush the eternal reflects himself in the ever-

moving Prakriti, hence the ever-changing world is created. To achieve something great



Illusion (*oils*)
By Sudhir Khastgir

and original one has surely to reflect oneself in nature and then to get the power to defy the laws of nature. That is why I think Poet Tagore admired God and said in one of his writings, "I love my God, because He has given me the freedom and power to defy Him." Experienced artists only with great imagination possess such dynamic power to defy the laws of nature. They acquire this power to distort by their vast experiences.



To the Market
By Sudhir Khastgir

Distortion by them become things of beauty and joy for ever, and a thing of great originality receives the touch of eternity there.

But this sort of distortion in art should not be made a formula for the inexperienced artists to "copy". The individual style and technique of an experienced artist is his own personal achievement. By copying or imitating the style and technique of a great artist, one cannot get a recognition or prove his identity. In reality, there is one master hand, Abanindranath Tagore, but there are hundreds to follow his dynamic brush. There is one Nandalal Bose but a number to be kindled by his great work. It is neither of any use blaming the mediocres who cannot show their originality nor it is right to blame the great artists because mediocres copy them. Artists with originality do and should adore and respect each other and try to understand each other. If they don't they are jealous and not worthy to be called artists with originality. To be jealous is to reveal your own weakness. You accept the superiority of the other. That is not the end. To be an artist is to be a worshipper of Eternity. To be jealous, in other words, is to have the feelings of self. You should remember you are to have the touch of the bliss, * to be anointed by the grace of eternity. One has to rise above it to touch the greatness. †

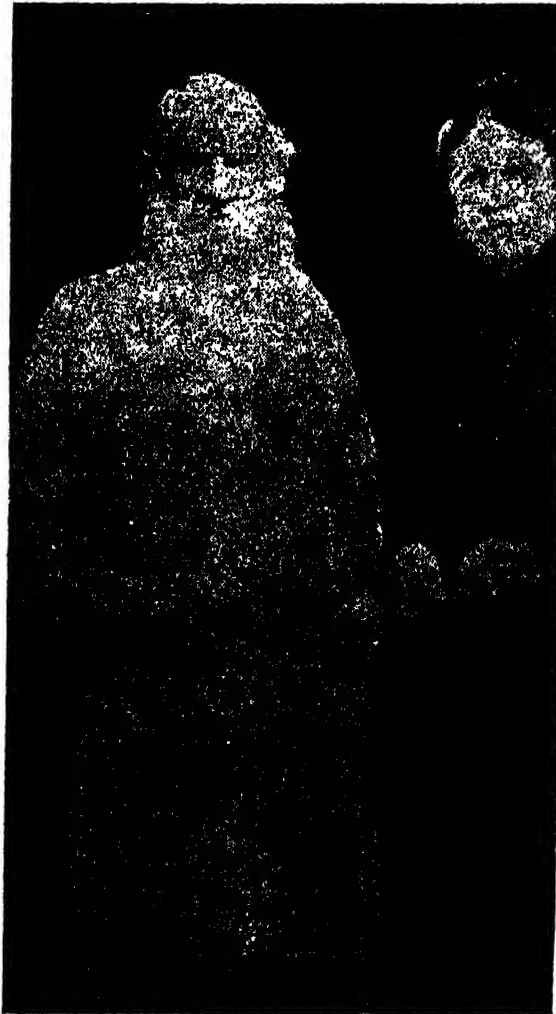
* अमृतस्य पुत्राः

† अमृतमय ब्रह्मा



LEO TOLSTOY'S INDIAN CORRESPONDENTS

We stood inside the famous "steel" room of the Leo Tolstoy archives in Moscow. It looks like a huge safe, with its walls, floor and ceiling made of steel. The manuscripts, diaries and letters of the great writer are carefully preserved here.



Leo Tolstoy and his wife Sophia Tolstoy

One of the armoured safes in the room was opened for us to see. In it there were letters from lands of the East, from India, China, Japan, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Turkey and other countries. The great artist and humanist had friends and admirers all over the world.

Copies of letters which Tolstoy sent in reply, were kept in the adjoining safes. Some of them were 30-40 pages long, in fine, closely written hand.

I was shown a thick packet with "India" written on it. Sheets of paper and envelopes, yellowing with age, have been carefully smoothened out and wrapped in special paper to protect them from dust and moisture. The postmarks read Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Gurdaspur, Moradabad, Bangalore, Gurukul Kangri. Some of the letters had come from villages and even small hamlets of India.

I looked through some of the letters from the Indian correspondents. There was one letter, written by G. D. Kumar, a young teacher, who had emigrated to Canada. The author of the letter wrote about the cruel persecution of Indian patriots, the dire conditions of the people, and about the 20 million people who had died of hunger and disease.

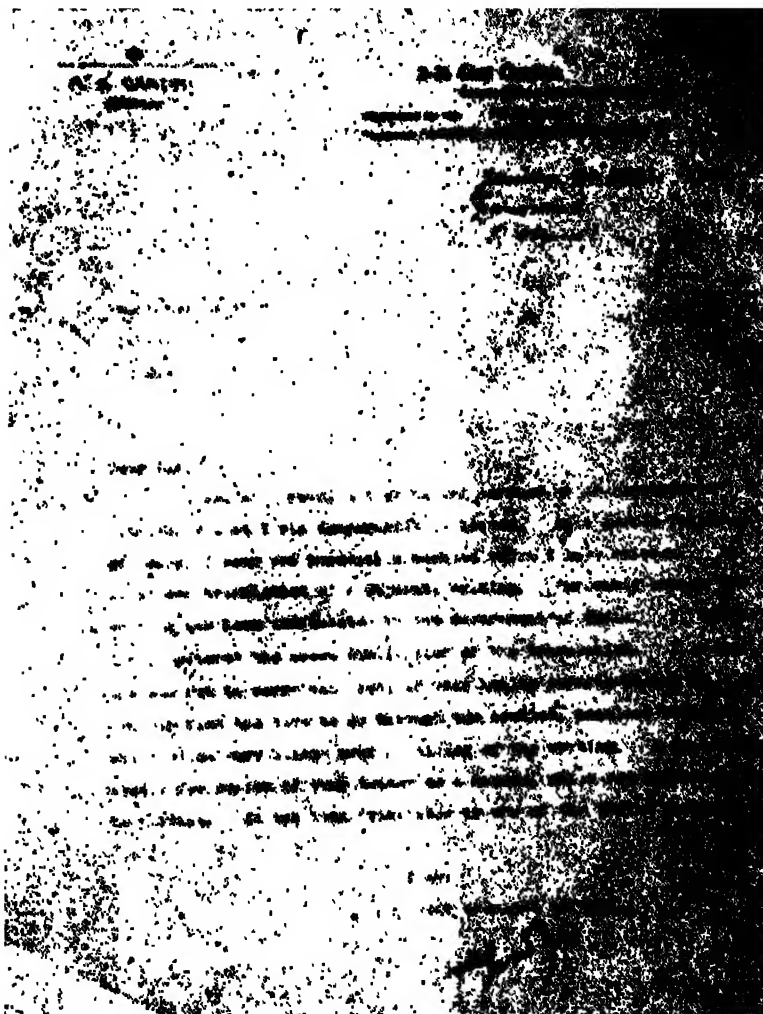
Tolstoy was especially touched by the letters of ordinary people. Almost each of them bears his note:

"Very important", "Must be answered."

Editors of newspapers and magazines, publishers and religious figures were amongst the numerous people who had regular correspondence with him. Their letters contain personal requests and questions about the situation in Europe and Asia, the Russian revolu-



Mahatma Gandhi



Photostat copy of a letter exchanged between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi in 1910

tion, the ways of developing India and the ancient religions of the East. . . . And quite naturally they were also interested in the work of the great writer, his plans and ideas, and asked permission to translate his works; they also requested him to send articles for their journals.

Referring to the aims and principles of his publication, Dr. D. Gopal Chetty, publisher of the Madras Journal *The New Reformer* wrote:

"They are the same principles which you so nobly defend for the benefit of erring mankind. I beg you, respectfully and humbly, to reply to me and support me in this modest undertaking of mine." (Retranslated from Russian).

And Tolstoy replied immediately:

"The aim of your publication, as outlined in your letter, is the loftiest that mankind can

pursue. . . . I am very much interested in Indian philosophy and the religious teachings of your great teachers.

"The more place you will give in your magazine to the ideas of those men, the more interesting will it become for Western readers."

With the same feeling of sympathy and good-will Tolstoy replied to Professor Rama Deva, Editor of *The Vedic Magazine*, Professor Suhrawardy, publisher of the Calcutta Journal, *The Light Of The World*, S. R. Chitale, a Bombay journalist and Minni Robinson, publisher of a theosophical journal in Calcutta, and many others.

The most important place among the letters written to Tolstoy by Indians is occupied, of course, by those sent by Mahatma Gandhi. His correspondence with Tolstoy still continues to interest people all over the world. Every now and then reproductions of letters

of both these philosophers appear in the world press.

The first letter we picked out of the packet of those Gandhi had written to Tolstoy had an intensely passionate tone, both wrathful and contemptuous of the South African racists and full of respect for and trust in the 'Russian' writer. Gandhi, writing as though to his best friend, spoke of the unequal struggle of the Indian patriots in Transvaal and the persecution to which they were subjected when defending the liberty and rights of man.

Tolstoy's reply to the first letter of Gandhi, who was at that time hardly known to him, was very touching. "May God help our dear brethren in Transvaal," the Russian writer wrote. He went on to remark, "I can only rejoice that my letter has been translated into the Indian languages and is distributed." (Retranslated from Russian).

That is how the remarkable correspondence between the thinkers of the two countries began in 1909, a correspondence which was destined to play an important role in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the East.

We had become so engrossed in reading these precious letters that we did not notice when a white-haired man, of average height,

smiled cordially and rose from the neighbouring table and came over to us. This white-haired, but energetic-looking, old man proved to be Tolstoy's friend, secretary and biographer, Nikolai Gusev. He is still very alert and is working on the manuscripts of the writer as before. At our request, he readily told us how letters from India used to come to Yasnaya Polyana and with what interest the writer read them, and how, at times, he read the most interesting ones aloud right there and then to his close friends. Gusev spoke of Tolstoy's profound respect for the Indian people, and recalled that back in 1886, in an article entitled *About Life* Tolstoy had written:

"The most uneducated Indian . . . is, beyond all comparison, more of a human being than those people of our modern European society, who have become so brutalized, and who are flying all over the world along iron roads and who, by electric light and by means of the telegraph and telephone, show and proclaim to the entire world their bestial state."

As we were taking our leave, Gusev asked us to convey to our Indian friends and the readers of Tolstoy his heartiest, most friendly greetings.—*USSR-ID*.

:O:-

IRAQ—THE CRADLE OF CIVILISATION

By Z. H. KAZMI

THE spectacular *coup d'etat* carried out by the young Iraqi Army Officers on July 14, 1958 had brought the world on the brink of the Third Global War. Although the Baghdad coup which struck down the pro-western Government of Nuri-al-Said like a lightning flash, took the world by surprise, the volcano of the anti-western sentiments has actually been smouldering there since the creation of Israel.

The antique land of Iraq is, however, much-too-familiar with such political upheavals for it has, during the course of its 6000-year-old

history, witnessed the rise and fall of many a mighty kingdom and dynasty. In fact, this land of terrestrial paradise has, from time immemorial, continued to be the cockpit of Western Asia.

Iraq, the 'land of the Two Rivers', where Ur, Babylon and Nineveh thrived and flourished, is rightly said to be the 'Cradle of Civilization'. I was thrilled as I walked and stood on their ruins and the glories of their heyday passed in my imagination like a movie.

Watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, the fertile soil of what is now Iraq nursed the

human race during its infancy and gave birth to most of the earliest civilizations. Prominent among them were the Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian and Assyrian. The forefathers of mankind formed in the rich alluvial plains of these great rivers the first human settlement of which we have record. Actually



Golden head-dress of Queen Shub-ad unearthed at Ur (3000 B.C.)

the bounteous nature endowed Iraq with such conditions as were propitious to the growth of an organised society, the development of agriculture and industry, and the communal life out of which grew the system of laws on which Hammurabi based his famous code.

Though the antecedents of the first settlers of Iraq who used sickles of earthenware to cut crops as early as the seventh millennium B. C. are yet to be ascertained, the Sumerians who came in the region in three waves—the first and third from Iranian highlands and the second from Anatolia (Turkey)—had by 3000 B. C. fused themselves in one national entity and laid foundations of the earliest world civilization. The Sumerians, who shaved their heads and used tunic like woollen garments, were the first to exploit the secrets of science, medicine and astronomy. This was the first written script (cuneiform writing) and the credit for the invention of the sundial and the division of the day into twelve



Treasures of the Assyrian art unearthed at Nineveh

The uncovering of the spacious tombs in the royal cemetery at Ur has revealed that the Sumerian burial was more elaborate than that of the Egyptian. A Sumerian monarch was buried with his paraphernalia as well as with the retinue of his attendants—courtiers, servants, body-guards and musicians—bearing rich and precious objects. Even the chariots harnessed with oxen and asses were buried with their royal owner. All these apparently descended into the grave voluntarily, lay down and drank a narcotic to ensure peaceful death. The archaeologists have tried to explain these strange burials in many ways yet the significance of the fabulous sacrifices remains to this day an unravelled mystery of Sumeria. There is nothing in the Sumerian literature to elucidate them. And the dead cannot speak.

IRAQ—THE CRADLE OF CIVILISATION

A Sumerian city consisted of one-storey dwelling clustered around a towering temple built for the worship of their

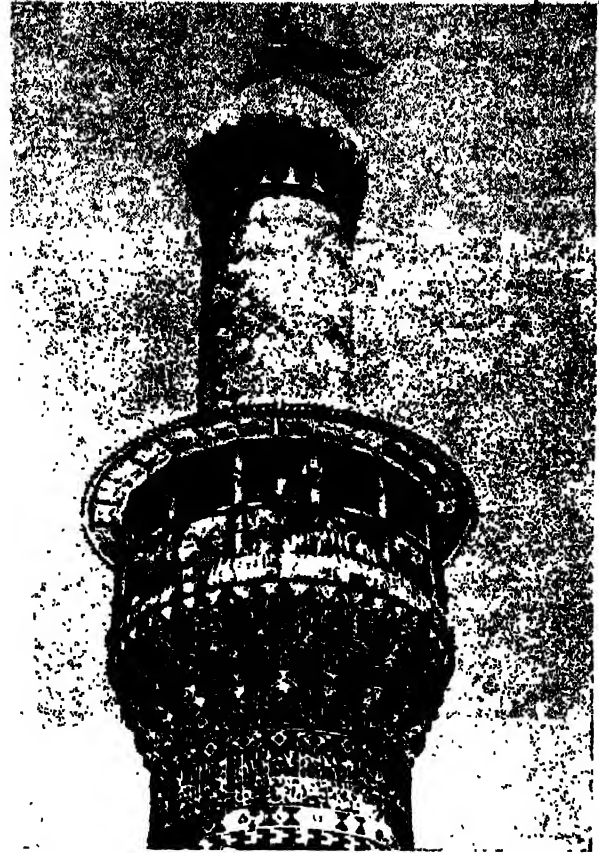
superimposed themselves on the Sumerians, adopting and improving their culture (which according to the archaeologists had a coun-



Babylonian way of decoration of their walls

gods. With its floor covered by rush matting each dwelling was generally furnished with tools, light tables and stands made of wood or reed. The unleavened wheat or barley breads, roasted fishes and lambs, milk and barley soup, cheese and a variety of fruits (dates, grapes, figs and pomegranates) and plenty of wine made up the menu of a Sumerian feast. There was a social system. Every Sumerian citizen lived more or less alike.

The prosperity of this remarkable region, however, frequently exposed its inhabitants to the inroads of the envious neighbours. And so wave after wave of Semitic invaders swept 'Sumeria' during the first four thousand years of its colourful history. The Akkadians of Syria—under the leadership of their great leader, Sargon I (2750 B. C.)—were the first among the Semitic people who



The majestic minaret of the Mausoleum of Imam Husain at Kerbala, Iraq

terpart in the Indus valley). The next comers were the Amorites, a warlike people of the same stocks as patriarch Abraham. Emigrating from Syria, their earlier home, the Amorites settled in what was at first a small town named Babylon (about 50 miles south-east of Baghdad) and gradually became masters of the Sumero-Akkadian empire. Hammurabi, their great king, founded the first Babylonian empire in 2100 B. C. The energy, enterprise and wisdom of this king are commemorated in thousands of tablets that lie strewn in his Capital.

After hundred years of brilliant and progressive rule, Hammurabi's Babylon lost its political and military vigour and gave way before the fresh inundations of other warlike people, the Indo-Iranian Kassites, Hittites and Hurrians, while Babylon was undergoing rapid political changes, another Semitic people,

the Assyrians, inhabiting upper Iraq, were organising themselves into a vigorous nation and building a chain of cities, not of bricks as was hitherto done but of stones. The Assyrians who wore long beards and ringleted hair, helmet-like caps and flowing robes, became a great military force, inventing new weapons and siege-techniques. Nineveh was their capital. In 1100 B. C. they, under the leadership of Tiglath Pileser I, conquered Babylon. Though the Assyrians loosely controlled the lower, older and more civilized land for a time, the Babylonians occasionally



Mausoleum of Imam Kazim at Baghdad

rose in rebellion, setting up their own kings and challenging the authority of the former. Eventually the Assyrian empire crumbled before the fresh inroads of the nomadic Semites hailing from the south-eastern region of Chaldea. They took and sacked Nineveh 606 B. C.

Under the Assyrians the human culture reached a high pitch. They introduced the postal system and the use of silver for currency, built highways and opened huge libraries. Notwithstanding their contribution to the world civilization, the Assyrians were in many respects most barbarous people in the recorded history. Fortunate were those of their adversaries who fell in battle for their treatment of survivors was hair-raising. They were burnt, walled up, mutilated or flayed alive. The fall of the Assyrian empire was, therefore, universally hailed throughout the ancient world.

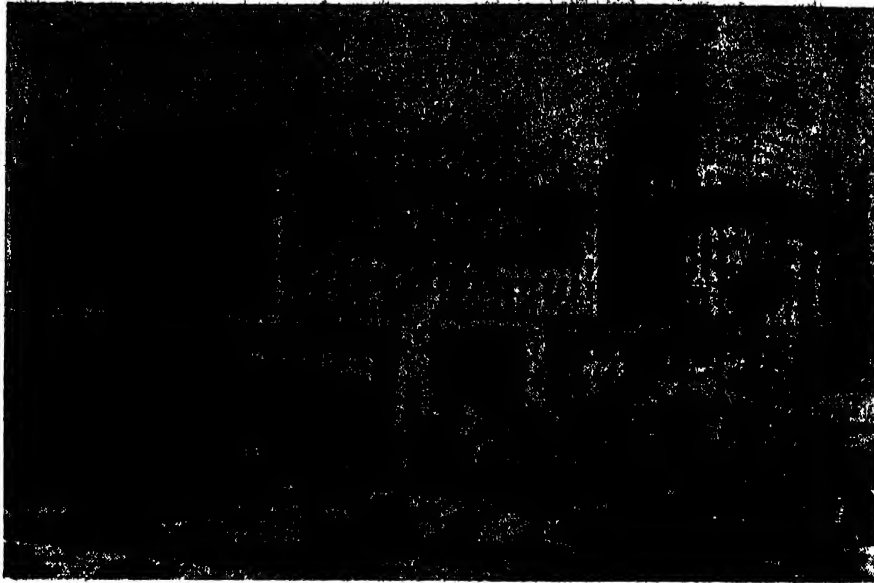
With Babylon as their capital, the Chaldeans, under the adventurous Nebuchadnezzar II established the second Babylonean empire. During his brilliant and compara-

tively humane rule, the ancient Iraqi culture reached new heights. He encouraged astronomers and the science of astronomy made a great headway under his patronage. His magnificent ziggurat to the Babylonian God Madruk and wonderfully-planted gardens on the terraces of the royal places passed into legend as the 'Tower of Babel' and the 'Hanging Gardens of Babylon.' The city of Babylon was itself rebuilt on such a grand scale that it came to be regarded by the Greeks as one of the wonders of the world.

But the splendour of the second Babylonian empire was short-lived. It began to wane just after the death of Nebuchadnezzar and collapsed in 538 B. C. before the attack of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Power (Achaemenid empire).

Thus far, the indigenous Iraqi culture prevailed and absorbed the new-comers. But the native civilization had run its course. Now the outside people—Persians, Greeks, Persians again, Arabs, Turks and lastly the Britons were destined to play their roles in shaping the subsequent history of the 'Cradle of Civilization'.

With the foundation of Baghdad in the middle of the eighth century A. D., the glories of Ur, Babylon and Nineveh were revived. Under Harun-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights and his son Mamun (786-833 A.D.), the darkened land of the twin rivers once again burst into flower. The court of Mamun was the most brilliant of the time. To it came the men of science and letters, artists and architects from the world over. The names of Duban, Bahlul and Dhanpat stand out as the brightest stars in a constellation of the Indian sages and savants, medicos and mathematicians who adorned various departments of Mamun's Government. In the words of Sir Mark Sykes, the author of *The Caliph's Last Heritage*: "The Imperial court was polished, luxurious and unlimitedly wealthy; the capital, Baghdad, a gigantic mercantile city surrounding a huge administrative fortress, wherein every department of state had properly regulated and well-ordered public office; where schools and colleges abounded; whither philosophers, students, doctors, poets and theologians flocked from all parts of the



A view of Baghdad

civilized globe. . . Pestilence and disease were met by the Imperial hospitals and government physicians. In government business, Communication, Finance, Justice and Military Affairs, e'c, were each administered by separate bureau—in the hands of ministers and officials, an army of clerks, scribes, writers and accountants swarmed into these offices.

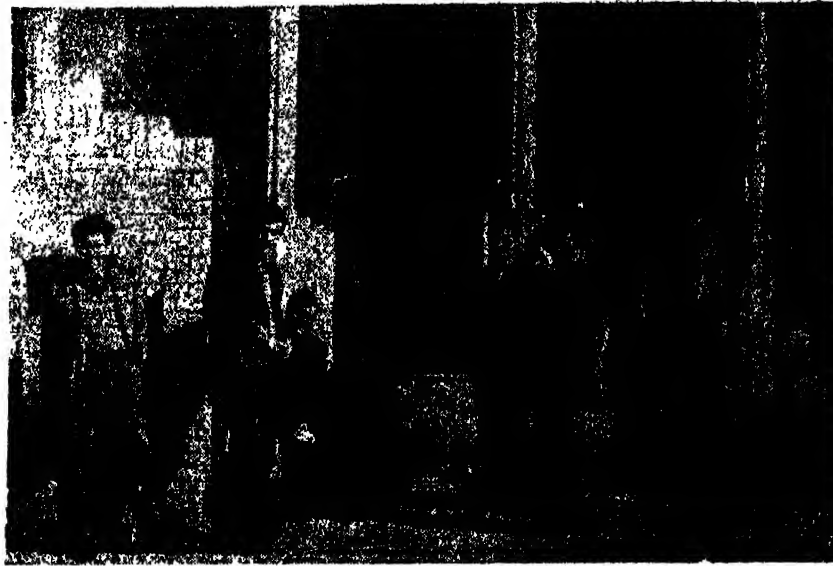
But in 1258 A. D., the Mongolian avalanche which overwhelmed the then civilized world, laid to dust the splendours of what may be termed as the great Arab culture. A blanket of darkness again wrapped the birth-place of the human culture. After the savage Mongolian invasion the prosperity of its ancient days never quite returned.

The World War I brought the British on the scene. With the aid of the Arab nationalists, the British dislodged the Turks from power, who had misruled Iraq from 1534 to 1918 A.D. In spite of the fact that the British placed King Faisal I (son of Sharif Husain, the Ex-King of Arabia) on the throne of Iraq on August 23, 1921, they continued to wield the real power until 1932 when, after a number of violent demonstrations and revolts, they pulled out of the country. Except during the Premier Rashid Ali's brief pro-German regime in 1941, all the governments of Iraq, which were often headed by the lately assassinated Premier, Nuri-al-Said, re-

mained up to the present coup the strong supporters of the Western cause in West Asia. With the assassination of the 23-year old King Faisal II (grandson of King Faisal I) the pro-Western monarchy of Iraq passes out of history and yields place to a republic, seemingly wedded to the cause of Arab nationalism.

Bounded by Turkey on the north, Syria and Jordan on the west, Saudi Arabia on the south and Iran and Persian Gulf on the east, the modern State of Iraq occupies an area of 171,000 square miles and has a population of about 6,000,000. Many of its problems—social, agricultural, industrial and educational are similar to those we face in India.

The ancient prosperity of Iraq depended on Irrigation and what the Mongolian hordes destroyed, only an efficient and devoted government can restore. The growing income from its oil industry is now being wisely utilized in the modernization schemes and the development of the economic resources of the country. Many of the new projects involve long-term planning—dams and irrigation canals, schools, roads, industries. The rich oil-fields, at Kirkuk, some 200 miles north-west of Baghdad and at other places, are operated by the Iraq Petroleum Company, a combination of the British, Dutch, American and French interests. The profits are divided between the government and the company on



Students of the Baghdad Engineering College

a 50 : 50 basis. Iraq received more than 73 million pounds as royalty in 1955.

Most of the Iraqi towns are situated, as they were in the days of yore, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates where man learnt the art of civilization. Their waters are indeed the life-blood of Iraq. From the medieval city of Mosul in the north-west to the modern port of Basra in the south east, one comes across many cities thriving alongside these great rivers. Basra, the only port of the country, is a picturesque city and is sometimes referred to as the 'Venice of the East'. Its busy and expanding harbour handles several million tons of cargo annually.

Apart from the oil and the famous dates, Iraq exports wheat, barley, hides, wool and oilseeds.

At Kurna—45 miles west of Basra—where the Tigris and the Euphrates meet in the Shattul Arab, is the traditional side of the Garden of Eden.

Besides the riverside cities, bustling towns have also sprung up, in the sun-baked deserts, around the sacred spots where lie buried the martyred scions of the house of the Prophet of Islam. Magnificent mausolia with gilded domes and minarets, stand over their graves. Shun in the galaxy of these shrines is the richly-adorned Tomb of Husain at Kerbala (40 miles south of Bagdad) which attracts pilgrims from all parts of the Muslim world.

Kerbala was the scene of the most tragic event in the history of Islam. Here on the fateful day of October 10, 680 A. D., Imam Husain, the illustrious grandson of Prophet Mohammad, fell a martyr along with his 72 thirsty and hungry followers and children to save the religion of Islam from the inroads of the imperialistic tendencies.

Divided into two parts by the river Tigris, Baghdad, the modern metropolis of the Republic of Iraq, sprawls majestically over the dust and ashes of the colourful Baghdad of the *Arabian Nights*. The romance and mystery associated with the days of Harun-al-rashid have long since vanished yet the present day Baghdad, too, offers life and colour with a vivid background to please the eye and whet the appetite of an inquisitive tourist. The spacious roads, lined with fascinating boulevards and well-furnished shops, fine buildings, and decently-laid parks, fabulous museums and attractive picture-gallery are the main features of the capital. No less impressive is the picturesque palm-fringed foreshore of the Tigris, the favourite promenade of the city. It reminds one of the Marine Drive of Bombay. Iraqi Museum, maintained by the efficient department of Antiquity, houses the amazing relics of old. Its greatest treasures are those excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley from the royal graves or death-pits of Ur. Built on a lavish scale, the charming shrine

INDO-PAKISTAN RIVER WATER DISPUTE

of Imam Kazim (a grandson of Imam Hussain), is the landmark of Baghdad. Its twin domes and minarets are sheeted with pure gold.

The famous ruins of the Arch of Ctesiphon stand a few miles east of Baghdad. Stars of gold in a ceiling of blue once gleamed beneath its brick vault where 'Chasroes I (Naushirwan the Just), who ruled the Sassanian empire (of Persia) in the sixth century, gave audience to his subjects.

A network of roads and railway lines now connects the Iraqi towns with one another.

Trucks and cars, motor-boats and steam-launches are rapidly replacing the camels and donkeys, the river-crafts and gufas. (A gufa is a circular basket-like boat peculiar to Iraq only.)

There is evidence on record to show that cultural relations between India and Iraq have intermittingly been subsisting since the very dawn of civilization. Their close co-operation both in the ancient and middle ages has left a rich cultural heritage. The inauguration of the new era in Iraq will bring the two ancient countries closer for building the future of man in an awakened East.

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INDO-PAKISTAN RIVER WATER DISPUTE

BY PROF. K. S. SHARMA, M.A., M.COM.

ONE of the greatest obstacle to the development of irrigation is the division of human community into different political jurisdictions. The Irrigation Commission also pronounced this difficulty. Under such circumstances different rights and interests of different countries through which the river passes have to be reconsidered and reconciled. Such a problem is being faced by our country with regard to the waters of the river Sutlej. It has been contended by Pakistan that the completion of Nangal Dam has affected the water supply of the river and when the Bhakra Dam Scheme materialises it would considerably reduce the water supplies of the Indus river. This eleven-year old water dispute has got a melancholy history behind it.

ORIGIN OF THE DISPUTE

The origin of the dispute goes as far back as 1947 when India was partitioned. It is the contention of the East Punjab Government that under the Punjab Partition (Apportionment of Assets and Liabilities) Order, 1947 and the Arbitral Award, the waters of the rivers in the East Punjab vest wholly in the East Punjab Government and that the West Punjab

Government cannot claim any share in the waters of these rivers as a matter of right. The West Punjab Government's contention is that by the implementation of the Arbitral Award and in accordance with the International Law and Equity the point has gone in their favour and that they have got the right to the waters of the rivers flowing through the territories of the East Punjab.

DISPROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF WATERS —THE MAIN CAUSE

There is one more point whereby hangs the tale. The culturable area in the plains commanded by the Indus River System is roughly 26 million acres in India and 39 million acres in Pakistan, i.e., in the ratio of 40:60. About 18 per cent of the area on the Indian side is irrigated, while the area in Pakistan receiving irrigation from these rivers is 51 per cent. The Indian Dominion is using only 5 per cent of the total inflow of these rivers as against 39 per cent by Pakistan. This stands in a striking contrast to the division of population of the Indus basin. Out of the total population of 42,000,000 Pakistan got 20,000,000 and India 22,000,000 i.e., 20,00,000 more than Pakistan.

A study of economic history shows that in the Punjab emphasis was laid on the schemes which would irrigate waste lands belonging to the British Government. At that moment Government earned not only revenue from water rates but also obtained higher incomes by levying the betterment charges, and since a major portion of this land had gone to Pakistan after partition, the advantage of the irrigation system in disproportionate manner has also gone to Pakistan. In fact, India's share of the total available supply from the existing irrigation works is 11 to 12 per cent, while Pakistan's share is 88 to per cent. Naturally enough, India had to seek some alternative means to irrigate the land and to sustain the overwhelming population. One of the ways by which India could solve this problem was by speeding up the construction of canal headworks and dams, which when completed would divert the flow of the upstream water from Pakistan to India to irrigate about 35,000,000 acres of land on the Indian side. Pakistan has viewed this with great alarm.

STANDSTILL AGREEMENT

At the time of partition the question was referred to the Punjab Partition Committee. The Committee decided that in the interest of both the countries the matter should be referred to the Engineers of the Punjab (India) and Punjab (Pakistan) who were asked to put a joint proposal in respect of the maintenance of supplies of water. The two Chief Engineers concluded a standstill agreement in December 1947 which was subsequently approved by the Punjab Partition Committee. The agreement laid down that India would give a continuous supply of water to Pakistan on the basis, existing on the date of the partition for the period upto 31st March, 1948 and after that she would have the right to reduce the supply of water gradually so that Pakistan may get time to create alternative sources for its irrigation. A fresh agreement was to be entered into before the expiry of the standstill agreement. The Pakistan Government took no action to conclude any further agreement in spite of repeated reminders. As a result, pending conclusions of fresh agreement supply of water was

discontinued with effect from 1st of April, 1948. The responsibility, therefore, for the resultant hardship was that of Pakistan Government. However, pending discussions between the two Governments, orders to resume water supplies were given on 30th of April 1948.

Thereafter went on the talk of resumption of the water supply with full vigour and enthusiasm. The Indian side was represented by the Prime Minister Sri Jawhar Lal Nehru while the Pakistan was represented by the then Finance Minister, Mr. Gulam Mohammad. After a heated controversy the agreement was signed on 4th May, 1948. According to this agreement India agreed not to withhold suddenly the supply of water to Pakistan. It was also agreed that India would diminish the supply gradually so that Pakistan may get reasonable time to tap alternative sources. This agreement was hardly observed for a year. Therefore, Pakistan tried to get out of it on one pretext or the other.

Thus followed four years of fruitless negotiations between the two Governments. India always requested for a joint technical study of the problem with a view to putting up a comprehensive plan which would meet the requirements of both the countries. But it went unheeded. Pakistan wanted the problem to be referred to the International Court of Justice.

LILIENTHAL'S IDEA

In the meantime, in 1951, Mr. Lilienthal, formerly the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, visited the two countries—India and Pakistan. In an article which appeared in *Collier's Magazine*, he stated that the canal water dispute was not a religious or political one, but a feasible engineering and business problem which should be settled on an engineering basis with the help of the World Bank. Judging from the vast quantities of the water which goes waste into the sea, especially from the Western rivers, water could, he said, be found not only for ensuring Pakistan's existing uses, but also at the same time for the most needed irrigation in India's undeveloped areas. To quote him, "India too must have more water or starve."

He suggested that the whole Indus system must be developed as a single unit. He fur-

ther referred in this connection to the an "Indus Engineering Corporation" on the basis of the seven Ates T.V.A. System, to provide a machinery for operating a scheme for storing, diverting and distributing water. He also suggested that it should be jointly financed with the help of the World Bank. Once the scheme was prepared, he hoped that the works could be operated by an Indo-Pakistan agency or by an international agency such as the Schuman Plan in Europe or by some special corporation like the Port of New York Authority.

The suggestion of joint undertaking put forward by Mr. Lilienthal was undoubtedly ideal but unfortunately not practical as it implied mutual co-operation and confidence between the two countries for ever. That co-operation, which should operate between two countries, has taken the shape of rivalry, the same rivalry that exists between the two wives of the same husband.

THE WORLD BANK ON THE DISPUTE

India was too much eager to settle the dispute either this way or that and consequently the two Ministers of the two countries were asked to do the needful. By the consent of both the parties the question was referred to the World Bank.

The World Bank offered its good offices for an early settlement of the dispute. Mr. Lilienthal's idea was taken up by Eugene R. Black, Chairman of the World Bank. A working party consisting of an engineer from India and another from Pakistan with an engineer selected by the Bank was set up. The party worked enthusiastically. It first met at Washington in May-June, 1952, in December, 1952 at Karachi, and in January, 1953 at Delhi. The party collected large mass of engineering data and made an extensive survey of the Indus basin. When the working party re-assembled at Washington in September, 1953, the Indian and Pakistani representatives could not agree through this common approach. Ultimately it was decided that the representatives of India and Pakistan should each present a plan, which from his country's point of view would cover the entire irri-

gable area in both the countries. It would be very interesting to note here that, while the Indian Plan took full cognisance of the irrigation requirements of Pakistan, the Pakistan Plan confined itself to an estimate of Pakistan's requirements only.

BANK'S PROPOSALS

After prolonged negotiations the Bank put forward in February, 1954 its proposals for an amicable settlement. The main features of these proposals were:*

(1) "The entire flow of Western rivers (the Indus, the Jhelum, and the Chenab) is to be available for the exclusive use of Pakistan except for a small volume of flow for Kashmir.

(2) "The entire flow of the rivers (the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej) is to be available for exclusive use in India, except that for a specified transitional period when India will have to supply Pakistan its periodical withdrawals from these rivers. This transitional period, which is expected to end in another five years, is to be worked out on the basis of the time required to complete the link-canals needed by Pakistan to replace these supplies.

(3) "Each country is to construct the works located within its territory, the cost of such works being borne by the country benefiting thereby.

(4) "Although no works are planned for the joint construction by the two countries some link-canals in Pakistan will be needed to replace supplies from India, and India must bear the cost of such works to the extent of the benefit derived by it therefrom."

A thoughtful study of these proposals will show that Pakistan should have been quick to seize this opportunity. According to these proposals 70 per cent of the water resources of the Indus basin has been allotted to Pakistan. Pakistan's rivers are larger than the Indian rivers, of which the Sutlej does not carry much water in the off-season. Besides, India has to bear the cost which Pakistan will incur in

* Proposals quoted from *Commerce*, dated July 17, 1954.

constructing the necessary links to make good the loss of supply from India. The cost of such links is estimated to be Rs. 60 crores—a huge sum. Yet India expressed its readiness to accept the Bank's Award in the interest of peace between the two countries. But Pakistan instead of accepting the proposals willingly, demurred and issued vague statements. Pakistan stressed upon the authorities of the World Bank to accept the view that Pakistan should have the exclusive right of the rivers flowing in its territory and other three allotted to India must be treated as common.

Despite the heavy sacrifices involved, India accepted World Bank recommendations without any hesitation and so thought that this long drawn-out dispute would come to an end. But Pakistan, on the other hand, has not rejected the World Bank's proposals, neither it says it has accepted them. In this topsyturvy situation India informed the Bank on 21st June 1954 that there was no prospect of further progress being made with the co-operative work which began in March 1952. The joint endeavours of the working party, therefore, came to an end. In spite of all this the Government of India assured the bank that it was ready to consider arrangements for renewed co-operative work on the basis of the Bank proposals as soon as Pakistan communicates its willingness to proceed on that basis.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Here it becomes indispensable to have a peep into the jurisdiction of international law. It must be noted that the international law deals mainly with the problems of navigation. The potentiality of water resources for unified development and its international importance has come into prominence recently. A case similar to that of India and Pakistan occurred between United Kingdom and Italy. In these cases it was decided that the upper riparian state has got the full right to use the water irrespective of any consideration of lower riparian states.

Is Pakistan justified in disputing India's right to utilise the waters of the rivers flowing through its own territory? Opinions may differ on this point as it involves interpretations of the international law. But there are precedents

as shown above and, will be shown later to justify India's stand. We may refer in this connection to the policy of the U.S.A., in respect of international streams, as expressed in "Inter-State Compact" compiled by the Colorado Water Conservation Board, based on the opinion of Attorney-General Mr. Harman of U.S.A. According to Harman, a sovereign nation has indisputable right to the waters of all rivers within it. It can direct these waters to all profitable uses in its area and the neighbouring country, if it lies below it, can claim no right to these waters either by tradition, past usage or for its own requirements. To quote the words of the authority:

"It thus appears to be the settled doctrine of the United States respecting international rivers, that the United States may use and enjoy all the waters of streams arising wholly within the United States and flowing into other nations, irrespective of prior use by or the necessities of the citizens of such other nations, that, by the rules of international law, the lower nation may not justify a claim of servitude upon the stream within the upper nation upon the ground of prior appropriation (by the lower nation) of either all or a part of the waters of the stream rising within the territory of the upper nation, that any adjustment respecting such international streams must be determined by considerations different from those which apply between individual citizens of either nation (*e.g.*, prior appropriation, riparian uses, etc.), that a recognition of an international rule of distribution and administration of waters by prior appropriation would account to a recognition of an international servitude upon the territory of one nation for the benefit of the other and would be entirely inconsistent with the sovereignty of the upper nation over its national domain; and that the rules, principles and precedents impose no liability or obligation upon the upper nation with respect to the use of water of the river by the lower nation but that all questions should be decided only as a matter of policy and are properly settled by treaty."

From the above it becomes clear that Pakistan, in trying to dispute the right of the East Punjab Government to construct the

Bhakra Dam, is not following any accepted convention or precedent. It must be remembered that East Punjab emerged out of the partition a very backward and a poor State. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to grant priority to the development of that State.

THE DISPUTE IS NOT A LEGAL PROBLEM,
SAYS NEHRU

If India takes a legal view, international law is in its favour. Sri Nehru is deadly against the law so far as this dispute is concerned. He says, "The law does not help in such matters. This is a human problem, a matter effecting the welfare of lakhs and crores of human beings of both the sides."*

Many a people have written on this subject giving their legal views. To them Sri Jawhar Lal says, "Your legal arguments would have no influence on me. This is not a matter for law whether it is raised in the International Court or in the United Nations. This matter would be settled in the country where it is a question of life and death of lakhs and crores of people. It is not in my nature to indulge in legal discussions. I gave up law 40 or 50 years back. I greatly dislike these legal quibbles."

INDIA MEANS NO HARM

"We have right to reduce (water) but we do not want to stand on legal rights in this matter," said Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in his inaugural speech at Nangal. He continued, "We want to do something which would neither harm Pakistan nor us. Therefore, we again told them that we would do nothing in haste which may harm the land-owners and peasants in Pakistan. We would give them a chance to make their own arrangements."

He emphasised again and again, "How can we wish harm to the inhabitants of Pakistan. After all she is our neighbour, our comrade

of yesterday and even a comrade of today in some sense. Besides this if there is a distress and starvation on our borders, it would be a danger to us. We desire prosperity for this side as well as that. There may be any number of disputes and quarrels between ourselves and Pakistan today but a day will come when these disputes and quarrels would end and we would live in friendly terms. Therefore, it is a foolish presumption if any one thinks that we want to do anything which might harm Pakistan and her peasants and land-owners, because ultimately her injury will recoil upon us, will create dangers and loss for us."

AGREEMENT RUMOURED TO BE SIGNED UNDER
DURESS

Now the proposals of the World Bank have been repudiated by Pakistan. In the absence of it the 1948 Agreement holds good. This gives India the right to restrict water supplies available to Pakistan provided Pakistan is given sufficient time to make alternative arrangements. Sufficient time has already been given. India, in the meantime, has diverted a part of the flow of the Sutlej in the newly-constructed Nangal Hydel Channel.

But whatever the Government of India has done by restricting the supply is not valid according to Pakistan statements. The Government of Pakistan says that the Agreement of 1948 does not hold good after rejection of Bank's proposals because the agreement was not signed independently by the representative of Pakistan. "The agreement was signed under duress," writes Mr. Mohammed Ali. "It was signed under the shadow of national calamity threatened by the sudden stoppage of all supplies of water to Pakistan Canals by the East Punjab Government who made resumption of supplies conditional on Pakistan regarding to renounce all rights to the water. By its very terms, further, this agreement was in the nature only of an interim agreement. We subsequently terminated it by a formal notice and it has long ceased to be effective."*

* Vide Mr. Mohammed Ali's letter, Sri Nehru, delivered at the opening ceremony of Nangal Hydel Channel on 8th July, 1954.

* Vide Mr. Mohammad Ali's letter, dated September 21, 1954, to the Prime Minister of India.

NEHRU'S ASTONISHMENT

Sri Nehru wondered to hear such a statement from Mr. Mohammed Ali. In reply to his letter he wrote:

"In your letter you repeat that the agreement of May 4, 1948, in regard to Canal water was signed under duress. A more extraordinary statement I do not remember to have come across at anytime. I wrote to you once about this the agreement was signed by your present Governor-General, who you will agree with me, is not a man to suffer duress, I speak from personal experience of this agreement, which you do not possess. There was no question of stoppage of water in the event of the agreement not being signed. In fact this was never hinted at. It was with the utmost good-will that the agreement was discussed and signed. It is not difficult for you to confirm this by reference to your Governor-General and the others who were present there including many Ministers of the Pakistan and the West Punjab Government. It took two years for your Government to discover that the agreement was signed under duress."¹

"This approach to this question of Canal water itself indicates how completely divorced it is from reality The World Bank made some proposals, which in spite of their onerous character, we have accepted. If Pakistan accepts them in the same way without reservation, we lay the foundations of a full agreement for the future. If it does not accept them, then we have to continue to labour in order to find some basis for agreements our aim throughout has been that we should prevent or at least minimise any suffering caused to farmers on either side of the border. That was the basis of the agreement of the 4th May, 1948, which you repudiate."²

Pakistan in giving its pretext has argued like a child. If the agreement was signed

under duress, Pakistan ought to have informed India at the very moment. It is not very dignified that countries should argue like small lawyers. Big countries always do big things. Pakistan ought to have followed this motto.

RECENT CONTROVERSY

Water, water everywhere, but there is not a drop to sprinkle on this heated controversy. The controversy over the alleged cutting down by India of supplies of water from the Beas and the Sutlej is another example how Pakistan is interested in twisting facts. According to the Indian Hydraulic experts, the supplies of the Beas have been abnormally low from about the middle of May while towards the end of the month the supply was hardly half of the average of the past 10 years. The flow in the other eastern rivers namely the Sutlej and the Ravi has been much below normal. But according to Pakistan, this version given by India is not satisfactory though Indian Engineers have been continuously informing their counterparts in Pakistan of the steady diminution of supplies in the river.

The World Bank team was again persuaded by Pakistan to study the facts about the quantity of flow in the above two rivers. All the data exchanged between the two countries was supplied to the World Bank team. But the team could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Mr. M. L. Bengsten, leader of the World Bank delegation on Canal water, said that the problem is "very very complex." He did not, however, permit himself to say anything beyond that "we have been a good deal both in India and Pakistan."

Since the dispute has become more about facts than opinions, it is necessary for the World Bank to put some observers permanently in both the countries till the negotiations are carried on by the Bank to bring a satisfactory solution of this problem.

1. Vide Prime Minister Sri Nehru's letter dated Sept. 29, 1954, to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

2. Vide Prime Minister's letter: Sri Nehru's letter dated September 29, 1954, to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA IN GUPTA PERIOD (Circa 300-500 A.D.): By Sachindra Kumar Maity. *The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1957. Pp. 223. Price Rs. 12.50.*

This valuable monograph which won for its author the Doctorate Degree of the London University gives the most exhaustive account published so far, of the economic condition of Northern India during the Golden Age of our ancient history. It is based on an examination of nearly all available sources, literary and epigraphic, indigenous and foreign. The author's discussions of sundry disputed questions betray, as a rule, sobriety and good sense. His comprehensive treatment is illustrated by the wide range of topics covered by the successive chapters of his work. These comprise the historical sources (Ch. I), the ownership of the soil, current varieties of lands and land-tenures, land-measures and the processes of land-grants and sales (Ch. II), the principles of revenue collection and the items of the public revenue (Ch. III), the varieties of agricultural and forest products and the methods of rearing domestic animals (Ch. IV), industrial products and training of the industrial worker (Ch. V), internal and foreign trade (Ch. VI), the varieties of labour (Ch. VII), guilds and partnerships (Ch. VIII) and lastly, currency, exchange and money-lending (Ch. IX). The concluding summary ends with the following picture of the lights and shades of the economic situation: 'Beneath the facade' (read, the superstructure) 'of outward splendour were the toiling masses on whose efforts the whole edifice depended.' Other important features of the work are a map of India in the Gupta Age, three valuable appendices (containing a classified list of data culled from Varahamihira's two works, a table

of land-sales collected from inscriptions in North and East Bengal in the Gupta period and tables indicating the weight and pure gold-content of selected Gupta coins along with those of some later Kushan coins), a good bibliography and an Index. Professor A. L. Basham contributes an appreciative Foreword.

We propose to make a few comments. The contents of the work sometimes (perhaps unavoidably) overstep the limits set by its title, as for example, in the reference to the products of South India (p. 82), the trade in Indian spices (evidently from the South) with the Byzantine empire (p. 136), and above all, the foreign trade of Ceylon (p. 130). While the author has laid under contribution the *Smritis* of Narada and Brihaspati, he has altogether ignored the *Smriti* of Katyayana, dated between 400 and 600 A.D., according to Dr. P. V. Kane. While estimating the economic prosperity of the country under Gupta rule, the author has made no reference to the evidence for a high standard of living as has been indicated for instance by the present reviewer in his chapter on *Social Condition* in *The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III)*, pp. 570-72. The author has equally ignored the reviewer's contribution to sundry important points, such as the *Smriti* concept of possession and ownership and the bearing of the literary and epigraphic data on the question of the State ownership of the soil, as also his interpretation of the fiscal terms *bhagabhoga-kara*, *hiranya* and *kara*. The work is wanting in maps locating the great centres of trade and industry in the country and its internal trade-routes as well routes of traffic with the outside world. In the bibliography at the end there is a needless inclusion of such ancient works as the Vedic *Samhitas* and such very late works as the *Vyavaharamayukha* of Nilakantha. A fairly large number of printing mistakes have not

been corrected in a list of errata. These are, however, slight shortcomings in a work which will rank in the future as a first-rate authority on its subject.

U. N. GHOSHIAL

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA: Vol. IV. (The Religions): Published by Swami Nityaswarupananda, Secretary, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, Second Edition. Price Rs. 35.

Religion has been the basis of India's thought and life and the guiding principle of her civilization through the ages. She has steadfastly held on to this principle against the varied vicissitudes of her history. The freedom of the soul has been for her the *summum bonum* of life; and the divinity of man and oneness of existence, her eternal message. In her teachings one finds the seeds of a universal religion. Eclecticism is in the soul of India and her skies breathe a sense of unity wherein diversity is lost and differences stand eternally reconciled. India has been the very embodiment of religion and Cramb's remark that India is religious has been borne out by her long and remarkable history. The discovery of the Indus valley civilization pushed back the cultural history of India beyond the Vedic age and this culture included not only material civilization but also spiritual achievements. Since then we came to know more about our pre-historic civilization we are so much proud of. Our spiritual progress was unabated throughout this period. With the growth of our cultural life our other-worldliness also grew. We produced the finest of poetry and philosophy and undertook manifold experiments in the field of religion. Our theology was closely associated with philosophy and there was never a divorce between the head and the heart. When the Vedic seers sent up hymns and laudations to their gods, they speculated at the same time upon their ultimate nature and came to the conclusion that, at bottom, they were all manifestations of one primal Being. We proceeded from polytheistic creeds to a well-defined creed of monotheism and again swung back to polytheism. There were incessant swings and counter-swings throughout the ages and the result was a colourful legacy for the posterity. Vast experimentations were undertaken. From Kashmir to Kanya-Kumari and from Gandhara to Kamarupa there were evidences of an intense search for truth, both religious and mundane. It is to be admitted in all humility that nowhere else in the world has religion been made the

object of such vast experimentation as in India. The volume under notice seeks to describe and evaluate this 'great human enterprise' and as such may be considered a monument of modern Indian scholarship designed and executed by more than two scores of eminent Indian scholars. The volume amply bears out the great hospitality of the Indian mind in encouraging and inviting different points of view and different lines of approach to the great quest for the unknown.

In this ancient land of ours religions were born, grew and withered. Sometimes they were revitalised and sometimes they looked lean and famished and as such were considered dead. The present volume gives a sketch of the more important sects which one finds to be living religions or which are the diverse expressions of a living religion in India. The paths prescribed with their connected ideologies and practices are sometimes very simple and sometimes very complicated. But this complication never stood in the way of the realisation of the goal for man. The goal was ever-fixed in the luminosity of his divine effulgence.

This volume comes in the wake of Madhavacharya's *Sarva-darsana Sangraha* though the distance between the two landmarks of Indian scholarship is to be assessed in terms of centuries. In between there are Horace Hayman Wilson's monograph on the various religious cults of India and Akshay Kumar Dutta's *Bharatavarshiya Upasaka-Sampradaya* written in Bengali. The volume under review may be constructively looked upon as the culmination of a noble human enterprise undertaken centuries back. It is a formal and authoritative presentation of the religions of India ably bringing out the central truth of all religions: "*Ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*" (Rig Veda). This volume particularly displays before us, as it were, the various petals that go to make the lotus a single flower. The great catholicity of the Indian mind becomes amply evident when one peruses the contents of the volume.

It was quite in the fitness of things that the *Cultural Heritage of India* in its first edition came out in 1937 on the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Sri Ramakrishna-deva and it was printed in three volumes. In the second edition its scope has been substantially expanded and as a result it ran into five volumes. The plan of arrangement and the lay-out have been improved upon by grouping the topics in such a way as to make each of the five volumes self-contained. The Introduction by Bharataratna Bhagavan Das has enhanced the prestige

of the volume. He has ably brought out the traces of a universal religion in the different religious cults and beliefs of ancient India and his pointer to the right direction will help the uninitiated realise the central truth of India's eternal message. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's Preface has ably assisted Dr. Bhagavan Das's Introduction in presenting the subject-matter of the volume under review.

The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture deserves a word of praise for this magnificent work and Sri Gouranga Press Private Ltd. for neat printing. The book recommends itself to all lovers of knowledge and truth.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

TRUTH IS GOD: *By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. VI + 168. Price Rs. 2.*

In these carefully compiled pages is presented a facet of a great modern mind who did very great things for his country and as the future may well show for the world also. From what did he derive his elemental strength to do what he had done? The book provides the answer. Nowadays there is talk of service everywhere. To such as glibly talk of it the following may serve as a corrective:

"The path of service can hardly be trodden by one, who is not prepared to renounce self-interest and to recognize the conditions of his birth."

And to those that seek salvation the book presents the following:

"If I could persuade myself that I could find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find him apart from humanity."

Books such as this build sturdy character and not namby-pamby fictions.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

J. C. KUMARAPPA AND HIS QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE: *By M. Vinaik. Foreword by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. Navajivan Publishing House. Ahmedabad. November, 1956. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This is a well-planned and well-written biography of Shri J. C. Kumarappa, one distinguished member of a distinguished family. An auditor and a brilliant student of Indian Economics, he was weaned from his way of life to Gandhian lines, and from 1929 to 1954 there is an unbroken record of his constructive work. His outspokenness, his strict emphasis on punctuality, his stern discipline, his earnest

zeal for the development of village industries are detailed in this small book through accounts of incidents which enliven its reading.

The author has been a close associate of the subject of his book for more than two decades and he has produced a very valuable work which should find its way not only to constructive workers but to the greater public. It is full of lessons for all, and will be read with zest, relished as much in the reading as it must have been in the writing.

P. R. SEN

LITERATURES IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES: *Edited by V. K. Gokak. The Publications Division, Ministry of Education and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi. Price Rs. 2.50.*

We have here a collection of a good number of broadcast talks arranged by the authorities of the *All-India Radio* with the help of eminent scholars and writers in different languages of modern India. There are four series appearing in four parts of the book. The first part contains an introductory talk by Dr. S. K. Chatterji dealing with Indian literature in general and its characteristic features as noticed in its different phases in different ages. This part also contains an introduction by the editor, which gives a resume of the talks through a running survey. The second and third parts have the texts of talks dealing respectively with ancient and mediaeval and modern periods of thirteen modern Indian languages. The part on the modern period has also a section on Indo-Anglican literature. The fourth part contains short talks on different aspects of the future of Indian literature by men like Shri K. M. Munshi and Shri C. Rajagopalachari. Being divided into different periods the surveys here are a bit more detailed than we have had in similar volumes published previously by the Indian P.E.N., Sahitya Akademi, etc. The bibliography at the end arranged language-wise is a welcome addition though it is not quite complete and uniform. There are a few glaring omissions as well as a number of unnecessary entries. Inaccuracies in regard to the spellings, of titles of works and of local names were noticed here and there. A Sanskritist would keenly feel the absence of a section dealing at least with the modern period of Sanskrit literature which normally finds a place in other works of this type in consideration of the fact that quite a good lot of literature is produced in the language even to this day all over the

country. The price of the book is modest and within reach of the general reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO SAMADHI (*Spiritual Teachings*); By Swami Narayana-nanda. Published by Messrs. N. K. Prasad and Co. Rishikesh (Himalayas), U.P. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 4/-.

Swami Narayananda is a learned monk of Rishikesh and the author of about a dozen books of which two have already been rendered into Hindi. He comes from a respectable family of Coorg in South India and is a disciple of Mahapurush Shivanandaji, the second abbot of the Belur Math and Ramkrishna Mission. He lived in the Ramakrishna Mission for four years and then retired for wholtime spiritual practices to the Himalayas where he has been living since 1932. Over a quarter of a century he has made the Himalayas his home and haven for the sake of seclusion and meditation. Not to speak of the Hindus, even the Buddhists are benefited by a perusal of his books. An educated Buddhist from Rangoon frankly confesses that his doubts have been cleared by going through his books. The nineteen short chapters into which the present book is divided deal with various topics on religion, god, meditation, chosen deity, samadhi and the like. The book begins with a prayer and ends by a study of inspiration. The treatment is transparent and impressive throughout. The more one advances on Spiritual Path the more clearly he can understand and explain the subject. Those who cannot read the original scriptures will find in a book like this a dependable guide and constant companion.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A TRACT ON MONEY: By Profs. Rabindra Nath Mitra and Himansu Roy. The World Press Private Ltd., College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 195. Price Rs. 6.50.

The book is an attempt to explain the essence of monetary theories to the beginners. It has covered a wide field of discussion on the subject and tried to include the most modern views and observations on different theories. Besides, critical notes of the authors have been added on some of the theories.

The subject has been discussed in seventeen chapters, viz., Barter economy, money, value of money—index numbers, quantity theory of money, saving and investment, multiplier and acceleration principles, theories of interest, concepts of inflation, deflation, reflation and

disinflation, business cycle, monetary standards, gold standard and its collapse, Foreign Exchange under inconvertible paper standard, Exchange control, International Monetary Fund (IMF), monetary objectives and banking including functions and working of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

Although the book is designed for students it will be of service to businessmen and practical economists who desire to have a fair grounding in theoretical monetary economics.

The authors have discussed the subject in a clear manner and presented it to the readers in a simple language avoiding technicalities as far as practical, so that an intelligent layman will profit by reading it.

We have no hesitation in commending this book not only to the under-graduate students of the Indian Universities but to readers in general interested in the subject.

A. B. DUTTA

RAMAYANA: By Shudha Majumdar. Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Orient Longmans Private Ltd., Calcutta-13. August, 1958. Pp. XX, 540. Price Rupees Ten.

This is a translation in simple English prose of the story of the great epic *Ramayana* by Shriyukta Shudha Majumdar, who is well-known for her social work. The influence of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* upon the evolution of Indian culture can hardly be exaggerated. Through this translation Shriyukta Majumdar has offered an opportunity to readers in the west to be acquainted with one of the greatest Indian classics and thereby to get a better insight of Indian life and culture. The translation has been made from the Bengali *Ramayana* of the great poet Krittivasa and is quite easy reading. The printing and the get-up of the book also are good.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

HINDI

BAPU: By Ramanarayan Chaudhary. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 3.

BA AND BAPU KI SHITAL CHHAYAMEN: By Manubhahen Gandhi. Pp. 242. Price Rs. 2-8.

Available from Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Both these books are long chains of reminiscences of Gandhiji by two of those privileged people who were near and dear to him because of the devoted 'service they rendered

to him in' his diverse welfare work. Shri Chaudhary and his wife (she, too, has contributed several reminiscences) have revealed Gandhiji to the reader from many an unknown angle, all converging on the pivot of his personality as the heart-beat of humanity. Kumari Manubahen was with Gandhiji during the later part of his life. She kept a day-to-day journal at this time. From this journal two booklets have already been evolved and published. This is the third book. Like its predecessors it is authentic, as it bears the *imprimatur* of Gandhiji. The present volume shows, specially, in bold relief, both Gandhiji and Kasturba as ideal moulders of a maiden in her teens, with life's landscape stretching before her in all its virginity and wonder.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SWAPNA RENU: *By Jethalal Trivedi, Published by "The Sandesha" Ltd, Ahmedabad, Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Illustrated Jacket. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Out of fourteen readable stories, printed in this volume, only three are not reprints. The remaining eleven are reprints of five various

weeklies and magazines (1930-1947). The very first story, where the hero finds a stray letter on this road, written by one Sarala, and its denouement, are signally conceived.

PUNYA BANSARI: *By Uchha Rangoni, K. Oza, B.A., Bombay. Published by the Nav Chetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Nav Prabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Illustrated Jacket. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 5/8/-.*

Mr. U. K. Oza is no stranger to readers of Gujarati Literature, in which by his *Ajoji Thakore*, he had already made an illustrious mark, though his pen excels in composing English verse. All this was done by him before he proceeded to East Africa and where he made a long sojourn. The experience thus he gained of the trash morality and other phases of the life of those Gujaratis who have migrated there, has been abundantly utilised in this rather long novel, wherein his female characters show unprecedented foresight and intelligence. It is a mixture of fiction and fact, and a commendable one at that.

K. M. J.

JUST PUBLISHED

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Indian Periodicals

Immanuel Kant and the World View of Modern Science

Rufus Suter writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Recently at the National Academy of Science in Washington a lantern slide was cast on the screen showing a part of the sky as seen through the 200-inch Hale telescope on Mt. Palomar. At first glance one noticed only the black field studded with sharp star-images familiar to anybody who has visited photographic galleries in observatories or planetariums. But on closer scrutiny one detected that some of the images were not so sharp as they at first appeared. The lecturer explained that the sharp images were individual suns within our own galaxy—the system one sees edge-on when one looks out through the recesses of that remarkable example of perspective, the Milky Way. The fuzzy images, on the other hand, were spiral nebulae, that is, each was a group of millions or even billions of suns.

Suppose that after the lecture somebody in the audience had gone outside and actually looked at the original of one of these fuzzy images, for instance at the famous Nebula of Andromeda, nearest of the foreign galaxies.

This, though a grandiose example, would have been a simple case of awareness by an observer of a real, or an actual, object. On the one hand is X, the observer; on the other hand is Y, the observed. The instant that X becomes aware of Y, Y looms into view as the universe, and X looms into view as you, or I, or whoever, it happens to be who is observing. The universe seen is, in its most comprehensive and large-scale aspect, the world of astronomy: the abyss of space-time, the metagalaxy, the spiral nebulae, the gaseous nebulae, suns, planets, satellites, comets, meteors, interstellar dust. Thanks to the 200-inch telescope, the confines of this astronomical universe have been pushed back to 1,000 million light-years (roughly, 6,000,000,000,000 miles).

An interesting aspect of this metagalaxy, quite obvious to any observer if he is in a matter-of-fact mood, is that it is a spatio-temporal extension of his immediate neighbourhood: the side-walk, for example. There is no basic difference between the one and the other—only superficial contrasts of size, distance,

age, mass, temperature, speed, etc.,—nothing which digits in the number-series cannot make wholly explicit. One's awareness of Y as a distant astronomical body, seen as it was approximately 1,000,000 years ago, is the same sort of achievement as one's awareness of Y as the side-walk: no more and no less astonishing.

The metagalaxy contains the domain of protons, electrons, neutrons, mesotrons, ions and the host of other particles prominent in today's news. Indeed, these are all that the metagalaxy contains, because its parts, such as spiral nebulae, are systems of these particles. The sub-atomic world is an extension towards the small of the same series that in the opposite direction leads to the realm of the astronomer. If one were exceedingly small one would be aware of Y as these particles.

There is no need to repeat that all science lives exclusively within the universe of which observers are aware, or at least of which they would be aware if they were much smaller or much larger or were at another point in space or time. Telescopes, microscopes, spectroscopes, radar, compasses, balances, test-tubes, surveying instruments, levers, steam engines, dynamos, all serve to increase awareness in one way or another, to add new areas to the field of awareness.

Also there is no need to repeat that in recent centuries the details of which scientists have become conscious are so multitudinous and complex that the universe has been split up into various departments: the universe of astronomy, the universe of physics, the universe of chemistry, the universes of geology, of the biological sciences, of history, etc. These divisions, however, reflect only the convenience of the observer. The universe may also be approached, even today, from a non-departmentalized point of view. That is to say, we may forget the artificial divisions of the particular sciences, and look around to make an impartial and universal survey of all the objects we are aware of, keeping in mind also what we have learned from reading, lectures, conversation and our own earlier observations. Such an attitude as this, taken even by a layman, may have some surprising results missed by the departmentalized scientists regardless of how experienced they may be, or with what

stupendously accurate and powerful instruments they may conduct their investigations.

Let us consider some results of such a survey. One result is that the universe in so far as it actually is observed, or in so far as it might possibly be observed under certain conditions—from the sub-atomic end to the metagalactic end—is an organized unity for me, the observer. I hold it together as one, and I can switch my consciousness from one part of it to another, through space, and to some extent through time, and back again as often as I like, without losing the sense of its oneness, or of the self-identity of its parts, or indeed of my own self-identity.

Another result of a survey is that the facts of which we are aware can be shuffled into two classes. There are the facts which strike us as arbitrary, the so-called brute facts, the facts which are in general unpredictable or which are, at most, predictable only within large margins of error. These are the facts that might be otherwise. We know, for instance, that there are nine major planets in the solar system. There might, however, be eight. The only way we can discover their number is to count them. Once we have done this we naturally accept this number as a fact, realizing that if we had found that we could count them only to eight, we could as well have settled for eight, or any other number that might have worked out. The majority of facts in our experience are of this brute type, which is one reason why education is painful. We simply must have such facts drummed into our heads if we wish to be regarded as sane, since there is no way of automatically extracting them from instinctive preferences, or of figuring them out by sheer exercise of reason.

Our inventory shows us also a second class of facts. These are those facts which cannot be otherwise. They are always predictable with absolute accuracy. Instead of impinging upon us unexpectedly as brute facts, they come, even the first time, as wholly expected. They are inevitable, irreversible, necessary. True, in the process of our education we do not become alive to them until we have some brute facts in our minds. But once we have achieved acquaintance with the latter we realize, if we take the trouble to think, that certain inevitable facts were there too, all along, even if we had to wait until the brute facts knocked us in the head before we became conscious of them. Thus, though the number of major planets in the solar system is nine, that the number of

major planets in the solar system must be some number is inevitable. The point is not that there must be a finite number of planets in the solar system—for by a stretch of the imagination we may at least imagine their number to be infinite. The point is much simpler than this. It is merely that, finite or infinite, there must always be some number of them.

This example of an inevitable fact is so naive and platitudinous that one is likely to take it none too seriously. Of course there has to be some number! Why even mention it?

But naive and platitudinous or not, this is an example of an inevitable fact. If we forget for a moment our prejudice that it lacks significance, and if we look at it with true scientific detachment as a fact of nature as objectively factual as any merely brute fact, we may be puzzled by it. It does seem to be a fact. Yet our awareness of it does not seem to be adequately explained by the same sort of evidence that makes us aware of the brute fact that there are nine major planets in the solar system.

Indeed, if we puzzle over this, at first, rather silly fact, we may eventually frame it in a general form: "Things not only are numberable, countable, quantifiable; but they *have to be so*," and we may sincerely ask ourselves: How on earth do we know this to be true? Our knowledge of its truth cannot come wholly from brute facts because we have not been aware of a sufficient number of brute facts, nor has been the human race, to justify this astonishingly comprehensive boast. No matter how many quadrillions of things may have happened in the past, or may happen in the future, it is absolutely certain that each one of them has its proper number-series. We know this though at the same time we are aware that in any such given instance nobody may ever be actually conscious of just what the number specifically is.

The intriguing question of how we know such an inevitable fact to be true has been given several answers in the history of this odd kind of non-departmentalized scientific thought. The most obvious answer, of course, and the one most in tune with today's pitch, is that the inevitability of such facts is an illusion, induced by generations of our ancestors reacting to brute facts that have chanced to occur through the millennia in the same way. Thus, we, our fathers, our grandfathers, our great-grandfathers, etc., have counted things for so long, and so often, that it finally

has become a habit, and we honestly believe that things *have to be* capable of being counted. We are concerned here only with a particularly repetitious type of brute fact, and our feeling that we have to do with a necessary fact, though natural enough, is without warrant. As customarily happens to people under the influence of strong habits, we have lost the ability, save with an almost super-human effort, to look at the situation critically and objectively. This explanation is after the manner of the great Scottish sceptic, David Hume.

Another answer beginning to be popular today is that we observers deliberately, by a kind of sleight-of-hand, compel certain facts to be unavoidable. It is all a matter of definition. Thus, we compel things to be countable by our definition of "things." If suddenly to our amazement we become aware of a basket of apples having not, 1, or 2, or any other number of apples, we say: These are not "things;" and our proposition that "things" have to be numerable still holds good. The line of thought of this explanation is after the manner of a contemporary logician, C. I. Lewis.

A third reply is as old as Aristotle. We know brute facts and we know necessary facts. Why? Because we are endowed with capacities to have both kinds of knowledge. And that is an end of the matter.

Some people may be satisfied by one of these answers, some by another. They all do, no doubt, help to make understandable a peculiar situation. This article, however, is entitled: "Immanuel Kant and the World View of Modern Science," and the high-point of the article, Kant's answer, has not yet been made. But before proceeding to it let us note that most of this article has already been Kantian in spirit: (1) The conception of X (the unknown) as the observer, and of Y (the unknown) as the observed, and of their interaction giving rise to the universe of phenomena, is Kantian. The Y, of course, is the famous *Ding an sich*. (2) The conception of the universe as a homogeneous, organized, unified whole for the observer is Kantian, although the picture contains the new particulars of twentieth-century science. In Kantian terminology this master-characteristic of our experience of the universe and of our correlative experience of ourselves is Transcendental Unity of Apperception. (3) The idea of a fully self-conscious non-departmentalized survey of the whole of our field of awareness is

Kantian (such is the programme of his Transcendental Aesthetic, Transcendental Analytic and Transcendental Dialectic). (4) The division of facts into brute (*a posteriori*), and inevitable (*a priori*) is Kantian. (5) The problem we finally reached is, in his technical terminology: How are synthetic judgments *a priori* possible? This is Kantian, and is the central problem of the whole Kantian theory of the nature of theoretical scientific knowledge.

In conclusion let us consider Kant's own solution to his own problem. It is very bold. Observers are able to be aware of those inevitable facts which no amount of merely empirical evidence can give—indeed, observers *have to be* aware of them—because the observers themselves put them in the universe. Our acts of awareness are also acts of genuine creation. Thus, the number of planets in the solar system has to be *some* number because the activity of the senses of the observers, combined with the activity of their rational understanding, so organizes space-time, the number-series, quantities, qualities, relations and modalities that things in order to be objects at all have to be capable of being counted. Otherwise there would be no experienceable objects and no we. There would, of course, in some sense, still be X and Y. These are the ultimates beyond our control. But there would be no universe transparent to experiment and observation and no universe to which rational processes such as inference would be relevant.

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Word-forms in Indian Languages

Dr. S. M. KATRE writes in *The Indian Review* :

The languages (and dialects) of India have genetically distributed over four well-known families having their roots in an area which extends beyond the sub-continent consisting of India proper (or Bharata), Pakistan and Burma. This grouping in a family is based on the existence of a large number of common features such as cognate vocables and a regularity of correspondences in their sound systems. Culturally, those four distinct groups or families of languages have acted and reacted upon each other to give rise to a distinct Indian type of culture and civilisation and played the role of equal partners. But from the point of political prestige associated with geographical extent or the total number of speakers, these families may be arranged in the following order : (1) Indo-European in its Aryan branch as developed within the sub-continent of India, technically called the Indo-Aryan branch. (2) Dravidian, with all its ramifications in peninsular India and such outposts as Brahwi in Baluchistan ; (3) Austro-Asiatic, in its Munda or Kol form, more popularly known as the Adivasi or Tribal languages, prevalent generally within Central India, and (4) Sino-Tibetan, mainly in its Tibeto-Burman branch on the North-Eastern Frontier Agency or NEFA area.

During the last 3,000 years each of these distinct groups of languages has come into close contact with the remaining groups, and out of this contact has arisen a vocabulary which shows a pan-Indian characteristic. Speaking analogically, the growth of this vocabulary may be compared to a chemical fusion, not a physical mixture where the different components can be easily separated. It requires the catalytic presence of linguistic analysis to provide the necessary favourable situation in which those fusing elements can be separated and their origins recognised, or to answer such questions as : what is the percentage of Munda vocabulary in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian and *vice-versa*. How much has Dravidian influenced Indo-Aryan ? What is the contribution of Indo-Aryan towards the growth of Dravidian ? etc.

The chief differences in the structural features of each of those groups have been studied by linguists under two major sections : the phonological and the morphological. For instance, when the speakers of Indo-European, the Aryans entered India their language habits showed the absence of cerebral or retroflex sounds (t, th, d, dh, n, l, r) ; these were in the process of manifesting themselves through historical situations such as contact of the dental sibilant with a preceding -i or -u or vocalic -r, etc., but this process was quickened by contact with both Dravidian and Munda which have initially these series of consonants. In the same way, the speakers of Dravidian and Munda were influenced by the sound system of Sanskrit and related Indo-Aryan languages. For example, Primitive Dravidian did not have aspirated consonants, but Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam show by their incorporation of this series the direct influence of Indo-Aryan. With reference to the Adivasi and Tibeto-Burman families, apart from certain cultural words which Indo-Aryan and Dravidian borrowed from them, they show a marked influence of the contact of these prestige languages, and certain dialects have developed which very nearly approximate to either Indo-Aryan or Dravidian as the case may be. Even where the structure remains Adivasi or Tibeto-Burman, the word-element, either as a new loan-word or early incorporation, shows the influence of the first two groups.

While Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages are historically attested over some millennia, both in inscriptions and in literature, our knowledge of the remaining two families is hardly 150 years old against nearly 35 centuries of Indo-Aryan development within India or more than 25 centuries of Dravidian development (the language of the Indus Valley Culture still needs a scientific decipherment) our knowledge of the development of these groups is insufficient to delineate the linguistic history of our sub-continent. But a comparative study of Austro-Asiatic which covers an area which is larger than that covered by Indo-European from the point of extent shows that its representatives in India must have been already Adivasis when the speakers of Indo-Aryan,

and Dravidian came to India. Investigations started by Sylvain Levi and Jean Przyluski in Paris show that old Indo-Aryan found in Rigveda and Atharvaveda contains words borrowed from the Austro-Asiatic substratum. Some of our cultural words, particularly in certain skills and crafts, such as brick-making, rice-culture, etc.; or names of things like betel, cotton, cotton-cloth, bamboo-arrows, etc.; or geographical names like Kosala, Tosala, Kalinga, Trilinga, etc.; of the Vigesimal system of counting with Kori 'twenty' as a unit, appear to have their origin in this group. These scattered papers in inaccessible French journals were collected and translated by the late Prof. Bagehi, and published by the Calcutta University under the title of Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India. The latest exponent of this school is Kuiper of Leiden University who has studied a number of important cultural words from Vedic texts and traced their affinities to what he terms Proto-Munda.

Similarly, the relationship between Sanskrit and Dravidian has occupied the deep attention of scholars. The Vedic language was rich in verbal forms, but the late Professor Jules Bloch has shown that Dravidian sentence-pattern has affected the growth of later Sanskrit where the nominal phrase has replaced the finite verb forms. This nominal sentence characterises not only the classical Sanskrit pattern, but also that of the Prakrits and modern-Indo-Aryan languages. Similarly, it has been demonstrated that a fairly large percentage of Sanskrit vocabulary owes its origin to Dravidian. Kitti noted down more than a hundred such words in his Kanarese Dictionary. The latest researches of Emeneau (California) and Burrow (Oxford) have brought out a large number of such forms resulting from the cross-fertilization of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.

It follows, similarly, that a fairly large part of the Dravidian vocabulary is based on Sanskritic parallels. The late Dr. Goda Varma of Trivandrum worked out a list of words from Malayalam which derive ultimately from Indo-Aryan. The question we are interested in is not the ultimate origin of such common vocabulary a task which requires the refinements of comparative and historical linguistics but on the existence of

that vocabulary and a common sentence pattern.

Within each group of those languages, comparative etymology has established a large number of cognates. The chief work in this direction was the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Nepali compiled by Professor Sir Ralph Turner in 1931. In this Dictionary which records approximately 27,000 head-words in Nepali, including over 5,000 loan-words from Sanskrit, nearly 5,000 Nepali words show the existence of cognates in other Indo-Aryan languages. Sir Ralph is now engaged in working out a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Indo-Aryan. It is possible that this study may extend the number of such word-groups to almost thrice that number.

A similar comparative study of Dravidian by the Madras University has brought out a list of cognates of over 2,000 words. This is likely to be doubled by the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Dravidian which is being compiled by Professors Burrow and Emeneau.

The Deccan College in Poona is compiling a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Austro-Asiatic Languages and it may be assumed that the number of cognates here spread over the entire range of these languages will be considerable. Thus, within the main area of India, where these three language families have developed in intimate contact with one another, we may be able to single out certain common elements which have persisted for tens of centuries and these pan-Indian forms, whatever be their ultimate origin, may provide the common elements which will simplify, to some extent, the problem of inter-communication.

It would be difficult to illustrate all the aspects of this resemblance. Certain features of resemblance have prevalence all over the region, as for instance, Sanskrit Karoti Hindi Karna, Marathi Karne, Gujrati Karvu, etc. Certain others have a real distinction, e.g. diva and batti for 'lamp.' A few, forms, such as Indo-Aryan ghoda 'horse,' Kannada Kudure, Tamil Kutirei, Telugu gurramu exhibit characteristic phonological features. By and large, there are quite a considerable number of common elements which are shared by all these languages.

While Dravidian has a form *nei* 'butter-ghee' from Sanskrit *sneha* against *navanita*, Kannada and Marathi share one word *tuppa*, *tup* which may ultimately be treated to Sanskrit *trpra*. Regional predilections may be seen in the use of *ghar* 'home', house, and *bari*, the second of which is specially preferred in the Eastern part of India.

Similarly, there are certain pan-Indian synthetic features which may be classified as ethnolinguistic. For instance, corresponding to the English 'fall asleep,' we have in certain Indian languages (Bengali, Konkani, Kannada and Tamil) a form in which the nominative of the word for sleep is associated with a verb which means 'to fall.' A clear case of how Dravidian syntax has influenced Sanskrit is seen in the critical edition of the Mahabharata brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. In one passage, where the constituted text shows *pita mama*—

the genitive of kinship, the entire group of South Indian manuscripts have *pita mahyam*—the dative of kinship. Similarly, out of the many ways of expressing the dative in middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrits, the post-position—*krte* survived to the exclusion of other dative suffixes, owing to the resemblance it bore to the Dravidian Suffix-*ku*, and is now apparent in the familiar Hindi form—*ko*. A study of these common features, without reference to their ultimate origin which is entirely irrelevant to our present practical needs, will pave the way to a system of communication which will link up all the great regional languages and provide the necessary stimulus for deep understanding without the need of interfering with the genius of any languages. Historical evolution of such a pan-Indian feature indicates the lines along which unity may be achieved in the midst of such wonderful diversity.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

World Employment situation.

In a paper submitted to the Governing body, ILO Director-General, David A. Morse, has stressed the need for advance planning by Governments to enable prompt action to be taken to "forestall or counter any unexpected turn for the worse in the world employment situation".

UNEMPLOYMENT IS BACK

The report notes that after several years in which unemployment was of limited importance in most economically developed countries, it has now become a matter of special concern to governments, employers and workers. Attention is focussed in particular on the current recession in the United States, which, though by no means so severe as the crisis of the 1930's, is nevertheless the most serious since the Second World War.

In Western Europe, some slackening of the rate of growth of Industrial production has also resulted in relatively small increases in unemployment. But in most countries of Western Europe unemployment is still at a low level; where it is substantial—as, for example, in Denmark, Finland and Italy—it is clearly due to factors other than the lower rate of growth of production.

Most of the current rise in unemployment appears to be associated with a slackening in demand for, and consequently in output of, manufactured goods and in some countries, building. A few of the factors that have played a role in present economic difficulties are the reduced investment in capital goods, reductions in inventories, credit controls, and, in the United States, the decline in the demands for automobiles.

Another recent development has been the appearance of a limited, but nevertheless significant, amount of unemployment that is frictional in character, in some countries of Eastern Europe and, in some instances, existing in depressed areas. Frictional

unemployment in Eastern Europe has developed as a result of the release of many workers from formal or informal restrictions on quitting or accepting jobs without official approval. Thus what was formerly a redundancy or ineffective use of many workers who could not leave their jobs now appears to a great extent in the form of frictional unemployment as workers quit in search of new jobs or are laid off by undertakings that were overstaffed.

In many, but by no means all, underdeveloped countries there is a certain amount of underemployment in agriculture. Unlike the unemployment that arises from lack of demand, the unemployment and under employment that persist in underdeveloped countries do not change substantially from year to year. Progress against this kind of unemployment is largely a race between economic development and rising population.

POSSIBLE FUTURE EFFECTS OF THE RECESSION

The 1948-49 recession in the United States was followed by a balance of payments crisis in Europe. The 1953-54 recession, on the other hand, had relatively little effect on the economy of the rest of the world. Accordingly, the points that follow must be regarded as highly speculative.

There appear to be two quite separate ways in which recession in the United States may effect employment in the rest of the world.

- (1) a decline in the United States demand for exports from other countries may result in a corresponding fall in the level of total demand in these countries ;
- (2) a fall in these countries' exports to the United States may result in a decline in their earnings of foreign exchange and consequently in their purchases of goods from other countries, especially those that require payment in dollars.

In order to prevent too great a decline in its foreign exchange reserves, a country may have to restrict its imports directly by import or exchange control, or check the demand for imports indirectly by measures of fiscal and monetary policy which will reduce internal demand.

Action of the first type may cause unemployment in certain industries due to shortage of imported raw materials, while action of the second type may cause more widespread unemployment.

NATIONAL MEASURES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The national measures against unemployment described in the ILO paper are grouped under four main headings according to whether they are designed to deal with unemployment arising from lack of demand, unemployment arising from difficulties in the organisation of the employment market, unemployment in depressed areas, and unemployment in underdeveloped countries.

Particular attention is given to measures concerned with unemployment arising from lack of demand, because of the prevalence of this type of unemployment in certain countries at the present time.

One of the most striking trends of economic and social policy in the last two decades is the development of a whole series of new remedies against this type of unemployment. At the same time many old ideas have been discarded.

Public works programmes and tax and credit policies are among the weapons governments can use. Many governments have established reserves of public works programmes, and some offer inducements to private concerns to set up "crisis reserves," funds set aside during periods of prosperity to be used during recessions.

Tax reductions may take many forms—lower income and corporate taxes, larger tax allowances for depreciation. Credit policies may also be used so as to encourage increased spending.

Recent trends in economic policy have also led to the creation of a series of "built-in stabilizers" in most industrial countries. Among them are :

The higher level of government spending which is relatively unaffected by the factors that cause variations in private expenditure.

Progressive income taxes : as incomes fall the tax levied on them falls at a faster rate.

Unemployment insurance, which saves money in high employment periods and puts it back into circulation when unemployment rises.

The stabilising of the incomes of the fairly large groups of people through such devices as agricultural price support systems.

The growing strength of trade unions and changes in the generally accepted views on wage policy which make unlikely a substantial reduction in wage rates.

UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS

In terms of the world situation as a whole, the largest number of unemployed and underemployed workers are to be found in the underdeveloped countries where there is a general lack of sufficient capital to provide a high level of employment.

In these countries unemployment and underemployment are long-term problems, the solution of which depends to a large extent on achieving economic development. Measures to promote such development are not considered in detail in the ILO report.

A point of particular interest is the tendency in recent years to promote the development of both large and small-scale production. On the one hand the programmes for the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys and the programmes for the development of the Sahara and of Siberia are on a grand scale.

On the other hand there has been a tendency in some countries to give stronger emphasis to handicrafts and small-scale industries. This policy is a well-known part of the Indian Second Five-Year Plan.

More recently, several of the countries of Eastern Europe have reversed a previously unfavourable attitude toward these labour intensive types of production and, perhaps in recognition of growing capital shortages, have decided to give official support to the promotion of handicrafts and small-scale industries.

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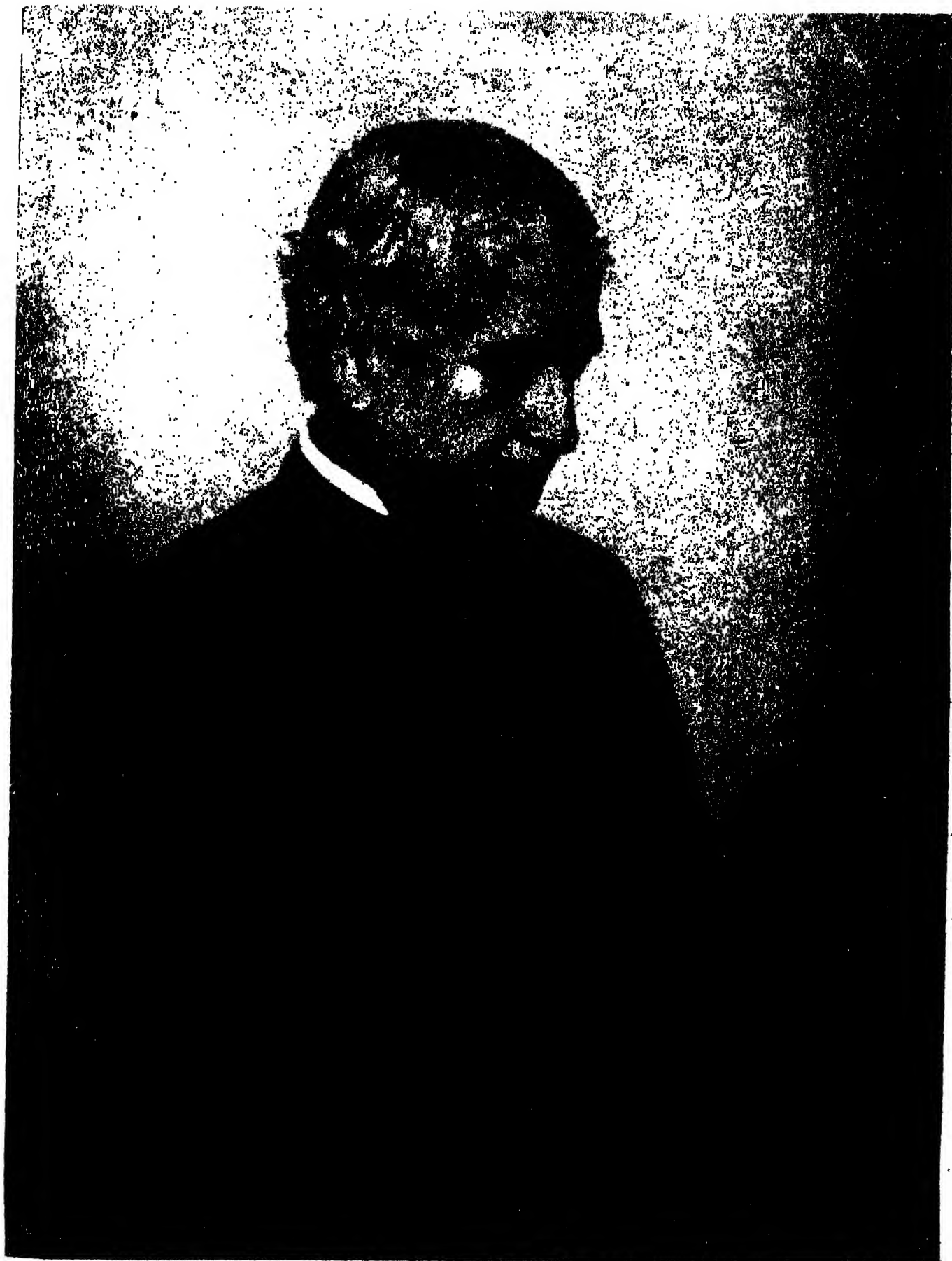
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NOTES

ACHARYA JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

We are celebrating at the end of this month the Birth Centenary of a Sage and a Seer, who was not merely a preceptor in the usual sense, nor only the pioneer in India in the path-ways of Western Scientific Research. He was not only one of the first four whose names will remain written, in golden letters, in the annals of the researches in electro-magnetic waves that led to the discovery and inventions that made the wireless telegraph and telephones, the radar and the television and wireless broadcasts possible or the very first scientist who demonstrated to the World that Life, as we understand it, continues beyond the animal kingdom and pulsates in the living organisms of the vegetable kingdom.

The term "acharya" is being very loosely applied in these days in our country. It is not every teacher or every religious preceptor that can be deemed to be an "acharya" however esteemed he might be by his students or disciples. For "acharya" means something far more than eminence in teaching or preaching. It means someone who has shown a new discipline or way of life, or thrown light on some obscure passages in the realm of the intellect or blazed some new pathways for the advancement of human knowledge.

Romain Rolland, the great French Savant and humanitarian, wrote in one of his letters to Jagadish Chandra Bose, that he, Jagadish Chandra, was not merely a savant and a scientist of great eminence, but was also a poet and *religieux*, which last word means one whose

Way and Philosophy of Life lay along the path-ways of *dharmā*.

This was indeed very true. Acharya Jagadish Chandra had the same freedom of intellect that allowed his thoughts to soar above the established tenets and axioms of Western Science, based on concrete facts and realities. Like the untrammelled flight of a poet's imagination. And yet all his thoughts and actions followed the discipline laid down by our ancient Sages.

So proud he was of his Indian heritage that he faced penury during the first three years of his career as a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, by refusing to accept a piece of his salary until it was elevated to the same scale as that of his European colleagues. The Government of India was forced to climb down.

His life was full of trials. There were no laboratories with up-to-date scientific equipment, nor was the Government willing to provide any funds. In his research work too, when he started in the realm of Plant Response, he met with ridicule and unfair claims and challenges from abroad—though it is only fair to say that he got appreciation as well from some truly eminent Western Scientists. Through all these trials and tribulations he won because his Way of Life was along the path of *Upanishads*. His motto was:

“एको वशी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा.

एकम् रूपम् बहुधा यः करोति,

तमात्मस्थम् येऽनुपश्यन्ति धीराः,

तेषाम् सुखम् शाश्वतम् नेतरेषाम् ॥”

Trends in International Trade

The annual report entitled, "Trends in International Trade," published by GATT, studies the problem of commodity instability in international trade. The experts trace the commodity instability in international trade to both long-term and short-term fluctuations in their supply and demand position. Fluctuations in economic activity in the industrially developed countries threw their impact on the general price movements of primary products. At the thirteenth annual session held recently at Geneva the underdeveloped countries sharply criticised the attitude of the developed countries in not importing more commodities from the primary producers. The international trade in post-war years has more or less become a one-way traffic, that is, it is the primary producing countries with their backward economy which are the major importers from the developed countries of the West. But these developed countries do not extend their co-operation by importing goods of equivalent amounts from the underdeveloped areas of the world. The real cause of instability in the world trade lies in that respect.

The developed countries of the West have imposed quantitative restrictions on imports with a view to protecting their industries. But the trade restriction impedes the growth of world economy and brings about periodic imbalance in world trade. At the recently held Geneva session of the GATT, the leader of the Indian delegation made very pertinent observations on the trade restrictions imposed by industrially developed countries of the West. He makes the following observations: "Countries in the course of economic development have a chronic tendency to run into difficulties of balance of payments. This is because, for their development programmes they must rely heavily on imports of capital goods as well as techniques. Another factor is the upsurge in demand for all kinds of things, which follow the slightest increase in national income and which must, until domestic production goes up, be met by imports if a serious inflation is not to result therefrom. Under Article XVIII of the GATT, this problem has been specifically recognised. The same article also draws attention to a

contributory factor in the balance of payments difficulties of underdeveloped countries, namely, the instability in their terms of trade. This results from the violent fluctuations to which commodity prices are subject. A solution which Article XVIII has to offer is of a negative kind. The permission to restrict imports, though essential, only results in a shrinking of world trade rather than its expansion which is what the GATT stands for. A real solution should be sought through measures which will increase the exports of underdeveloped countries rather than through steps to enable them to curtail their imports."

The Treaty of Rome has thrown out a great challenge to the GATT, threatening its very existence. It may be recalled that the Rome Treaty is based on the evolution of a common market for six European countries. Whereas the ultimate object of GATT is to bring about a progressive liberalisation of world trade by abolishing trade restrictions, the Treaty of Rome aims at securing to the signatory countries markets for their products within the related territories of member-countries. Thus the Rome Treaty contradicts the very ideas of the GATT. The idea of the common market is based on the regional liberalisation of trade, as distinguished from multilateral liberalisation. These six countries are highly developed in industrial production and are rich in potential resources.

The failure of the less developed countries to develop their trade as rapidly as the more developed countries have been able to do, is another cause for the growing imbalance in world trade. The recent recession in business activity in the USA had an adverse effect on the export trade of many underdeveloped countries, including India. The bilateral trade agreements are now being resorted to in order to boost up the export trade of many countries. But such bilateral trade agreements defeat the ultimate object of the GATT for the establishment of free trade. Again, many countries are not members of the GATT and as such they are free to pursue their own course of action in their international trade. The trade in agricultural and food products does not follow the obligations imposed by the GATT. With a view to protect-

ing such primary products, the producing countries act in utter disregard of the provisions of the GATT.

The concept of free and multilateral trade still remains far away from realisation. The imposition of high import duties by advanced countries on tropical foodstuffs and beverages impede the export trade of the producing countries. These high duties on tea, coffee and sugar reduce their import and consumption by advanced countries of the West. There must, therefore, be a change in the traditional lines of fiscal and revenue policy of industrially developed countries.

Industrial Finance Corporation of India

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India in its ten years of existence ending on June 30, 1958, has rendered pioneering services in the field of long-term industrial finance in India. During the last ten years, the Corporation received applications for loans for Rs. 124.34 crores and the total amount of loans granted by it stood at Rs. 62.90 crores on June 30, 1958. The outstanding amount of loans and advances on that date stood at Rs. 28.94 crores. A State-wise distribution of loans indicate that Bombay has received the largest amount of loans for her 58 industrial units. Bombay has received Rs. 18.69 crores; Madras Rs. 8.57 crores; West Bengal Rs. 6.33 crores; Bihar Rs. 4.77 crores; Kerala Rs. 4.27 crores; Uttar Pradesh Rs. 5 crores; Mysore Rs. 4.80 crores; Punjab Rs. 2.96 crores; Andhra Rs. 3.10 crores; Orissa Rs. 2.94 crores; Rajasthan Rs. 74.50 lakhs; Assam Rs. 45 lakhs; Delhi Rs. 20 lakhs and Madhya Pradesh Rs. 3.50 lakhs.

The Industrial Finance Corporation has increased its resources to the extent of Rs. 12.37 crores by the issue of bonds to the institutional investors. Of the total loans sanctioned so far, Rs. 32 crores were sanctioned for States which were industrially under-developed. Of this amount, new industrial concerns received Rs. 22 crores. In 1957, the Industrial Finance Corporation Act was amended empowering the Corporation to borrow up to a limit of ten times its paid-up capital and reserve fund as against five times provided for in the original

Act of 1948. The amending provisions also empower the Corporation to accept deposits from State Governments and local authorities. Prior to the amendment, the Corporation could accept deposits only from the public. By another amendment, the Corporation can now guarantee deferred payments by importers of capital goods who are able to make such arrangements with foreign manufacturers. Under the new provisions, the Corporation's loan operations have been widened. The change now enables a larger number of industries, including new industrial concerns, which are not in a position to offer adequate security, but deserve encouragement from the point of view of the national economy, to enjoy the benefit of the Corporation's loan assistance, if such assistance is guaranteed as to the repayment of the principal and payment of interest by the Central Government, State Governments, a scheduled bank or a State co-operative bank.

A notable development in the activities of the Corporation during 1957 was in the field of underwriting which was a first venture in its ten years of life. The Industrial Finance Corporation underwrote the issue of 6½ per cent (subject to income-tax) redeemable and convertible debentures for Rs. 1.60 crore, issued by a borrower concern. This underwriting was undertaken in conjunction with the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd., and the Life Insurance Corporation of India. The share of the Corporation's commitment under this underwriting arrangement amounts to Rs. 75 lakhs. This amount is inclusive of the loan of Rs. 45 lakhs which is to be redeemed out of the proceeds of the debenture issue.

On the basis of amended provision of the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, the Corporation has now started guaranteeing deferred payments due from industrial concerns in India on account of the import of capital goods from abroad. Up to the end of June, 1958, the Corporation extended its guarantee to deferred payments to the extent of about Rs. 5 crores. For the last two years in succession, there has been a decline in loan applications to the Corporation. The main cause of this decline is

"the increasing difficulty experienced by industrial concerns and entrepreneurs in the matter of securing the necessary licences for importing the capital goods required for starting new industries or expanding the existing ones." The Corporation demands the production of the necessary import licences before the application for loan is taken up for consideration by it.

Industrial concerns on co-operative basis are being encouraged by the Corporation through its liberal loan accommodations. The sugar co-operative societies received assistance for about Rs. 13.24 crores up to June 30, 1958. Other industrial co-operatives, like the textile concerns, are also now approaching the Corporation for assistance. In order to increase its own resources, the Corporation has borrowed from the Union Government an aggregate sum of Rs. 22.25 crores, carrying an interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. In November, 1957, the Corporation issued bonds for Rs. 4 crores at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum and this loan is repayable in 1967. The total amount of bonds issued by the Corporation reached the figure of Rs. 12.37 crores on 30th June, 1958. Out of the proceeds of the bond issue, the Corporation has repaid its outstanding debts to the Reserve Bank of India amounting to Rs. 2.79 crores. During the year under review, the Corporation has earned a record amount of profit aggregating Rs. 58.25 lakhs. This increase in profits, enabled the Corporation to repay a substantial amount of subvention received by it from the Government of India in previous years. The Corporation has paid the guaranteed dividend of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent to its shareholders.

Company Finances

An article published in the October issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin analyses the balance sheets and profit and loss accounts of 1001 companies for the years 1955 and 1956. The present study does not cover banking, insurance and investment corporations, Government companies (as defined in Sec. 617 of the Companies Act, 1956), companies and associations functioning not for profit and companies limited by guarantee. The study reveals a very marked increase in assets,

which carried the rate of the increase of both fixed assets and inventories to the highest level for the post-war period. This expansion was accompanied by a sizeable rise in sales, profits, tax provision and dividends, with virtually no change in retained profits.

In the financing of capital formation, a feature was the emergence of external sources, in place of internal sources, as the major contributing factor. In 1956, income from sales of the 1001 companies rose by 11.8 per cent to Rs. 1551 crores from Rs. 1388 crores in 1955. The rise in 1956 was most marked in engineering, sugar and other plantations, being over 30 per cent. Manufacturing expenses also went up by 16.1 per cent from Rs. 817 crores to Rs. 948 crores, nearly one-half of the rise being accounted for by engineering and cotton textiles industries. Salaries and wages also rose by Rs. 24 crores to Rs. 257 crores. Managing agents' remuneration (including that to Secretaries and Treasurers) was the only item to show a decline from Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 12 crores. In 1956, 62 companies did not pay any remuneration to managing agents, as against 40 companies in 1955.

The rising trend in profits as distinguished from profitability, noticed after the post-Korean recession in 1952, continued during 1956, albeit at a lower rate. In 1956, profits before tax rose by 9.7 per cent from Rs. 117 crores to Rs. 128 crores, as against increases of 24.1 per cent and 19.5 per cent, respectively in 1955 and 1954 in the case of the 750 companies. Because of a sizeably larger tax provision, profits after tax showed only a moderate rise of 3.3 crores to Rs. 70 crores. Industry-wise, shipping and tea showed phenomenal increases, which were practically offset by the loss in jute and declines in iron and steel and cotton textiles. Distributed profits rose by Rs. 3.5 crores to Rs. 42 crores, as a net result of increase in engineering, shipping, tea and sugar, and declines in jute, cement and coal, among others. Retained profits remained almost unaltered at Rs. 28 crores, the loss suffered by jute and declines in cotton textiles and iron and steel being offset by rises in shipping and tea.

The profitability of equity capital of the

1001 companies, as measured by the percentage of profits after tax to net worth, declined from 9.0 in 1955 to 8.6 in 1956; the corresponding percentage in respect of the 750 companies was 7.8 for 1954 and 6.8 for 1953. The average rate of dividend on ordinary shares rose from 8.9 per cent in 1955 to 9.4 per cent in 1956. This rate had moved up from 7.5 per cent in 1952 to 8.8 per cent in 1955 in respect of the 750 companies. Other plantations gave the highest rate of dividend (20.2 per cent), followed by tea plantations (16.1 per cent). The rates were very low (under 5 per cent), among others, in jute and other textiles and vegetable oil industries. The percentage of dividends to net worth remained unchanged at 5.2. The total assets formation of the 1001 companies in 1956 amounted to Rs. 255 crores, of which gross fixed assets accounted for over one-half (Rs. 133 crores), inventories for over one-third (Rs. 89 crores), and receivables for nearly one-sixth (Rs. 42 crores). Investments showed hardly any change, while cash and bank balances fell by Rs. 9 crores.

Capital formation in respect of gross fixed assets and inventories of the 1001 companies amounted to Rs. 222 crores in 1956. A corresponding estimate for the entire public limited sector (excluding financial companies) would be Rs. 296 crores, comprising Rs. 177 crores of gross fixed assets and Rs. 119 crores of inventories, and for the entire non-financial private corporate sector in India, including foreign companies, Rs. 254 crores and Rs. 171 crores, respectively. Net fixed assets formation constituted 72 per cent of gross fixed assets formation. "Finished goods and work-in-progress" was responsible for 56 per cent and raw materials for only 21 per cent of the inventory accumulated in 1956. Nearly three-fifths of the gross fixed assets formation in 1956 was accounted for by iron and steel, cotton textiles, engineering and shipping and the major part of inventory accumulation took place in cotton textiles and engineering. The annual rate of increase in gross and net fixed assets was appreciably higher at 14 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively, for the 1001 companies in 1956, as compared to 11 per cent and 14 per cent in respect of the 750 companies in

1955. The annual rate of increase in inventories was still higher at 21 per cent.

An outstanding feature in 1956 was the significant shift from internal sources of funds to external sources; the latter at Rs. 161 crores accounted for 63 per cent of the total funds in 1956, as against only 44 per cent in 1955. Under external sources, bank credit was the most important, amounting to Rs. 73 crores, or 28 per cent of the total funds, as compared to only 6 per cent in 1955. Dues to trade and other current liabilities came next in importance, accounting for Rs. 43 crores, or 17 per cent of the total. Internal sources at Rs. 93 crores accounted for only 37 per cent of the total sources in 1956, as against 56 per cent in 1955. Industry-wise, the groups relying for the bulk of their finance on external sources in 1956 were engineering, cement, iron and steel, vegetable oil, electricity, sugar, cotton textiles, shipping and trading. New issue of shares and debentures in respect of the 1001 companies during 1956 amounted to Rs. 24 crores, of which ordinary shares accounted for 76 per cent, preference shares for 18 per cent and debentures for only 6 per cent. Of the total ordinary shares of Rs. 18 crores in 1956, one-half was accounted for by iron and steel and engineering industries.

The total gross assets of the 1001 companies at the end of 1956 amounted to Rs. 2082 crores and their total net assets to Rs. 1638 crores. Of the total net assets, fixed assets at Rs. 621 crores constituted 38 per cent and inventories at Rs. 506 crores constituted 31 per cent. Receivables formed 15 per cent, investments 6 per cent and cash and bank balances 5 per cent of the total net assets. Net worth at Rs. 809 crores (paid-up capital Rs. 495 crores and free reserves and surplus Rs. 314 crores) constituted nearly one-half of total liabilities at the end of 1956. Trade dues and current liabilities (Rs. 292 crores) accounted for 18 per cent and borrowings from bank (Rs. 211 crores) for 13 per cent of total liabilities.

The liquidity of the assets of the 1001 companies showed a slight decline during 1956. The percentage of current assets to net total assets declined from 59.9 to 59.2 and the ratio

of current assets to current liabilities from 1.50 to 1.38.

Pressing Food Situation

The food situation in the country has become a persistent cause of concern both to the people as well as to the authorities. In a country where the annual increase of population occurs by 45 lakhs, it is really a national problem to solve the chronic deficits and it requires national efforts for that purpose. Food is a primary consumer goods and its supply must be abundant enough in order to absorb the increasing money income of the people. But unfortunately, while India needs more and more food-stuffs every year, the food output shows declining trends in recent years. From 58 million tons in 1952-53, production went up to 68.7 million tons in 1953-54. It went down slightly in 1954-55 and it went down a little more in 1955-56. But in 1956-57 it exceeded the figures of 1953-54 and food production was of the order of 68.7 million tons.

In 1957-58, there was a big drop in food supply to the order of 6.7 million tons, that is, of 9.8 per cent. The supply position in 1957 was as follows: Stocks of January 1, 1957, totalled 0.29 million tons; production in 1957 was 68.7 million tons and imports in that year were of the order of 3.58 million tons. This made a total of 72.57 million tons. In 1958, there was an opening stock of 1.29 million tons; production was 62 million tons and so far imports were of 1.86 million tons. Firm contracts for the import of another 1.1 million tons had been entered into. Thus the total quantity of foodgrains available for 1958 is provisionally placed at 66.25 million tons, that is, a shortage of 6.32 million tons. This is the overall shortage and does not give any correct idea of local shortages. The local shortages in certain areas are much bigger. So far as wheat is concerned, in the three wheat-growing States of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the shortage is of the order of 24.6 per cent. In other words, as against the production of 6.1 million tons in 1957, the production in 1958 is 4.6 million tons. As regards rice, the principal rice-growing States, namely, West Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have suffered on account

of drought and the production is estimated at 8.5 million tons as against 11.5 million tons in 1957. Thus, there is a shortage of 3 million tons, that is, 26.8 per cent.

India is the second largest producer of rice, the first being China with 82 million tons of production. In India, the area under rice extends over 78 million acres. The yield per acre is only about 544 kilograms (1 kg=1 seer and 1.2 ch.). Though India and China have the largest area under rice cultivation, the highest per hectare (2½ acres approximately) yield in 1956 was accounted for by Spain (5,810 kilograms), followed by Egypt (5,430 kgs.), Australia (5,290 kgs.), Italy (4,690 kgs.), Portugal (4,230 kgs.) and Japan (4,220 kgs.).

The National Development Council at its recent session has recommended that the State Trading Corporation should undertake to sell and purchase rice. It should operate as a grain bank and although there has been strong opposition from a certain section, that would be a step in the right direction. Every year the Government should declare a minimum price for all foodgrains produced in the country and the State Trading Corporation should be prepared to purchase all foodgrains from the cultivators. The minimum price will provide a great incentive to the cultivators to raise their output. Because of the uncertainty of price situation and the monopolistic hold of wholesalers, the cultivators do not reap the benefit of their production and in consequence they find little incentive in increasing their production. In order to facilitate the working of the State Trading Corporation, there must be a net-work of warehousing corporations in the country where foodgrains can be stored. The State Trading Corporation will purchase direct from the cultivators and not from the wholesalers. It should also arrange to dispose of the foodgrains through Government fair price shops throughout the country and this will bring down the prices of foodgrains.

As regards cultivation, that deserves improvement so as to raise the productivity of the soil. Mechanised cultivation is essential if India is to solve her food problem. In a recent survey report, issued by the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, it has been shown that culti-

vation by tractors is not only economical and cheaper, it also increases the productivity of the soil. It is time that India turns towards mechanised cultivation with consolidation of holdings.

Ministerial Strife in Uttar Pradesh

The Congress in Uttar Pradesh was faced with a major internal crisis in October. The crisis revolved round the divergence of outlook between the Chief Minister, Dr. Sampurnanand, and some of his colleagues on the position of Congress ministers *vis-a-vis* the Congress organisation in the State. Dr. Sampurnanand held to the point that all the ministers must act jointly as a team in the meetings of the Pradesh Congress while the others, of whom Acharya Jugal Kishore, the Minister for Labour and Social Welfare, was the spokesman, contended that the Chief Minister could not insist on joint action by other ministers on matters which did not directly affect Government policies. In the view of the dissidents, ministers were free to act according to their personal convictions during discussions of organizational matters within the Pradesh Congress Committee. Acharya Jugal Kishore said: "I have made it plain to the Chief Minister that I do not agree with his interpretation of a Minister's role in the P.C.C. Ministers can only act jointly after prior consultation on an issue. The Chief Minister holds a different view, retaining the right of deciding when ministers must vote with him."

The Chief Minister, Dr. Sampurnanand, was in a predicament and for a few days he was unable to decide whether to accept the resignations. He was eventually able to secure the backing of the Congress High Command and thus retrieve his prestige for the time being. This could hardly be taken as the final act in the drama of personal and group rivalry in the U. P. Congress which dated back to the 'thirties. It was significant that the issue of the Ministers' relation with the P.C.C. was raised as part of a move for discussion at the meeting of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee of a non-official resolution seeking the replacement of the present nominated executive in the U.P.C.C. by an elected body. The Chief

Minister with the backing of Shri Govind Vallabh Pant and the other U.P. Ministers at the Centre made it a prestige issue but the imminent showdown could only be avoided by the last-minute withdrawal of the opposition motion on the personal appeal of Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta, the leader of the dissident group. And it was only after the Chief Minister had got through with his stand in the U.P.C.C. that the High Command decided to uphold him in the particular conflict with his Ministerial colleagues without giving any opinion on the question of ministerial responsibility *vis-a-vis* the P.C.C.

The Situation in Kerala

The Communist Government in Kerala became, almost at its inception, a matter of national controversy. Even before three days had passed since the assumption of office by the Communists the Congress General Secretary was conjuring up the spectre of 'totalitarianism' swooping down on Kerala. This was perhaps not altogether unexpected in the context of prolonged, and often bitter, Congress-Communist clashes over policies and actions in many spheres of national life. It would be apparent to any impartial observer that partisanship ran a little further in the case of Kerala and the relative share of responsibility attached to the leadership of the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party who created a nationwide scare by exaggerating isolated incidents within Kerala beyond all reasonable proportion. All this might very well suit partisan purposes but were hardly useful for those who wanted to take stock of the situation in an objective manner. For a wider knowledge of the true state of affairs in Kerala was imperative for the future of democracy in the country. Nothing was or is ever gained by a deliberate blindness to reality. When we have accepted a democratic functioning of society where the Communists' role has also been recognized it is essential that everyone has the correct assessment about the distinctive role of the various political parties including the Communist Party. Possession of this knowledge alone could enable them to act correctly

in the critical situations. Shri H. D. Malaviya's report on the eighteen-month-old Communist rule in Kerala embodied in his latest book *Kerala—A Report to the Nation* throws much interesting light upon many obscure points in the Kerala uproar. In his characteristically incisive analysis the ex-editor of the *AICC Economic Review* traces the fantastic behaviour of the anti-Communist forces in Kerala to intra-Congress factionalism and Congress-PSP rivalry for political power. "Personal rivalries and factionalism continue to be the dominating urges of Kerala Congress till today, even after all the disasters which have befallen upon them," he writes. "The group headed by ex-Chief Minister Panampally is against any alliance with PSP, the chief argument being that Congress is good enough to beat the Communists if it is properly led. The clear implication is that the present leadership of the State Congress Organisation, as also the Congress Legislative Party, is not in competent hands. . . ."

"(The Congress Assembly Leader) P. T. Chacko's recent intimacy with Pattom (Thanu Pillai—the PSP leader) is explained by their common dislike for Panampally, both being determined to see that he is not set up as a candidate from Chalakudy. In this, K. A. Damodara Menon, the KPCC President, seems to be backing them.

"And so this bewildering dis-unity of the anti-Communists in Kerala has become the cause of most weird politics. To impress the powers that be both are interested in proving that each is a more virulent anti-Communist than the other. This competition in anti-Communism has reached fantastic proportions. There is the spectacle, on the one hand, of Panampally leading processions and shouting slogans on the streets of Trichur in connection with a got-up strike in Government-managed Sitaram Mills at Trichur. More than 600 'volunteers' were jailed. Very many of these 'volunteers' were picked up from the village vendors who come to Trichur and hardly earn a rupee a day. They were given forty-five rupees each for 'Satyagraha' which lodges them in jail just for two weeks. So during the period, when they would otherwise earn only fifteen

rupees, they get forty-five rupees—certainly not a bad bargain." (Pp. 128-130).

Suppression of Immoral Traffic

How the provisions of a good act are vitiated through its inept implementation is exemplified in the conduct of the Nagpur police towards the singing girls and professionals. The object of the Act was to recover these girls to normal, civilised life and to ensure that no one else would have to take such a course in future. The police behaved in such a manner that it evoked the protest even of the fallen girls not to speak of decent citizens. Some of the police officers apparently took the occasion as an excellent opportunity for their personal aggrandisement. It would not be proper to hold that such a conduct was a peculiarity of Nagpur police. This could conceivably happen in any place. It was, however, essential in social interest that the girls did not find 'liberation' more degrading than bondage.

We append below extracts from the account of the staff reporter of the *Hitavada* about the incidents in Nagpur.

Nagpur, Oct. 13.—There have been reports of alleged police excesses and failure of the authorities in tackling the situation arising out of the implementation of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, following detention of a large number of singing girls and professionals.

Instances of alleged mis-behaviour by the police party which conducted the raid and reported attempts by certain police officials to take advantage of the new powers vested in them were also brought to the notice of this reporter by a spokesman on behalf of the detained girls.

There was also bitter public criticism of the manner in which the police called the singing girls and a few professionals numbering about 40, to the District Court on Friday at 11 a.m. and kept them waiting in the open, exposed to the public gaze without any protection.

A leading member of the bar who had personally witnessed the harassment of the girls by a large crowd of by-standers described the

scene as 'revolting.' He said any sane administration could have visualised the consequences of leaving such a large bunch of charming young girls at the mercy of the public.

The girls, according to eye-witnesses, were continuously surrounded by a large crowd which at times numbered over 500. They were stared at like the inmates of a zoo! All sorts of indecencies, filthy language and other obscene remarks were hurled at them and yet no step was taken to stop this mischief till the evening when those under 21 among them, were dispatched to the Women's Rescue Home and the remaining were allowed to go home.

The spokesman also gave instances where certain police officials are alleged to have tried to take undue advantage of the singing girls after the Act came into force. A Head Constable notorious for his 'excesses' in the locality is reported to have approached the father of a tawaif demanding her to be sent to his quarters. In another instance a Sub-Inspector went to the residence of a tawaif (the day following the medical examination of the singing girls) and made her sing till late hours in the morning. Her fee was paid by two other persons accompanying him.

Women Trekking to Himalayas

A newspaper report said that an Indian woman trekking expedition of six under the auspices of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute left Darjeeling on October 19. One of the women gave up the effort but five of them were continuing their journey. The five women were Misses Pem Pem and Nima, daughters of Shri Tenzing Norkay, his niece, Miss Doma, Miss Sankhadhar of Banaras and Miss Kothare of Nagpur.

Rise of the Military

In the continents of Asia and Africa the military seems to be on the rise. Until recently it was a popular belief that in the East only the Middle Eastern countries were prone to fall a victim to military rule and that East of Baghdad the rise of the military would be exceptional. The frequent outbursts of violence and forcible changes of Government in the Middle Eastern countries and the relative

stability of Governments in East Asia were of course responsible for such a belief but keen observers were not hiding their uneasiness at the growing prominence of the military in Indonesian politics. History, however, has chosen to take its own peculiar course belying all the fond beliefs and interpretations. Contrary to expectation the Indonesian Government which gave signs of shakiness has remained relatively stable while Governments which were supposed to be stable have fallen like a house of cards one after another.

The first break-through was in Iraq, one of the Western strongholds in Asia. On July 14 of this year the military rose against the pro-West Government and assumed sovereign powers. At the same time in the nearby Lebanon the military under General Fuad Chehab played an equally effective, though perhaps less direct, role in effecting a change of Government. While all seemed to be settled the world was taken by surprise by Premier U. Nu's announcement that he had taken the decision to hand over the country's Government to General Ne Win, the Commander-in-Chief of the Burmese Armed Forces. Before the world was able to regain itself from the shock of the news of this failure of democracy in Burma the first act of the Pakistani drama was already on. On the night of October 7th, the Pakistan President, Iskander Mirza, under the obvious compulsion of pressure from the military, announced the abrogation of the Constitution, the Governments at the Centre and Provinces, the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies as well as the political parties and the imposition of Martial Law throughout the country virtually transferring all powers to the military headed by General Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Armed Forces. For a few days Mirza was retained as the titular head of the country, presumably for diplomatic and other considerations. But soon it became superfluous to maintain the show and President Mirza had to give way to the General as the Supreme Ruler of the country on October 27—within twenty days of his orders for the abrogation of the Constitution. The transfer of the title was made in an interesting way:

General Ayub Khan, who had been acting as the Chief Martial Law Administrator was sworn in as Prime Minister on October 27, morning. Simultaneously he assumed powers as the Supreme Commander of Pakistan's Armed Forces—a position to which only the President was entitled under the defunct Constitution—and Lieutenant-General Mohammad Musa, until then Chief of Staff in the Pakistani Army was promoted to the rank of General and appointed Commander-in-Chief, *vice* General Ayub Khan. In his oath Gen. Ayub undertook that he "will faithfully discharge such duties as the President may assign to me." By the evening of the same day (October 27) he forced the President, Iskander Mirza, as the President himself described, "to step aside and hand over all powers to General Ayub Khan." On his assumption of office as President, General Ayub Khan promptly abolished the post of Prime Minister and announced that henceforth Pakistan would be administered under a Presidential type of Government. Thus democracy was smothered for the first time in a country belonging to the Commonwealth.

Just as General Ayub Khan was making himself the President of Pakistan the Burmese Parliament in a historic session on October 28, unanimously resolved to hand over the Prime Ministership of the country to General Ne Win, the Commander-in-Chief. General Ne Win, a former clerk in a sub-post-office in Rangoon, was one of the revolutionary leaders who were prominent in the revolutionary wars against Japan and Britain. For brief periods in 1949 he officiated as the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister in addition to being Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He announced a purely non-political ministry—none of the ministers being member of the Parliament. This was another unique development: though the Constitution or the Parliament was not abrogated room was found to allow a non-Legislature Ministry to function within the Constitution.

In the meanwhile in a characteristically dramatic sweep Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Thailand, who had earlier been prominent in

the *coup* eliminating Field Marshal Pibul Songgram, took over the Government of Thailand on October 20, forcing General Thanom Kittikachorn, the Prime Minister, to resign. Field Marshal Sarit, who had been recuperating in a London hospital, had returned to Bangkok only three days before (17th October). He proclaimed Martial Law and dissolved all the political parties in Thailand.

The world was taking stock of the changes brought about by these upheavals when news arrived of yet another military *coup*—this time in the Sudan in North Africa where the Army led by its Commander-in-Chief General Ibrahim Abboud seized power in a swift pre-dawn move on November 17, against the pro-Western Government. The General abrogated the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament, banned all political parties, closed down all newspapers and declared a state of emergency throughout the country. A Supreme Military Council under the Chairmanship of General Abboud, who was also sworn in as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, on November 20, would exercise the Constitutional powers.

It would, however, not be correct to put all these military *coups* in the same category. The events in Iraq, Lebanon and the Sudan may be put in one category. These countries—more particularly the first two—had been long afflicted under the rule of pro-Western Governments who were more concerned with maintaining their own authority than with the people's welfare. In practice, this meant the refusal on the parts of the Governments to comply with even the most elementary demands of the people for political, economic and social reforms. The Governments set up by the Military Commanders there promised, and to an extent has already carried out, significant reforms so that the new Governments were able to secure a considerable degree of mass support. In Pakistan the *coup* meant the supersession of an incompetent and corrupt Parliamentary democracy without any fundamental change in the nature of domestic and international policies. The new regime made grandiose promises to the people and was thus initially hailed by the masses; but its subse-

quent failure to act up to its promises has already removed much of its popular support. Moreover, as the Ayub administration does not envisage any radical economic, social and political reforms it has to go without the most potent means of ensuring popular support. What is more its declared adherence to the reactionary, pro-Western foreign policy has also tended to wean away from it the support of genuinely patriotic Pakistan nationalists. In Burma on the other hand General Ne Win has with full popular backing assumed powers for a specified period and he proposes to give up with the election of a new Parliament in April 1959. Thailand has seen many such army coups in the recent past and not much importance should perhaps be attached to the latest one.

However, the rise of the role of the military in political affairs and the failure of Parliamentary Governments in so many countries certainly posed a question which needs urgent attention by all concerned.

The Fate of South-West Africa

South-West Africa occupies an area of 317,725 square miles and has a population of 447,000 of whom the European members are fewer than 50,000. It was seized by Germany in 1884 and during the First World War was surrendered to the Union of South Africa. At the conclusion of the First World War, the League of Nations gave it as a mandate to the Union of South Africa. After the Second World War when all mandated territories were placed under the United Nations Trusteeship system, the Government of the Union of South Africa refused to do so in respect of South-West Africa. On the contrary, the South African Government sought to incorporate the territory within the Union. It was through the efforts of the valiant Rev. Michael Scott that the world outside came to know of the discriminatory policy of the White Government of South Africa against the natives of the land.

The issue of South-West Africa has been before the U.N. for nearly twelve years now; though nothing tangible was achieved.

Latest developments would seem to suggest that the Union of South Africa was to be re-

warded for its persistent refusal to according to the principles of international law. A United Nations Good Offices Committee, appointed in September last, has recommended either the revival of the old League of Nations Mandate agreement which would mean according moral sanction to racist policies of the present rulers of South Africa or a partition of South-West Africa between the whites and the natives.

It is difficult to believe that a U.N. Good Offices Committee could do something to lower the prestige of the democratic world body. Yet in the recommendation for the revival of the rejected mandate agreement of the League of Nations in supersession of the Trusteeship system of the U.N. nothing less has been done. It is again incomprehensible how the Committee could recommend giving to South Africa which has flouted the authority of the U.N., part of a territory to which it is not entitled legally, morally or politically (the International Court of Justice unequivocally declared that the South African Government could not incorporate S. W. Africa within the Union). It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the General Assembly rejected the recommendation of the Good Offices Committee for partition of S.-W. Africa.

The Prison House of South Africa

The Union of South Africa presented the picture of a vast prison house. Hundreds of African women courted arrest in October protesting against the discriminatory law which required African women to carry identity books. Five hundred women were arrested in Johannesburg on October 21 when another 460 women voluntarily gave themselves up to the police in sympathy with the arrested demonstrators. The women were carrying their babies in arms when they were arrested. Thousands thronged the streets outside the Magistrate's Court on October 30 when the arrested women were brought up for trial. Unable to stand this sight of national sympathy the police made a most beastly attack upon the helpless women. The barbarity of the attack was partly conveyed in the *P.T.I.* report appended below:

Johannesburg, Oct. 30.—Hundreds of

African women, many with babies on their backs, ran screaming through the streets of Johannesburg today as white police charged with canes to disperse a crowd gathered outside the magistrate's court.

Women began massing early outside the court where several hundred women were being charged for their part in demonstrations against pass laws.

The police whacked at the women's backs with canes and one policeman lashed a woman carrying a baby, with his leather pistol lanyard. The clasp of the lanyard embedded itself in the woman's leg and tore a deep wound.

The charge was ordered by the senior police Colonel after the crowd had given a noisy welcome to some of the accused women when they filed out of court after the case against them had been withdrawn. A few minutes earlier the Colonel had warned the crowd, through megaphone to disperse.
—P.T.I.

Boris Pasternak Gets Nobel Prize

The Swedish Academy awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1958 to the Soviet writer Boris Pasternak for his novel *Dr. Zhivago* which became a best-seller in the West—though yet to be published within the Soviet Union. Mr. Pasternak, 68, was the son of a well-known painter Leonid Pasternak and was the greatest living Soviet poet. His parents had left the U.S.S.R. in the 1920s and had eventually settled in England. His two sisters still lived in London where a memorial exhibition of his father's works was recently held.

The award of the Prize to Pasternak set off a chain of reaction in the land of "socialist realism" that must shock every decent person. The whole affair bore a close resemblance to the behaviour of the Nazi Government in Germany when the German pacifist writer, Carl Von Ossietzky was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in November 1936. The Stalinist terror had forced Pasternak, the greatest living Soviet poet, to stop writing and to concentrate on making Russian translations of Shakespeare (the translations by the way were best sellers in the Soviet Union). He never really stopped writing though he did not publish them. After

Stalin's death he announced the completion of the novel *Dr. Zhivago* which was at first received with approval by the Soviet Communist which, however, reversed its ruling on second thoughts and the publication of the book with the USSR was tabooed. The book would perhaps have never seen the light of the day had it not been for the unusual courage and stamina displayed by an Italian Communist publisher. Feltrinelli—that was the Italian's name—was fascinated by Pasternak's manuscript during his trip to the Soviet Union at the time of the intellectual thaw and secured world copyright for the book outside the USSR. As the Party bosses had not taken their hostile stand Feltrinelli was allowed to take a copy of the book. When he was halfway through the publication of the Italian edition of the novel the change of mind took place in the Soviet land and the party wanted to have the book suppressed. A top-ranking party man went to Italy to persuade Feltrinelli to desist from publishing the book. The latter, however, refused to be swayed.

Thus *Dr. Zhivago* came to see the light of the day and for this book Boris Pasternak became the first Soviet writer to be awarded the Nobel Prize since the Revolution of 1917. The controversy preceding the publication of the book was at any rate bound to lead anyone praising the book to face the wrath of the Soviet Party and Government. The award of the Nobel Prize under such circumstances could be expected to provoke some uncharitable comments from the Soviet Union. Few, however, could predict the course actually taken by the Soviet bureaucracy which did not remain content by abusing the Swedish Academy in the most offending manner but went on to inflict the most severe punishment upon the aged writer who had all along sought to obey the party line even at the cost of great personal humiliation. The guardians of "socialist realism" not only criticized him; they stripped Pasternak of his honour of being called a "Soviet writer" and also expelled him from the Union of writers. Translated into understandable language it meant in the Soviet context that henceforth Pasternak would have no avenue of earning his livelihood within the

Soviet Union. No Soviet newspaper or publishing house would come forward to publish his writings and nobody would be able to sell or buy them in public. Being on the wrong side of sixty he would neither find it easy to change to another avocation, if that were possible at all. It was no wonder then that on the very next day of his expulsion he came forward with a refusal to accept the award when two of his compatriots were jubilating at the award of the Nobel Prize for Physics to them. The wordings of Pasternak's cable to the Swedish Academy were revealing: "Considering how this honour has been interpreted in the society to which I belong," the great poet wrote, "I am obliged to reject the undeserved prize I have been awarded."

The Communist Party and Khrushchev were not satisfied even with that. On November 1 they announced that Pasternak could leave the USSR if he liked—the underlying idea being that it would be far more easy to denounce Pasternak if he should choose to go out. The great writer, however, refused to oblige the Kremlin gods with a new handle to whip up their campaign of slander. He refused to leave Russia. "For me this is impossible," he said. "I am linked with Russia by my birth, life and work. I cannot imagine my fate separate and outside Russia. . . . A departure beyond the borders of my country is for me equivalent to death and for that reason I request you (Khrushchev) not to take in relation to me that extreme measure (i.e., banishment). With my hand on my heart I can say that I have done something for Soviet literature and I can still be useful to it."

The great writer's stand was thus a straight slap on the face of his denigrators who wanted to threaten him to a position of acting as a handle for lying propaganda. The decision would mean great hardship for the old poet but he thereby proved himself a great patriot and a brave man and earned the admiration of all right-thinking person.

Reform of the House of Lords

The four-hundred-year-old British tradition of an all-male House of Lords was broken on October 21 when Stella Reading, 64, widow

of a nobleman took her seat in the Second Chamber of the British Parliament as the first woman peer. She was one of the four women who were created "life" peers by Queen Elizabeth on the recommendation of the Conservative Government as a measure of constitutional reform. All the four women were well-known public figures. The youngest Dame Katherine Elliot, 55, was the widow of a Conservative elder statesman and her party's former Chairman. The oldest, the dowager Marchioness of Reading, 64, had organized 1,250,000 housewives into a volunteer labour force during Second World War. The other two were Mrs. Barbara Wooton, 60, economist and only socialist of the four and Baroness Ravensdale, 62, once a member of Britain's suffragette band which had won the parliamentary vote for women.

There was bitter resentment among most of the 800 nobles who sat in the House of Lords by hereditary right as peers of the U.K., at this feminine invasion of a male stronghold.

Describing the swearing-in ceremony of the women peers *Reuter* said:

"Lady Reading—who now becomes Baroness Swanborough—and Baroness Wooton of Abinger, as two of the nation's new life peeresses, also scored an immediate victory for their sex by keeping their hats on during the centuries-old ceremonial of installation. Men life peers had to doff their black cockades thrice to Viscount Kilmauir, Lord Chancellor (Chairman of the Upper House).

"Had the women, garbed in scarlet, ermine-trimmed robes, been forced to remove their black velour Tricorne hats, their hair would have been disarranged. The Lords accordingly waived the rule."

The United Kingdom is one of the oldest democracies. Yet it was only recently that women were accorded the right of vote there. Even now women there were barred from some positions though it was not easy to the reasonableness for such exclusion from a democratic point of view. With the present reform of the House of Lords one of the political inequalities of the women was removed.

The New Pope

Angelo Cardinal Roncalli, 76-year-old Patriarch of Venice, was elected Pope on October 28, by the Cardinals on their eleventh ballot, held on the third day of their secret conclave. The new Pope would be known as John XXIII—the title assumed by a 15th century anti-Pope who was deposed. He would be known in the Vatican as "Papa Giovanni XXIII."

The New York Times gives the following biographical sketch:

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, born near Bergamo, north Italy, Nov. 25, 1881, of humble farm workers. Ordained a priest in 1904. Called to Rome in 1921 as an aide at the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith which supervises all missionary activities. Consecrated titular Archbishop in 1925 and entered Vatican diplomatic service. Held high-ranking Balkan posts through most of World War II. Named Apostolic Nuncio to France in 1944. Elevated to Cardinal and Patriarch of Venice in 1953.

Reuter reports:

"The new Pope, who spoke for 12 minutes in a strong, clear voice, appealed for peace and concord between nations and for justice for all classes. Afterwards he gave his Apostolic benediction 'Urbi et Orbi' to the City of Rome and to the world.

"The Pope began by sending his greetings to the people of Bergamo, where he was born, and of Venice where he was Patriarch until last night.

"He sent a special message of greetings to the bishops and clergy in those countries where 'they do not enjoy religious freedom.' Then he addressed all the rulers of nations, appealing to them for harmony, concord and peace. He told them that they should act in such a way as to inspire mutual confidence. They should insist on peace, so that the human family could live in freedom.

"Freedom can come only from the tranquillity of peace. Peace comes from inside the soul."

"Afterwards, Vatican Radio announced: 'The conclave area has been opened. The Pon-

tificate of John XXIII has begun.' Church bells then pealed out."

Abortive U.S. Rocket to Moon

The United States Air Forces launched a rocket towards the moon, which lies about 221,000 miles away from the earth, on October 11. Initially the American Scientists said that it would be able to break through the gravitational pull and if it should function as planned it would either go into orbit around the moon and become a satellite's satellite or circle round behind the moon and return to the vicinity of the earth, or crash into the moon's surface. Actually, however, it was unable to overcome the gravitation and crashed on earth. The U.S. bid, through a failure this time, indicates that rocket research was reaching a stage when the journey to the moon might not be far off.

The U.S. Elections

The mid-term election in the U.S. has resulted in a landslide victory for the Democrats. The following extract from the *New York Times* of November 2, is revealing in that context:

Off-year elections are generally settled by local issues or local aspects of national issues. Nonetheless it is traditional for the party's big guns to boom out assertions that might woo new voters or hold waverers.

It was in this spirit—and to boost the morale of Republicans disheartened by the prospects of a Democratic sweep—that Vice-President Nixon set out late in September. He has stumped in every pivotal state with a slashing campaign that attacked Democrats for "radicalism" and pointed admiringly to the Eisenhower Administration's record. Under urging from him and from G. O. P. National Chairman Meade Alcorn, President Eisenhower soon took to the hustings with the most partisan campaigning of his career. He charged that the "dominant wing" of the Democratic party is controlled by "radicals" who are "pursuing economic and political goals at odds with American tradition," whereas his Administration has exemplified "sane Government."

For the Democrats the big guns—less re-

sounding because they lack the platform provided by national office—have been former President Truman and former Presidential nominee Adlai E. Stevenson. Mr. Truman has declared that the Administration “gave us more unemployment.” Mr. Stevenson has taxed the Administration with “failure of leadership.”

Although both sides have discussed many issues, only two appear to have any widespread impact. One is the recession, an issue which has repercussions in every state. The other is the role of organized labor, an issue that has its greatest impact generally in industrialized states and particularly in six states which will be voting on “right-to-work” plans banning the union shop. This is the situation of the two parties on these major issues:

Recession. President Eisenhower summarized the Republican stand on the issue last week in a campaign speech at Pittsburgh. Declaring that “events swiftly showed a critical and basic difference” between the parties in attacking the recession, he said:

The Republican formula was steadiness, confidence, strength. The formula of the radical wing of the opposition was fearful prophesy and a raid on the tax-payer's dollar. . . .

(The) Republican approach worked. Today, nation-wide, things are good and are rapidly getting better.

Former President Truman has stated the Democratic stand on the recession issue in these terms:

The Republicans believe in a policy of boom or bust. They had us in a recession in 1953 and 1954 and as soon as there was a little recovery they put us in a recession again. Big business gets the upward trends and the rest of us get the down slopes and go broke.

Labor. Republicans contend that the Democratic party is dominated by “power-hungry union bosses” and blame the Democrats for the defeat in the House of the Kennedy-Ives bill, a bipartisan measure passed 88 to 1 by the Senate and aimed at halting some of the labor practices exposed by the McClellan committee in the Senate. Democrats contend that the Republicans are the “party of big business” and argue that Republican votes brought the Kennedy-Ives bill down. Actually, labor was

cool to the bill and business opposed it because it relaxed the Taft-Hartley Act somewhat. Therefore, the Democratic leadership of the House brought the measure up under a procedure barring amendments; the Republicans charged “gag” and voted against it. The labor issue is embittered by controversies in six states over “right-to-work” plans. This is primarily an employer-union controversy, but those Republicans who have taken any stand on it tend to support the “right-to-work” principle while Democrats generally have opposed it.

Both these issues have figured—the recession prominently, labor varyingly—in the states which are the principal battlegrounds of the campaign.

As to the individuals whose political fortunes are bound up in the election, the one most deeply committed is Vice-President Nixon. He is now alone in the field for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1960. A severe defeat for the Republicans in California, his home state, would weaken his political footing. It at the same time Nelson A. Rockefeller won in New York, the Vice President would be confronted with a major rival for the Presidential nomination.

Another factor involved in Mr. Nixon's fate is the determinedly partisan campaign he has waged. If the Republicans stave off a major defeat his stock in the party will rise. Conversely, a landslide loss would hurt him.

Mr. Rockefeller, by winning, would become not only a hot Presidential prospect but a rallying point for the “modern” or Eisenhower Republicans whose center is in the East. Defeat for him would strengthen the position of the party's conservative or Old Guard wing, which has maintained that the G. O. P. should distinguish itself clearly from the Democrats instead of blurring the lines as Mr. Rockefeller has done.

U.S. Election Results

The Statesman of November 6, gives the results of the election in the U.S., and the commentary given below:

New York, Nov. 5.—The state of the parties in the U.S. Congressional election at 11 p.m. I.S.T. tonight was as follows: .

HOUSE

Democrats274 (235).
 Republicans140 (200).
 Undecided22 (including
 Alaska, 1).

SENATE

Democrats61 (49).
 Republicans34 (47).
 Undecided3 (including
 Alaska, 2).

GOVERNORS

Democrats31 (29).
 Republicans17 (19).

Washington, Nov. 5.—The Democrats swept into increased control of Congress and State Governorships today in a landslide election victory largely attributed to an anti-Eisenhower feeling.

But, in defeat, the Republicans produced a potential new Presidential "star" in Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, who wrested the New York State Governorship from his fellow millionaire, Mr. Averell Harriman.

First results from the Eastern States poured into jubilant Democratic headquarters last night while the Western polling stations were still open for the last voters. They told a tale of growing Republican disaster.

The one-third of Senate seats at stake fell steadily to Democrats, who chalked up 14 consecutive victories before Republicans won even a single seat.

In Vermont, "rock-ribbed" stronghold of New England conservatism, Democrats broke a 104-year-old Republican stranglehold.

Also in New England, all six of the Connecticut Republicans were swept out of the House of Representatives by the advancing Democrats. They also won control of the California Governorship, Senator William F. Knowland losing to Mr. Edmund Brown.

The Democratic victory was attributed partly to the traditional mid-term swing away

from the party controlling the White House and partly because President Eisenhower's Republican Administration had been associated with the recent recession in the minds of many voters.

The President again faces a potentially hostile Congress in his last two years of office. He is the first President ever to be confronted by three successive Congresses controlled by the Opposition Party.

The Democratic tide had been accurately forecast and vigorous campaigning in the past few weeks by President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon failed to halt it.

Mr. Nixon, unchallenged until now for party leadership in 1960, had set the pace of the Republican campaign and was seen as gradually moving into overall direction of Republican strategy. Today he finds himself as the head of a badly defeated party and with his own political future made somewhat uncertain by the rise of Mr. Rockefeller.

The Algerian Stalemate

The New York Times of November 2 describes the position in Algeria in the following terms:

The stalemate between France and the Algerian rebels is reflected in these two statements:

By Premier Charles de Gaulle, on Oct. 23: "If delegates were designated (by the Algerian rebels) to come (to Paris) and settle . . . the end of hostilities, they would . . . be received and treated honorably. . . . I guarantee them the freedom to leave again. This peace, may it come as soon as possible."

By Algerian rebel leaders, on Oct. 25: "(De Gaulle's offer is) a request for unconditional surrender. . . . Supported by the glorious Army of National Liberation, which nothing can beat, . . . the Algerian Government has decided to direct the fight until its end, that is, the independence of the country."

Thus France's most direct bid for peace in Algeria appeared to have come to nought. Throughout the West last week there was deep disappointment. While no one had expected the rebels to fly to Paris hats in hand, the feeling had been that they wanted peace and might

give qualified acceptance to the de Gaulle offer. Last week de Gaulle was reported to have told an aide: "These are not men of state; they lack political sense." Even Algeria's sister states, Tunisia and Morocco, criticized the rebel reply.

The French offer was the first of its kind since the Algerian rebellion began four years ago. In making it, de Gaulle overrode the bitter opposition of the Rightists in France and the European settlers in Algeria—advocates of a tough policy of military repression. Despite their views, the French Premier had also opened the door to a political settlement with the rebels.

Why, then, did the rebels reject his offer? According to reports from Cairo, where the Algerian "government-in-exile" has its headquarters, the rebel leaders felt they were being asked to sign a truce without any assurance that they would ever reach the goal for which they had been fighting: independence.

Distortion of the Tax Structure

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* at New Delhi writes:

New Delhi, Oct. 20.—The reluctance of State Governments to tax the agriculturist is the most striking conclusion to emerge from a comparative study of Second Plan taxation targets and estimated yields.

In sharp contrast is the yield from taxes which primarily affect the urban population. In every case, the yield is expected to be more than estimated in the Plan.

But the shortfall in the agricultural sector is so large that it more than outweighs the gains registered in the urban. As a result the overall shortfall amounts to Rs. 30.2 crores against an additional taxation target of Rs. 225 crores.

Data collected by the Planning Commission indicate that the five-year yield from land revenue, for instance, will amount to Rs. 11.1 crores or less than one-third of the target of Rs. 37 crores.

The increased yield from betterment levy is now estimated at Rs. 1.9 crores as against the target of Rs. 16 crores; from irrigation rates Rs. 1.5 crores as against Rs. 11 crores;

from agricultural income-tax Rs. 7.9 crores as against Rs. 12 crores; and from assessment of non-agricultural land nil as against the target of Rs. 1.9 crores.

The aggregate Plan target for these five items was Rs. 77.9 crores. The yield, as estimated from the measures taken so far, is estimated at Rs. 22.4 crores or as much as Rs. 55.5 crores below the target.

The aggregate target for five other items primarily affecting the urban population—sales tax, tax on motor vehicles and passengers, electricity duties and rates, stamp duties and miscellaneous taxes—is Rs. 147.1 crores. The five-year yield estimated now is Rs. 172.6 crores, an increase of Rs. 25.3 crores.

The comparative figures for the non-agricultural items are: sales tax (including tax on motor spirits) target Rs. 112 crores, yield Rs. 118.9 crores; taxes on motor vehicles and passengers target Rs. 10 crores, yield Rs. 14.4 crores; electricity duties and rates target Rs. 6 crores, yield Rs. 10.6 crores; stamp duties and registration target Rs. 4 crores, yield Rs. 4.9 crores; miscellaneous taxes target Rs. 15.1 crores, yield Rs. 23.6 crores.

While the Planning Commission has urged the states not only to make good the deficit but also contribute to filling the uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores, little hope is really held out of a substantial increase in tax revenues in the last two years of the Plan.

The reason given—though not by the Commission—is the fact that the State Governments derive their main support from the agricultural vote.

Agriculture to the Fore?

It seems from the following news-item that our Government is at last taking notice of a very neglected essential. We wonder!

New Delhi, Nov. 2.—The imperative need to raise agriculture to a position of major importance in India epitomises the conclusions of the Agricultural Administration Committee which submitted its report to the Government recently.

A bold attitude to see "new wine in new bottles" has to be developed towards reforming the agricultural administration in the country, the 10-chapter report declares.

The Committee is strongly of the opinion that a streamlined agricultural administration is an urgent necessity, and that the food situation of the country "can be appreciably eased if positive steps are taken to achieve this objective."

Stating that the picture is "bleak enough" to justify "drastic measures," not merely to retrieve the situation but even more to make up for the time already lost, the report calls for a change of heart, of purpose and of leadership in the field of agriculture as a requirement of national importance.

The committee's report bears this legend at its commencement: "At the head of all sciences and arts, at the head of civilization and progress, stand not militarism, the science that kills, not commerce, the art that accumulates, but agriculture, the mother of all industries and the maintainer of human life."

The committee's inquiry lasted seven months. Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh, who is Adviser on Agricultural Production in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, was its chairman.

Price Control

The following news-item contains a very valuable suggestion:

Hyderabad, Nov. 13.—Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, Chief Minister of Andhra, said here today that there should be a uniform price control policy in respect of rice in all the States, be they surplus or deficit. Otherwise the possibility of smuggling rice from a State where the price was controlled to a State where there was no such control could not be eliminated.

Mr. Reddi also said that it was unfair to impose price control only in the surplus States, leaving out the deficit States. It would mean discrimination against producers in the surplus States who would have to part with their stocks at controlled rates while producers in the deficit areas would be free to sell their stocks at any price.

This matter had been raised at the recent meeting of the National Development Council which decided that wholesale trade in food-grains should be under the monopoly of State Governments.

Heartening News

Welcome news, is how we would describe the following news-item:

New Delhi, Nov. 14.—Having received encouraging reports from Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and West Bengal, the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry is expecting a bumper paddy crop this year.

There is every hope that this year's rice crop will equal, if not exceed, 28 million tons, so far the biggest on record which was harvested in 1956.

It is presumably because of this that rice prices have lately declined by at least Rs. 2 per maund in most rice-consuming areas.

There has, however, been no sign yet of any appreciable reduction in wheat prices which continue to be high, especially in some parts of U.P.

Nehru on Pakistan

The following news-item is given below for record:

Baroda, Nov. 2.—Mr. Nehru today said that the recent events in Pakistan, where a military dictator had become the master of that country, were portents which one could not appreciate or like.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing about 200,000 people at a public meeting here, said that anyone in Pakistan was welcome to these new developments. India, however, had to learn from such events and see that it did not get entangled in such things.

He did not think, however, that such developments could take place in this country "because what we have done during the freedom movement and later has given us tremendous strength and because we still try to follow the path that Gandhiji showed us," he said.

"You have seen what has happened in Pakistan during the last two or three weeks. I have no right, nor have you, to criticize Pakistan. It is their country and they should do what they think proper. But you see now that after 11 years of independence, Pakistan has not yet settled down," he said.

In comparison, India had made tremendous progress. India had held two general elections,

fulfilled its First Five-Year Plan and was now in the course of implementing its Second Plan.

There were a hundred and one other things, however, "which can create obstacles in our work. These are our old weaknesses of disunity, casteism and petty provincial quarrels which erupt now and then. We have to beware of them," he said.

Party Cogitations

We place the following extract from the *Statesman* of November 17, for record only, as such cogitations have seldom achieved anything in the past:

New Delhi, Nov. 16.—Meeting on the eve of the Lok Sabha's winter session, both the Congress and Communist Parliamentary Parties gave more attention to domestic problems than to developments in other countries.

Although they did not hold formal meetings, members of other groups were also preparing to draw attention to such issues as the Bombay-Mysore border dispute and conditions in Pondicherry.

Congress members showed particular interest in the implementation of the decision to nationalize trading in foodgrains and the Vivian Bose inquiry report into the conduct of the officials concerned with the L.I.C. affair.

The Communists are understood to have decided to seek a debate on relations with Pakistan; but presumably because of the unanimity of views on the recent coups, the subject did not dominate either of the meetings.

Mr. Nehru told Congress members that although they should keep a close watch on developments in Pakistan, there was no need for undue worry. The succession of coups reminded him of a Gilbert and Sullivan light opera.

He expressed concern, however, at the reported beating of an Indian official and his wife on the East Pakistan border. He described it as "highly objectionable" and symptomatic of the atmosphere in Pakistan. He also expressed sympathy for the people of Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru devoted most of his speech to reviewing the decisions taken recently by the A.-I.C.C. and the National Development

Council. Both showed a welcome realization of the problems facing the country, he said.

At the N.D.C. meeting, for instance, Chief Ministers had discussions on specific problems and had taken the decision to have State trading in foodgrains. Formerly, their main effort was to stress the aid they required from the Centre.

In response to questions on the Vivian Bose inquiry report, both Mr. Nehru and Pandit Pant assured members that it would be placed before Parliament after the usual procedure of securing explanations from the officials concerned and gaining the opinion of the U.P.S.C. had been completed.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have said that the inquiry conducted by Mr. Justice Bose was a departmental inquiry and normally the reports of such inquiries were not made public, adds *P.T.I.* But in view of the public importance attached to the inquiry the report would be placed on the table of the Lok Sabha. Mr. Nehru did not give any indication of the date of publication.

Mr. Nehru said that in spite of some risks involved in taking over wholesale trade in foodgrains the scheme should be tried fully. He said that State trading would succeed only if small and compact co-operatives were formed in villages. Only if the co-operatives were small could members understand the virtues and faults of one another and learn self-reliance.

Poverty could not be eliminated by "surface industrialization," by which he meant industrialization effected by imported machinery, Mr. Nehru said. They should start manufacturing machinery in the country if there was to be real industrialization. He also stressed the need for freely using labour-saving devices in factories. He did not think that the use of these devices would lead to unemployment.

The S.G.P.C. Election

The following news-item gives the result in these terms:

Amritsar, Nov. 16.—Master Tara Singh was today defeated by Sardar Prem Singh Lalpura, 31-year-old young Congress legislator, by a margin of three votes—77 to 74—in the

presidential election of the Shiromani, Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee.

Sardar Lalpura was supported by the Congress groups of Gyani Kartar Singh, Sardar Giansingh Rarewala, and Sardar Pratab Singh Kairon and the Khalsa Dal of Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke and the pro-Communist Deshbhakts, who have a solid block of 22 votes.

Out of 162 members 153 attended today's meeting. Two votes were declared invalid.

After the result was announced both sides shouted Sat Sri and Master Tara Singh Zindabad and Gyani Kartar Singh Zindabad. Despite excitement the meeting continued with the election of other office-bearers peacefully.

Seventy-three-year-old Master Tara Singh was President of the S.G.P.C. for the last three successive years and was seeking election for a fourth term, adds *P.T.I.*

Rastra Bhasa

Bhopal, Nov. 1.—Mr. Nehru today warned Hindi protagonists against adopting a hostile attitude towards other languages. It would only harm Hindi. Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the first session of the Madhya Pradesh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan here.

He said no language could progress and flourish in an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion.

Hindi had developed during the last few years and it could make further progress if its champions adopted a helpful attitude towards the other Indian languages.

Hindi was given the status of the "official language" because it was spoken and understood by a large majority of the people and there was no question of it dominating others.

It was futile to think in terms of domination of one language over the others. No language was superior to the other. All the languages should be complementary to each other so that they could flourish and develop in a cordial atmosphere.

Mr. Nehru said that the superiority of any language could not be established by the number of people who spoke and understood it.

Mr. Nehru referred to the opposition to Hindi in the South and said that this opposi-

tion could not be done away with by adopting a hostile attitude towards the languages of the South. To win over the opponents it was necessary that the advocates of Hindi should work for the progress and advancement of Tamil and other South Indian languages.

For the progress of any language it was necessary that it should be made simple and lively. Hindi must be made as simple as possible.

Congress in West Bengal

The muddy waters of the W.B.P.C.C. politics have been stirred up vigorously by the recent resignations from the ruling group. The position at present is given in the following commentary by the *Statesman*:

Several Congressmen belonging to the anti-Atulya Ghosh group are expected to leave Calcutta for Delhi today to press their point of view about the manner in which the W.B.P.C.C. Executive Council should be reconstituted. In Delhi they hope to meet Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar and submit a memorandum to them.

A spokesman of this group said on Thursday that whatever explanation Mr. Atulya Ghosh might now offer for his resignation from the W.B.P.C.C. presidency, he had no doubt that it had been hastened by the campaign the group had conducted during the past few months on the continuance of Mr. Ghosh in this office and Mr. Nehru's "intervention" at its suggestion.

From talks with the spokesman it seemed that the group feared that, constituted as the P.C.C. now was, there was little likelihood of a fundamental change in the composition of the new Executive Council which is to be elected by the P.C.C. on November 25. Although Mr. Ghosh would not be the president, he would still continue to be the organization's dominant leader. This meant that the group's campaign would have failed to achieve its main purpose—a change in the leadership of the State Congress.

The group is likely to suggest to Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar that the present leadership should not be allowed to continue to dominate the P.C.C. indirectly.

HINDUISM—ITS UNIVERSAL APPEAL*

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris)

Like the incomparable Himalayas the source of many big rivers, Hinduism, the major religion of India, is the cradle of many cults and myths, religions and philosophies. They were named and defined differently in different ages. Conservatives and progressives, reformers and rebels appeared from epoch to epoch. Jainism and Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism with so many other creeds and doctrines functioned now within and now without the fold of Hinduism. It is, however, the primary historical source of many spiritual currents all rushing into the ocean of Eternity where all diversities merge in a supreme Unity—*Ekam Sat*.

Hinduism is a relatively late expression coined by our Western neighbours, to describe the culture-complex and the main religion of India, derived from Indio-Indus = Sindhu pronounced as *Hindu* by our Persian cousins of the age of Darius I (520-480 B. C.). He gives, in his famous inscription, the name denoting *Sindhu* = Hindu his rich satrapy and its resources. Iran was then under Mazdaism of Zoroaster, contemporary of our later Vedic Sages who (like the Iranians) worshipped with fire as the symbol and composed hymns to Agni (Latin Ignis) or Fire, the impersonal symbol of the elemental god common to India, Iran and to so many other early nations.

Yajna (Iranian Yasna) or Sacrifice is the ritual common to the Hindu Vedas and the Iranian Avesta (the Persian Bible) which evolved the concept of the eternal conflict of Good and Evil which is also common to early Christianity and Islam both flourishing later in the vast area of the Persian Empire, graphically described by Herodotus. Pre-Socratic Greek thoughts of Pythagoras and the Ionian philosophers—show traces of Indo-Iranian contacts; and Alexander of Macedon not only conquered parts of India and Iran but contacted also the sages of the two Aryan nations who (under the generic name of the Magis) sent personal gifts to Baby Jesus in Bethlehem.

Old Testament archaeology also proves that after years of persecution from the Egyptians and the Chaldeo-Assyrians, the Jews were given protection by the Persian King. So we find the Hebrew Bible being translated into Greek about 250 B. C., when our Indian Emperor Asoka (270-230 B. C.) began sending his missions to the courts of Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, to Antiochus Theos of Syria, to Magus of Cyrene, to Antigonos Gonatus of Macedon, and to Alexander of Epirus—related to Alexander the Great.

Thus when the Septuagint was taking shape, translating Hebrew Bible into Greek, India of Asoka was sending her philosophers and sages beyond West Asia and Africa to Europe. So some Western thinkers, like Prof. G. P. Conger, have found traces of Hindu thought in the Ionian and Pythagorean philosophies. The recently discovered "Dead Sea Scrolls" are throwing new light on the history of Eastern Monachism and of early Christianity, of the Essenes and of the founders of Mithraism and Manichaeism all partly reflected in the Koran, the seventh century Islamic Bible, uniting the vast Muslim world.

After the premature death of Alexander the Great (323 B. C.) in Babylon, we find Greek travellers and ambassadors visiting Indian courts and writing books like the "Indica" of Megasthenes (300 B. C.). After 250 B. C. we find Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian rulers settled in India and they are fully described in our ancient Indian coins and inscriptions, some in Greek and Aramaic. A recent discovery of a Greek-Aramaic inscription of Asoka proves the close cultural relations of India with the Mediterranean world. St. Thomas came overland to India (dying near Madras) through the kingdom of the Indo-Parthian King Gondophernes; and thus Christianity and Hinduism work peacefully for nearly 2000 years.

Christ's sojourn in India and Kashmir, in legendary form is narrated even today by the village elders of Kashmir. The Indo-Greeks of North West India (Gandhara-Afghanistan) assimilated Buddhism, as attested by the "Questions of Minander", a Buddhist classic

* Address delivered at the Sixteenth Congress of the I. A. R. F. (International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom), University of Chicago. August 11, 1958, on Hinduism.

of the second century B. C. ; and so we find the Buddhist Nativity stories and the later life of Buddha deftly carved and painted on the cave-temples of our North-West and Afganistan, recently explored by the French archeologists led by Mon. Foucher, Joseph Hackin, Schlumberger and their colleagues.

Not only cosmopolitan Buddhism but devotional Vaishnavism also claimed some Greek converts like Heliodoros, ambassador of the Greek King Antialkidas (second century B. C.) of Taxila where the Hindus and the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Seythians and the semi-Chinese Kushans left vestiges of their cult and religion, art and culture. Thus, like the Buddha for the Buddhist, the Hindus were developing *personal* gods like Vishnu and Siva displacing the vague and impersonal nature-gods of the Vedas. Discarding the Vedic and Avestan ritualism, the mixed population of that age showed devotion to *personal gods* like Buddha, Krishna and Siva. Some texts and legends of early Christianity and Buddhism offer striking parallels ; and this was philosophically discussed by the great Hindu philosopher Dr. B. N. Seal in his famous address on "Vaishnavism and Christianity" which he read at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome (1899). So his college-friend Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)—ever since his first appearance before the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1893)—was explaining to his American friends how the Hindu Monistic philosophy of the Vedanta offered many parallels to Buddhism and early Christianity.

Thus the leaders of modern Hindu thought harked back to those early Christian centuries when the Greco-Roman world collaborated with the Sino-Indian folks producing new schools of thought, art and culture.

India, the cradle of Hinduism and also the depository of these rich legacies, creeds and cultures, deserves to be the centre of a school or a university of Comparative Religion with international support. Such a school would foster a truer and deeper understanding of the East and the West which may now transcend the parochial and collaborate on a truly universal level.

Not only the Western but the Far Eastern

thought also was enriched by the "cross-fertilization" with Hinduism and Buddhism which the Sinologists and the Japanologists are studying with Confucianism, Taoism, Zen Buddhism, etc., all sharing with the Hindu-Buddhistic creeds their preoccupation with the ethical foundations of man and society. For over a millennium India collaborated with China through thought and literature, art and religion which should be popularized now by publishing the *Encyclopedia Asiana*—as I pleaded before the Asian Relations Conference (Delhi 1947) and as I sketched in my new book *Discovery of Asia* (1958).

Many other nations of the Far East like Korea and Japan as well as Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Annam (Viet Nam), Indonesia, Malaya and Ceylon have yielded valuable texts and artistic treasures which should go to inspire thousands in the East and the West and to illustrate for them the projected "Asian Cyclopedia" which would publicize the latest findings of theology and philosophy, anthropology and social sciences, art and archeology.

The sub-continent of India with about 400 million souls—dominantly Hindus—presents problems of different orders of ethnic, sociological and spiritual values which I can but barely outline in my preliminary address on Hinduism intended for a general audience :

I. A quarter of a century ago no one suspected that archeological discoveries will take back the antiquity of Indian culture from the accepted date of Alexander's invasion—4th century B. C.—to the 4th millennium B. C. The discovery of the Indus civilisation by Professor R. D. Banerji in 1922-26, (vide *Modern Review*, 1923—24) proved the growth of agriculture and commerce, town-planning and civic amenities, equalling the city-states of Mesopotamia and Egypt where I personally saw many things reminding me of our "Indus Valley Civilisation" ably described by the late Sir John Marshall and his American colleague Ernest Mackay. But while the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian scripts and texts have been deciphered and translated, our Indus seals and scripts (like those of the Minoan Crete) still remain unread ! The language of arts

and crafts, however, together with the ritual objects and symbols, have been analysed with reference to stratigraphy, so that we know now that, apart from the wonderful material culture of the Indus Valley, the people developed also a theogony and iconography closely related to the Mesopotamian and later Indian Hindu forms. Terra-cotta and bronze objects of deities, with their *vahanas* or carrier animals, attest to the sanctity of animals found in so many early theriomorphic religions like those of Egypt and Babylonia. The Lord of Animals—Proto-Siva—with his consort, the Mother-Goddess, appear in Indian art as we find also in Western Asia and the Aegio-Egyptian world (3000-1500 B. C.). Some psychic disciplines of the later Yoga type—for mental concentration—and ritual dances are also depicted by the Indus artists who also decorated the coffins of the “Harappa Culture”, developing funerary arts and civil and military architecture. The life after death, therefore, was a matter of speculation in the Indus Valley, as it was in Mesopotamia and the Nile valley.

II. 2000-1000 B. C.: These Indus Valley folks appear to be of four different racial types; but they are generally taken as coeval with or a little earlier than the “Aryans” entering India from the west via Iran, the land of the *Aira* or the Aryans. They spoke a form of Indo-European speech, different from the Dravidian languages spoken by the four major races of South India who are called “Indo-Mediterranians”. Now the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian languages and cultures are being zealously studied revealing many unknown facts.

Like their Iranian cousins who composed the sacred *Gathas* of the Avesta (compiled by Zoroaster), the Vedic Aryans also composed sublime Hymns of the Vedas and other spiritual-cum-ritualistic literatures—in poetry and prose. The three early Vedas—Rig, Sama and Yajur—were amplified by the addition of the fourth or the Atharva Veda (c. 1000 B. C.) published in the Harvard Oriental series. These are the oldest literatures of the Indo-European peoples and therefore these are so devotedly studied—for over a century—by the British and the French, the German and the American scholars.

Frank nature-worshippers, like their younger cousins, the Greeks, the Indinn Aryans addressed Vedic Hymns while worshipping the Gods of rain and thunder (Indra), the sun (Mitra), Varuna and Nasatya (the twin gods of health and medical sciences)—all invoked as witnesses to the Treaty of Peace concluded by the fighting Hittites and the Mitannis—Aryan races of the 14th century B. C. whom I remembered while visiting the Hittite Capital Boghaz Koi which I surveyed from Ankara. The Hittite speech was Indo-European; and the Aryan Mitannis gave royal princesses married to the Egyptian Pharaohs; and from that line issued Akhenaton who tried to reform Egyptian polytheism by establishing monotheistic worship of the Sun god to whom he addressed a magnificent hymn of Vedic inspiration (1380 B. C.). Many aspects of Nature—good and evil—were worshipped by the Vedic Aryans; but, amidst the apparently multifarious deities, whom do we actually worship? This poignant questioning occurs in a famous hymn which marks the dawn of Vedic Monotheism and we see how Hindu Philosophy attempted to resolve dualism into monism, the unreal into real and death into immortality. Vedic integration of the many into one was admitted by several scholars struck also by the general absence of image-worship (prevalant only among the lower strata of Hindu Society). But philosophical concepts were deified, like the *Prajapati* or the Lord of Folks, *Visva-Karma* or the Creator of the Universe, *Vak* or the goddess of Speech, and *Purusha* the Supreme Being, etc., pervading the monotheistic Upanishads.

The Purusha-Sukta or Hymns of the Purusha, also outlined the sociological pattern—not of later-day four castes—but of four *varnas* or colours:

- (a) Brahmana : Priest-scholar
- (b) Kshattriya : Warrior-ruler
- (c) Vaishya : Trader-economist
- (d) Sudra : Labourer-agriculturist forming the majority (avaras-varna-praya) of the nation.

When the three early Vedas (Rig, Sama, Yajur) came to be enlarged by the fourth Atharva-Veda, we find therein the veritable

apotheosis of the non-Aryan or Vratya-Sudra order, helping the three upper classes to direct and developing the social order and Hindu Polity (*Vide* Nag: "Arthashastra", Paris, 1923) with the science of economics and politics (Arthashastra). The Vedic Hindus developed also the legal institutions and philosophy in their Dharma-sastra, applauded by jurists all over the world. From the Vedic concept of Rita or world order grew up the vast literature of Hindu Law and Custom (*vide* Jolly: *Recht und Sitte*) permitting the Aryans to absorb and assimilate the diverse races and customs, Aryan, Pre-aryan and Dravidian of the South. The South-erners absorbed Aryan customs and speech, the Sanskrit, the *lingua franca* between the North and South of the subcontinent *Bharata-India* emerging out of primitivism into developed civilisation.

III. 1000-500 B. C.: From the Indus and the Ganges valleys in the North, the Aryans advanced to the South where they confronted many aboriginal (Austrie) races, rituals and customs, which got mixed up with Aryanism, gradually transformed into Hinduism with its later emphasis on caste and polytheism.

The earliest Indian Epic—the *Ramayana*—surveys India from the North to the South as far as Ceylon or Taprobane, known to the Greek geographers. In the larger epic—the *Mahabharata* or Greater India—we find the maximum expansion and assimilation of races and cultures. It developed into a veritable national Cyclopedia of Culture—embracing the arts of life and society, statecraft and laws, religion and philosophy (admirably summarized by Professor E. W. Hopkins of the Yale University). The Great Epics of India with the 18 Puranas, should be properly indexed for the benefit of Western students of Hinduism and Indology.

IV. 500 BC-500 A. D. The next one thousand years witnessed further social integration and political expansion when, not only the Brahmins but the Kshatriyas, or the "ruling class", added new elements to Hindu religion and philosophy. Against priestly sacerdotalism we find now first the dawn of Rationalism developing into non-Vedic,

even anti-Vedic religions like Jainism and Buddhism, both influenced by the Upanishads, the earliest texts (the Vedanta) of Hindu Monism or Unitarianism. Rising far above polytheism, the Upanishads opened the cosmic vision of Unity (Ekam Sat) and the horizon of world philosophy. This later on developed into the philosophy of the "Advaita" (non-dualism) the Vedanta or fulfilment of the Vedas, made famous by the great commentary of Sages like Sankara (8th century A. D) and Ramanuja (11 century A. D.), who found their worthy expositors in leading Hindu philosophers of today, like Professor Radhakrishnan and the late Dr. S. N. Das Gupta. In the later Vedic and in the Epic Age we find men and women sages (Brahma-vadini) collaborating to develop Hindu religion and thoughts, realizing the One in the many, a sublime synthesis of real contradictions. Heterodoxy persisted here and there but Hindu philosophy, if not life, sublimated conflicts and contradictions into a harmonious whole. Hinduism which challenges an encyclopedic survey embracing the voluminous works of mediaeval seers as well as of our modern leaders like Mahatma Gandhi,* (1869-1948) and of Sri Aurobindo (1872-1951) who transformed dynamic Hinduism for the future.

Such monotheistic synthesis apart we find pluralistic cults of the Destroyer-rebuilder Siva and Vishnu developed later into Saivism and Vaishnavism. We find also the non-theistic philosophy of Samkhya influencing the growth of two rebel children of later Vedic India—Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism rejected totally violence and the animal sacrifice, preaching *ahimsa* or non-violence and perfection of individual life (Arhat) manifest in the career of the Tirthankaras or Pathfinders like Parsvanath and Mahavira.

Buddhism also preached ethical perfection; and with the sublime life of its founder the

* Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed as a mouthpiece of Liberal Hinduism that he would vote an "Untouchable" woman to be President (if found competent) of the Indian Republic. His expectation was partly fulfilled when a leader of "Depressed class" Hindus—Dr. Ambedkar was made Law Minister of the Nehru Cabinet and finally drafted our Constitution based on equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex.

Buddha, Buddhism developed with its philosophy of suffering, the dynamics of Amity (maitri) and became the first world religion. The Graeco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art of India attest to the popularity of Buddhism among our Western neighbours. So Buddhism expanded in and through Central Asia, China, Korea to Japan and the whole of South-East Asia. Showing wonderful Hindu-Buddhist art, architecture and culture for a thousand years (500-1500 A. D.) this epoch marked the transition from the "classical" to the *mediaeval* period of Indian civilisation.

V. Popular Hinduism, sweepingly judged by foreigners as chaotic polytheism, magic and lower cults should be studied with care and patience. For, the vitality and assimilative capacity of Hinduism is proverbial. Wilson gave his scholarly survey of Hindu sects and his book was published over a century ago. Now, the deeper study of ethnology, anthropology and cultural sociology, has thrown new light on the history of integrating Hinduism. Even in the later Buddhist period we notice the development of Hindu-Buddhist cult and iconography in Tibet and Serindia, China, Japan, Indonesia and Indo-China. Vaishnavism Siva-ism and Tantricism, with the *Sakti* or Mother-cult, find their artistic expression and philosophical exposition both in the northern Sanskrit and in the Southern Dravidian languages, which again are the sources and archetypes of Hindu-Buddhist art and culture of millions of devotees in South-East Asia. There Buddhism and later on Islam jointly claim the loyalty of the masses. They may be over-religious but not irreligious atheistic in any sense.

Islam as a world religion influenced India from the 8th to the 18th century (700-1700) forcing through violent conflicts, on the Indians' mind the efficacy of Monotheism and Unity. Most medieval Indian sages and philosophers, strikingly enough, preached the Unity of Godhead and human Brotherhood.

Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Nanak (15th century) and Chaitanya (16th century), Princess Mira, and the humble Tukaram (17th century) among others uniformly preached the religion of Love, of the fatherhood of

God and brotherhood of man. Islam in India similarly developed the universal philosophy of *Sufism*. So we find the great Mongol Emperor Akbar (1555-1605) freely consulting non-Muslim Hindu and Christian sages so that he proclaimed *Din Ilahi* or universal religion. His great grandson, Prince Dara Sukho collaborated with Hindu philosophers, thus producing the first *Persian* translation of the Vedic Upanishads which was retranslated into Latin by the French orientalist Anquetil du Perron (1731-1805) who also gave to the West the first text and translation of the Iranian Bible—the Zend Avesta, published in the "Sacred Books of the East." But many other Oriental texts wait to be translated in another English series which I named as the "Great Books of the Orient" series and which may be sponsored by our Congress of Chicago, the venue of the Parliament of Religions (1893).

Europe penetrated the Hindu world with the landing of the Portuguese Vasco de Gama in South India (1498) when Columbus was exploring American waters to discover his so-called Indios or India! *Luciad* by the Portuguese poet Camoens was inspired by India and the East, and, a century after this Catholic poet had come to South India, the Protestant Dutch missionary Abraham Rogers (1660), who learned Sanskrit, published in Dutch a book on Hinduism or "Heathendom" and its "Open-door". Another century after, the West read DuPerron's "Upanishads" which inspired Schopenhauer and read also Goethe's unstinted praise of the Hindu poet Kalidasa's spiritual drama "Sakuntala" available now in many English and American editions.

Thus, after the opening centuries (15th to 18th) of greedy commerce, conquest and colonialism the West began collaborating with the East. The Catholic Missionaries of Bengal made many converts and printed, in Roman type, their mission texts, in Bengali like *Kripa Sastrer Artha Bheda* (1740). So the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, Bengal, led by Reverend Carey, translated the Bible into Bengali and many other vernaculars of modern India (1798-1830).

Threatened with mass conversion, as in the age of the Islamic invasion, Hindu India

showed its adaptability and vitality through the life and works of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) acclaimed as the "Father of Modern India." He rejected the image worship, studied Vedanta, the basic philosophy of non-dualism, and he also studied, in original Arabic and Persian, the texts of Islamic monotheism. Then after mastering English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Rammohun (as a philological prodigy) studied the Old and the New Testament. Attacked on all sides by the Trinitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy took his firm stand on Hindu Unitarianism, printed the Vedanta in Bengali, Hindi and English (1815-16) and founded the first Hindu Unitarian Church, the *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828. His mission was supported by the noble Dwarkanath grandfather and the saintly Debendranath father of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore—wellknown to America and the West. Dr. Tagore has, by his profound writings in prose and poetry, delineated the spiritual and cultural Renaissance of India with Rammohun and his successors like Vidyasagar and Bankimchandra. Other theistic bodies like the *Arya Samaj* of Punjab founded by Dayananda Saraswati, as also the *Prarthana Samaj* of Bombay, followed the anti-caste *Brahmo Samaj*; they rejected the caste system with the cooperation of pioneers of the Brahmo Samaj, like Keshab Chandra Sen, P. C. Majumder and Sivanath Sastri. In spite of minor creedal differences they were unanimous in their grateful homage to Rammohun Roy as the spiritual reconciler and veritable founder of the science of Comparative Religion.

The Brahmo Unitarians were among the earliest to discover the rural Saint Sri Ramkrishna (1836-1886) whose spiritual life attests to the vitality of traditional and yet transcendental Hinduism—as described by Romain Rolland in his memorable biographies of Sri Ramkrishna and his noble disciple Swami Vivekananda. Written originally in French, then translated into English and other languages, these biographies made dynamic Hinduism largely known to the modern world.

Vivekananda (1863-1902) was a member of the Brahmo Samaj when he joined the Ramkrishna Order and—with the Brahmo leader Reverend P. C. Majumder (who visited U. S. A. in 1883 and 1893) Vivekananda

profoundly moved the Chicago audience of the Parliament of Religions. Rev. Dhammapala also proclaimed here the message of International Buddhism (1893). So I remember with gratitude those pioneers of the East and the West who built, half a century ago, the bridge of Love and Spiritual Understanding. The Sixteenth Congress of the I. A. R. F. is reviving that profound Unitarian tradition, again in the historic city of Chicago with its University maintaining the great Oriental Institute, its museums and learned societies which all Orientals admire.

Swami Vivekananda laid the foundations of spiritual understanding of India and America. Among others he collaborated with Max Muller and with William James, noted author of "The Varieties of Religious Experience." He died in 1902 prematurely and the devoted band of the Ramakrishna Mission (founded, May 1897) are working now bravely in different parts of America and Europe, preaching Unity amidst diversities.

A decade after the death of Vivekananda, came to America, for the first time, the great poet-philosopher of Renascent India, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). He visited America before the First World War (1912) during the war (1916) and after the war (1921, 1929, 1930). During his last visit I was with him and I know how he felt deeply for the spiritual awakening in America so that India and America could collaborate for human welfare and world peace. In his Hibbert Lecture on "The Religion of Man" (1930), Tagore, as a real descendant of the Vedic Seers, proclaimed the unity of man through unity of faith in our common Father. Tagore's *Sadhana* or "Realisation of Life" was based on his Lectures delivered at Harvard and other Universities (1912) and such profound works of Tagore now deserve close study even today. As the first Nobel Prize winner from Asia, he delivered also his poetic messages to millions in the New World.

India and Asia are ever calling Europe and America to come together and, defying the growing materialism, to justify the "Ways of God to Man." So in this crisis of civilisation I conclude with the Faith and

Hope inspiring the soul of our common
ancestors—the Vedic poet who sang :
(Rig Veda : X,191 hymn)

“May your aims be common
A common purpose do I lay before you
And worship with you, bringing common
offerings.

Common be your aim and your hearts
united,

And your mind be one so that
All of us may be happy !”

Om Santi ! Peace unto All !

INDIVIDUALIZATION OF PUNISHMENT

By S. C. DAS, M.A., LL.B.

SINCE Manu and Moses, Justinian and Alfred gave their laws to the world, our ideas about crime and punishment have materially changed and advanced a great deal. We have outlived the days, when practically no distinction was made between ‘crimina’ and ‘delicta’ and when the punishments were regulated by ideas of private revenge.

WHAT IS INDIVIDUALIZATION OF PUNISHMENT?

In recent years, however, there has been a strong tendency throughout the civilized world to adjust punishment to the character of the criminal rather than to the objective nature of the crime. This idea of adjustment of punishment is known as the individualization of punishment in Criminology.

MEAGRE RESULTS OF SOCIETY'S IMMEMORIAL STRUGGLE WITH CRIME

As one looks back over the history of penal treatment, he cannot but be impressed by the rather meagre results of society's immemorial struggle with crime and the criminal. In the light of modern science, the experiment of society in dealing with the criminal have been based upon wrong theories. So far, the findings of modern psychology, psychiatry, anthropology and sociology have had very little application in the campaign against crime. The limited success of society in its struggle with the criminal is mainly due to the use of obsolete methods founded upon an unscientific basis.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF PUNISHMENT?

Now, the first question that could reasonably be posed in this regard is: What is the purpose of punishment? May we not say that the main purpose of any programme of penal treatment is the preservation of society? But, society includes the criminal, who is as much a unit of the social organism as the judge or the legislator or the complainant. He cannot and must not, therefore, be treated as an outcast to be thrown away beyond the pale of society. If we do that, we will simply encourage undermining the very foundation of our social fabric. Lately, the intelligentsia of every society have begun to realise that there is a *cultural value** in every system of criminal law and that there is a definite object and purpose behind every punishment inflicted upon the criminal. This realisation has stimulated a thorough and scientific study of the nature and determinants of criminality. In the course of such study, it is being gradually felt that the treatment of crimes and criminals ought not to be mechanical and indiscriminate. Absolute repression is no longer regarded as a good remedy in the treatment of

* Culture is, or ought to be, the study and pursuit of perfection. Now, without order there can be no real society, and without such society there can be no human perfection. The criminal law, therefore, aiming at maintaining law and order in a society indirectly contributes to its progress towards perfection. Hence, it (criminal law) has a cultural value.

crimes, just as calomel and bloodletting, of the far-off days are no longer considered by the medical science as being the panacea for all the diseases under the sun.

THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH THE AVOWED OBJECT

The Classical system, based as it is upon the repression of the criminal, has been given a trial for several centuries and found to be quite unequal to the task. Because, it could not accomplish the avowed object of penal law, *viz.*, the preservation of law and order in the society. If one consults the statistical report, he will find that not only the number of criminals but also the number of *recidivists* (the term implies persons, who after being convicted, has offended again; those who habitually relapse into crime) are ever on the increase in Europe, America as well as in India. Of course, it will not be right to suggest that the present-day penal system is solely responsible for the increase in the number of criminals and recidivists. There have been other and more potent factors at work beside, *viz.*, the economic distress of the mass, the political upheavals, the loosening of the time-honoured moral bounds, the system of unedifying education prevalent throughout the world and the meteoric march of the so-called civilization. But it appears that the most powerful factor has been the indiscriminate and mechanical treatment of the criminals by the classical school (neo-classical school not excepted) of penologists. One of the questions that constantly baffles us is as to how does the classical jurist know, for instance, that a certain term of imprisonment is effective punishment for a certain offence. What is the 'deciding ratio' in this matter? If, therefore, one ventures to infer that the so-called classical penal system is based upon no principle and that the punishments meted out to the offenders are arbitrary and fanciful and prompted, more or less, by unregulated rational prejudices and sentiments, will he be wholly wrong?

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE THEORIES OF PUNISHMENT

The ordinary and the orthodox classifica-

tion of the theories of punishment, as Dr. Holmes points out, is into (i) the retributions theory, (ii) the preventive or deterrent theory and (iii) the reformatory theory. Imbued as they are with the Absolutism theory of Kant and Hegel, the European jurists generally have not viewed the last two classes favourably. These jurists seem to think that the relation between crime and punishment is absolute and automatic and for that punishment must be proportionate to the objective gravity of crime—although they are not quite clear as to this matter of proportion. This sense of proportion must, therefore, ultimately resolve itself into a matter of personal equation. As for the objective gravity of crime, it is more or less a matter of personal opinion. Hegel would put his theory of punishment in his well-known quasi-mathematical formula that wrong, being the negation of right, punishment is the negation of that negation or retribution. In this view, punishment must be equal, in the sense of being proportionate, to the crime; because, its only function is to destroy it. The medieval or the classical theory, as it has been called, has brought about two different schools of opinion—the Subjective or the Idealistic school or the Objective or the Common-sense school. The former is so-called because it holds that punishment is not based upon any external standard but upon the blameworthiness of the delinquent's conduct; the latter would, however, hold that the object of punishment is retributive, that there is a sort of automatic and axiomatic connection between crime and punishment and that punishment should, for that reason, be always proportionate to the objective gravity of crime. Bentham and Sir James Fitz-James Stephen in England and Dr. Holmes in America were amongst the principal advocates of this school of thought. Sir James says, "The Criminal Law stands to the passion of revenge in much the same relation as marriage to sexual appetite" (*General View of the Criminal Law of England*). Notwithstanding this opinion of Sir James, the common sense school, it may be mentioned here, does not ignore but rather accepts, the preventive and deterrent view of punishment. A careful scrutiny will reveal that there is no fundamental

difference between the two schools of opinion. Now, Kant's "blameworthiness of conduct" and "Categorical imperative";—well! what do they actually aim at? If we view blameworthiness of conduct as something abstract, it cannot offer us any practical guide for punishment. "Blameworthiness of conduct" can, however, be judged from the objective act itself, and in that case Kant's doctrine becomes identical with the common sense or objective view of crime. Again, the criterion of punishment, according to both the schools appears to be the same, *viz.*, the degree of responsibility, freedom of the delinquent and the gravity of the offence. Experience shows that a man's conduct may be most blameworthy, but at the same time, it may not be punishable in law. So, to be of any practical value, the subjective standard of "blameworthiness" must fall back upon the objective standard of law. As for Kant's "Categorical Imperative" as basis for law, it means the absolute command of the sovereign authority, that is, law as understood by Austin and other English jurists. We thus find practically no difference between the Subjective or Idealistic school and the Objective or Common Sense school of law except in the metaphysical language which the former prefers to adopt. These two schools of opinion may be commonly termed as the classical school of Penology.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL

The three main features of the classical school of criminal law are: (1) the repression of the criminal, because he has committed an act injurious to society; (2) an impersonal and abstract manner of dealing with the criminal, coming within the same artificial category, without much attempt at individualization of punishment and (3) degree of freedom of responsibility of the criminal as a criterion of his criminality. Now, the first and foremost objection against the classical school is that it takes into account only the objective fact of crime and totally leaves out of account the subjective personality of the criminal.

THE RISE OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH BECCARIA

The inspirer of the penologists of the classical school was the Italian reformer and philan-

thropist Beccaria, who as early as 1764 published his famous work entitled *Crimes and Punishments*, which could be regarded as the cause of revision of the penal codes of different European nations. This book is usually considered as the foundation stone of the doctrine of punishment. Born at Milan, Italy, in 1735 and educated at the Jesuit College at Parma, Beccaria soon came under the influence of Montesquieu. In this book, Beccaria shows that he has absorbed the political philosophy of the 18th century. He begins with a brief exposition of the social contract theory of Rousseau. In *Crimes and Punishments*, Beccaria strongly protests against the discretionary power of the judges in determining punishment of criminals. He emphasises that no punishment should be greater than what the crime warrants and that all men should be equal in the eyes of law. Punishment should be determined wholly by the character of the crime committed regardless of the personality of the criminal. According to him, it makes no difference as to whether a criminal is a recidivist or not and that it does not increase the gravity of a crime simply because it happens to be a subsequent crime committed by the same individual. In either case, the injury inflicted upon the society is the same and, therefore, society should avenge it and react upon it in the same manner. In illustrating his point, Beccaria asks whether it would make any difference as between two brothers, who have been robbed by two different thieves, —one of whom happens to be a first offender and the other a repeater. If not, what right have we to mete out two different punishments to the two thieves? At first sight, the position would seem to be quite logical, but its chief defect lies in its extreme "logicism". Law is pre-eminently a social institution dealing with multifarious varieties of pulsating human beings. In order to be just, it must be such as can be adopted to the myriads of view-points that arise in the course of human transactions. The rigour or leniency of law will have to be abated or counteracted by practical considerations. This is called the application of equitable principles to the administration of Criminal Law. Now, to insist upon the absolute universality and impersonality of law is like

attempting to put things of all shapes into a round hole. The jurists of the classical school altogether forgot that the offender himself is as much a unit of the society as the injured party (be it an individual or the society itself) and that his interests cannot be altogether ignored. They considered only the injury inflicted by the criminal and not the state of mind and nature of the criminal. Another deficiency of the classical theory is that it treated all men as mere digits without reference to the differences in their individual natures or the circumstances under which they committed the crime. Instances are not rare that on account of this impersonal and rather inhuman system really honest men like Jean Valjean of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* are turned into criminals by being branded with the infamy of prison life and being herded together with hardened criminals in one stupendous *pot-pourri*;—while scoundrels and rogues who deserve total elimination get off with a nominal punishment. It is a common psychological fact that once a person feels himself as beyond the pale of decent society, he has no scruples to go farther down.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL IN DEALING WITH THE CRIMINAL HAS BEEN BASED UPON UNSCIENTIFIC THEORIES

In the light of modern science, the programme of the classical school, in dealing with the criminal, has been based upon false theories. As has already been referred to above that the offender himself is a unit of the society and as such he is entitled to a fair treatment. If he is forced to go out of society, it is as much a loss to him, as to the society. From the point of view of the offender, it may be demanded that society should give him a chance and try to reform him. And it is only just and fair that society should meet his demand. But, the pity of the matter is that the soulless system of law insists upon treating him as an outcaste with the inevitable result that he reacts upon the social system. Now, society's duty to punish is based upon its duty to protect the individual and it cannot but be grossly negligent to insist upon the right without ful-

filling the duty. It may be contended that the classical school recognises the reformatory system and that it attempts reformation wherever it is practicable. But the fact and figure indicate that in every country in Europe, America as well as in India, the number of recidivists is continually on the increase. In so far as it proposes to prevent crimes and reform criminals, the classical school has been a failure. All that the system can claim is that it has regulated private vengeance by transferring the authority of taking revenge from the injured party to the state.

CLASSICAL SYSTEM DOES NOT FOLLOW ANY SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN AWARDEING PUNISHMENT

But the chief objection that may be raised against the classical system is that it does not follow any scientific method in awarding punishment and that there is no attempt,—except what is attempted in a very slight measure by leaving a strictly limited discretion to the judge and jury—at individualization. This lack of scientific method has resulted in an abstract empiricism. Mr. Garofalo has made a nice exposition of this aspect of the question in the following lines: "From the earliest period of my legal studies, the question has begun to present itself to my mind: How has the law-maker arrived at an exact knowledge of the kind and degree of punishment appropriate to each of the various criminal offences? By what means has he reached the conviction, for example, that five years in the penitentiary is the proper punishment for one kind of larceny, while, for another, two years of a milder form of imprisonment will suffice? What steps has he taken to weigh this or that aggravating or extenuating circumstance with such exactness as to warrant an increase or diminution in the punishment of six months, one year, five years, ten years as the case may be? Where has he found his criterion, his thread of guidance in this labyrinth?" (Garofalo's *Criminology*). It is this question that has prompted the scientists, the sociologists and the jurists of the present day to look at the system of penal law from an angle, wherefrom it was never looked at before.

GRADUAL SHIFTING OF EMPHASIS FROM CRIME
TO THE CRIMINALS

While the spirit of the classical school has lingered to influence Court procedure and the theory of crime down to the present day, its defects became conspicuous soon after it obtained incarnation in the French Code of 1791. In the revised Code of 1810, while the essential principles of the classical school remained, as they had been, the system of defined and unalterable punishments was modified. The judge was given discretion to vary punishments between the maximum and the minimum fixed by the law. In doing so, however, the judge was not permitted to take into account the subjective circumstances, for in the classical theory these circumstances have nothing to do with responsibility. The revised Code of 1810 did not admit extenuating circumstances for crime. When, however, put into practice, the classical theory revealed its utter lack of contact with the stern realities of life. Consequently, there began to arise suggestions for changes. In the course of time, the suggestions so made modified this theory in actual practice and gave rise to what has come to be known as the Neo-classical school, represented by Rossi, Garraud and Joly. Like the classical school, it is based upon the theory of responsibility and responsibility rests upon the theory of freedom. Ere long, the results of practice in the courts, however, showed that the assumption of free will in all cases made by the classical school was untenable. Careful observation reveals that everyone is not free; that some, who commit crime, deserve our sympathy while other excite our hostility. The popular sense of justice, therefore, refused to accept the punishments visited under this system upon those who by reason of insanity, lunacy, infancy or a justifiable passion were incapable of exercising free will. The psychologists, psychiatrists, biologists, anthropologists, sociologists and jurists, who became acquainted with the latest scientific discoveries refused to believe that everyone was free to choose in the moment, when he committed a crime, one course or another. So, the new school recognises extenuating circumstances in the criminal himself, which must be taken into account

in punishing him. In a word, with the advent of the Neo-classical school, the emphasis gradually shifted from the bare idea of crime and punishment to the more fruitful study of the criminal mind and to the difference in treatment of different types of offenders.

CESARE LOMBROSO

A little more than one hundred years after the appearance of Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishments*, a small pamphlet entitled *The Criminal in Relation to Anthropology, Jurisprudence and Psychiatry* was published by Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909), another Italian. Out of this pamphlet and subsequent publications by Lombroso and a number of other eminent Italians, developed a school of criminology and penology attacking the positions of the classical and neo-classical schools. Lombroso was the founder of that school, which was known as the Italian school. Born in 1836 of a Jewish family, Lombroso was educated in medicine. Through his publications, which rapidly became famous all over the world, Lombroso focussed the attention of the scientists, sociologists and jurists to the criminal as an object of study. Thus, history was slowly but surely preparing the way for this new-born science.

STARTING-POINT OF MODERN CRIMINOLOGY

Now, a distinctive feature of the Criminal Law or Jurisprudence is that it has neither grown nor been studied as a science. More often than not, it has been tacitly assumed that it exclusively depends upon the will of the sovereign authority. So, if one were to know of Criminal Law, all that he would be required to do was to seek for it either in the statute books or in the common law of the land. It has been treated as a detached branch of knowledge. Aristotle, Dr. Kohler and others laid bare the fallacy of such a position times and again. The cumulative effect of all this and other forces is that the system of Criminal Law gradually came to be recognised as a factor in the march of world history and world evolution, and that as such it is intimately connected with science like Sociology, Psychology, Physiology, Psychiatry, Anthropology,—that deal with humanity and human affairs.

This attempt to make Criminal Law a science may be said to be the starting-point of modern Criminology,—the science of the criminal and of crime.

MAIN DUTY OF A CRIMINOLOGIST

The criminologist must begin with studying the criminal just as a true physician studies the patient. He must try to find out and understand the causative factors as well as the nature of crime, exactly as a physician diagnoses a disease. Like a physician again, he must, after careful observation, find out and then try specific remedy for a specific crime. In his *Historical Jurisprudence*, Prof. Vinogradoff has aptly said, "The judge stands to the offender in the same position of the physician who selects his remedy after diagnosing the disease and the resources of the patient's organisation."

Prevention is better than cure. In order to prevent crime, the 'total' person need be dealt with in all the levels—economic, social, psychological, etc.—and in all the spheres—home, educational institutions, community, etc.—that are likely to condition his personality and colour his conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious reaction to the multifarious new situations he is normally to encounter in an average span of life. This appears to be by far the better procedure. The common attitude towards the criminal is more often than not hostile with insistence that he be made to suffer. It is, however, felt now that the attitude should be one of enquiry, a desire to comprehend the situation and to work out methods of control based on this comprehension. Infliction of pain may be necessary in the process of control, but such infliction should only be incidental and not the direct aim of the process. This attitude is evident now-a-days in the juvenile court procedure and is being gradually extended to the criminal courts, prisons, reformatories and the systems of probation and parole of some countries. Social utility resulting from punishment constitutes the justification of punishment. In this context, punishment as a deterrent is justified. Experience has shown that under emergent circumstances such as serious crime-

wave, race riot, communal riot; etc.; swift, certain and severe punishment of known offenders serves to deter others from crime and that it has a great preventive value for that reason. This is more or less like a shock-therapy and if administered after taking all relevant factors into consideration, it may very well produce the desired effect.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I deem it worthwhile to touch upon as to how individualization has to a certain extent been attempted by some of the advanced countries of the world.

In England, besides the jury and assessor system of trial, the judge, prior to sentencing an offender, enquires into his character and antecedents as the law vests in him discretion in the matter. Individualization of treatment is also the basic principle of prison management.

The American Elmira Reformatory is a monumental illustration of individualization. A few other allied reforms have also been recently introduced.

The Russian Code empowers the judiciary to take into consideration the character and antecedents of the accused person.

In India, the taking into consideration the age, character or antecedents of the offender and releasing him on probation of good conduct are provided under Section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In the States, the Court, under the Probation of Offender's Act, may release an offender after admonition or on probation of good conduct and under the care of probation officers. As in England, the jury and assessor system of trial is also prevalent here. Some prison reforms have also been initiated.

In spite of all this, however, the efforts so far made in that direction appear to have only touched the fringe of this mighty problem. The real need of the moment is a rapid development of the system of individualization of offenders and punishments in a right line;—and the sooner that is accomplished, the better for the society and the humanity as a whole.

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

By DR. J. EDWARD SCINDIA, M.A., (Cal.), L.T. (Allahabad), A.M. (Columbia),
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HISTORIC MISSION

INDIA'S historic mission is the mission of peace. Marshall Tito visiting India recently (1955) remarked that "in her long history of over 7,000 years she (India) never snatched an inch of foreign land. . . . Non-aggressiveness as a national characteristic applies more to India than to any other nation. . . . India has not caused tears to anybody. Christ's teaching of turning the other cheek is perhaps followed in actual practice more by the Hindus than by Christians."¹ The remedy for land grabbing, one of the most potent causes of war, is reflected partly in Zemindari Abolition by the State, but largely and more fundamentally by Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna whose world-wide implications future alone can tell. What, however, seems clear is that it is directly in line with the teaching of *Ahimsa* (non-killing), preservation of all life, practice of universal toleration, brotherly love till recently marred by the most inhuman and ingenious Untouchability whose practice in any shape or form is punishable by law according to Article 25 of our present Constitution. On the political plane India's historic process has eventuated in "Peaceful Co-existence," Non-Aggression, Non-Interference, Mutual Co-operation, Peaceful settlement of international disputes, known as "Panch Shila" which the United Nations' declaration affirmed on 19th Dec. 1957. But the social revolution initiated by Vinobaji, Gandhiji's spiritual successor, India's walking ascetic since 1951, is of immense significance for the life of the world as a whole. The Philippines deserve congratulations for awarding the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation Prize to Vinobaji this year in recognition of his outstanding service rendered "in rousing the majority of his countrymen toward solving one of the causes of social injustice and economic equality" (inequality).²

Nehru, the "Angel of Peace" and Vinoba,

1. A. N. Purohit, *India's Message of Peace*, p. 239.

2. *Sarvodaya*, Sept., 1958, p. 143.

the Apostle of Peace, the political and spiritual successors respectively of Gandhiji, the Prophet of Peace, who "looked upon his life as an attempt to live the Sermon on the Mount"³ of Christ, the Prince of Peace, have doubtless a contribution to make to India's mission of peace handed down through Gautam and Asoka to our own day.

PEACE IN ACTION

India's conduct with reference to peace can be viewed with regard to matters both internal and external. In matters internal India can be legitimately proud of the fact that she won political freedom through peaceful means and has continued to retain the love and esteem of her former rulers, the British. For "of all the revolutionaries who have dominated this century's stage—Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler and Mao—Gandhi alone offered hope for reform without destruction."⁴ Gandhi's Truth and Non-Violence enabled peaceful withdrawal by the British. Five hundred and eighty-four princes ruling over hundred million people agreed to merger (allowed to keep their jewels, and most of their palaces, and granted life-long pensions and even became Raj Pramukhs) which is adjudged to "be one of the peaceful revolutions of all times."⁵ While India's Independence involved division into India and Pakistan, forty-five million Muslims chose not to go to Pakistan, but stay in India's secular state "in which freedom of religion," according to Chester Bowles, "is a fact, not a theory" and which "has come about largely through the determined effort of the Prime Minister (Nehru) following the principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi."⁶ Demilitarisation and plebiscite made irrelevant in the context of continued aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir at present await better times when differences might be solved amicably across conference table. The recent Nehru-Noon meeting has

3. Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, p. 74.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

been an attempt in this direction. The French possessions in India have been restored to India peacefully but the Portuguese possessions still await a similar consummation. India is wedded to "seeking peaceful objectives by peaceful means" letting the matter rest with the pressure of world opinion. India has been meeting the challenge of casteism, communalism, provincialism, narrow nationalism, etc., in a democratic way and must continue to do so as a long-range educational policy. Even Communists have been dealt with peacefully and in a democratic way even though they consider any means sacrosanct provided they help them to achieve the objective. In treating every man as *Amritasya Putra*, born of immortality, a child of God who must not be injured by thought, word or deed, we put into practice the method of "seeking first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." This is the way to true peace which "means an order in which men are free to live under justice and according to righteousness; in which the resources of the world are developed and distributed for the benefit of all; in which the only war is against poverty, ignorance, disease and oppression; in which the results of man's knowledge and discovery are used not for destruction but for enlightenment and health."⁷

Recently (Sept. 21, 1958) 'Christianity in India at Cross-Roads,' an article appearing in *A. B. Patrika*, stated among other things "that Christianity will have a fair chance so long as Jawahar Lal Nehru is on the scene . . . A time may come when the Constitution can be amended to undo Christianity." Reference was also made to Neogy Report against conversions and growing left-wing politics in India. There is no doubt about Nehru upholding the Constitution, including the right to profess, preach and propagate religion. Only last May 12, 1958 he was reported in the *Patrika* as saying, "I am not prepared to tolerate communalism at any cost. . . . For India religious toleration was only practical good sense. There is no alternative to it but civil war."⁸

7. *The Lambeth Conference*, 1958, p. 1.63.

8. Nehru reported in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 12, 1958.

But it must not be overlooked that Nehru himself is thrown up by a long historical process as are his "Peace Lords," like Rajagopalachari in Madras, Morarji Desai in Bombay, Govind Ballabh Pant in U.P. (now in Central Government), Sampurnanand in U.P. at present, B. C. Roy in West Bengal, etc. So far as growing left-wing politics is concerned it may be pointed out that Hindu Maha Sabha, Jana Sangh, Rashtriya Seva Sangh too swear by democracy and are not beyond redemption. Besides the chances of their implementing the Neogy Report recommendations are admittedly slim. Further more who would dare to rush in to implement the so-called Neogy Report recommendations when, according to Mr. A. Krishnaswamy, a special reporter of the United Nations Economic and Social Council's Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, points out that the charges against Christian Missionaries in India published in 1956 by the Christian Missionaries Activities Enquiry Committee in the State of Madhya Pradesh have been declared "not proven," and adds, "Even if the instances mentioned in the Committee's report had been substantiated, they would not have justified the Committee arriving at the conclusion that foreign missionaries pursued activities of an undesirable character . . . the general consensus of opinion in India has been and is opposed to drawing up a bill of indictment against missionaries, and it is therefore, not surprising to find responsible men belonging to different political schools of thought criticising the Neogy Report, not only for erring in its presentation of facts but also for overstepping the bounds of propriety and national interest in attempting to reverse the general trend in favour of a broad-based freedom."⁹ Above all history appears to have selected India as one of democracy's chief testing grounds in which methods of discussion across conference table have already made considerable headway and have enabled India to contribute its little bit towards peaceful settlement of international problems. Was it a mere pious wish or a genuine conviction that led

9. *The Tablet*, Nov. 30, 1957, p. 492.

Dr. Neogy to conclude, "We wish Christianity in India to become truly Indian and truly Christian and the religions of India to come together in genuine co-operation giving a lead to the nation in peaceful co-existence."¹⁰ In view of the above there is not much room for pessimism as entertained by Shri R. Dorai Rajan but rather for optimism since India has accepted the democratic way of life for which Christianity provides the ethical foundations, a religion which has as good a right in India as any other and which according to Dr. Radhakrishnan, "has not merely the rights of a guest but the rights of a native."¹¹

In matters external, India's record of international conduct merits examination. In a formal note to U.S.A., on Aug. 23, 1951 India pointed out that the treaty they concluded with Japan "did not give to Japan a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations."¹² India served as a mediator in Korea and Indo-China, sided Egypt when she was a victim of Anglo-French aggression and when the Indian representative remained neutral in the voting on the resolution condemning the Russian intervention in Hungary and actually opposed the proposal that the Soviet troops should be asked to withdraw, learnt a healthy lesson from the storm of protest which occurred all over India. In a moment of weakness India entered the Tripartite Agreement with Nepal and Great Britain permitting Britain to recruit Gurkha soldiers on the Indian soil but soon made amends by notifying Britain about the closing of the depot and ending of the undemocratic arrangement. India has been one of the first to recognise the independence of Ghana, Iraq and Algeria. For the sixth time she tried to have Communist China get a seat in the United Nations Organisation this year, though unsuccessfully, because she honestly believes that the recognition of Communist China "in no sense implies either approval or disapproval of that government's policies or philosophy. It is simply an acknowledgement that such a government's authority clearly

exists as a matter of fact within its own boundaries."¹³ India attempted to persuade U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. "to stop the present plunge towards more and more destructive weapons of war and turn the corner that will start our step firmly on the path towards lasting peace." In the recent crisis that has developed between Communist China and the U.S.A. over Quemoy, India's name has been suggested by the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia as a mediator. Mr. Krishna Menon who is already making efforts for conciliation on the Far East crisis, has expressed willingness to offer India's good offices in that direction.

The few instances noted above seem to indicate that where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place India cannot be neutral. Yet India follows the policy of Non-involvement and has made "no secret plots or arrangements formal or informal with any country. The only kind of treaties India has made with other countries are treaties which have been published," so that by example and precept she may be able to help the cause of peace through peaceful means. This policy of peace, however, presupposes sovereignty both internal and external of each one of the peacefully co-existing nations. The natural desire of each nation to be captain of his own fate is voiced by Nehru in these words: "The countries of Asia, however weak they might be, do not propose to be ignored, do not propose to be by-passed and certainly do not propose to be sat upon."¹⁴ Unless a country like U.S.A. which has made collective defence treaties with forty-two nations during the past ten years, or U.S.S.R. bent upon expanding the bounds of communism, get a clear idea of India's mission of peace in the modern world, India's actions are likely to be mis-understood and mis-interpreted.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND PEACE

India like many other countries of the world does not possess the atomic secrets and is, therefore, not in a position to wage atomic

10. *Neogy Report*, Vol. I, p. 159.

11. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *East and West*, p. 35.

12. *The Light House*, Aug. 1, 1953, p. 3.

13. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 244, quoting Nehru.

14. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 400.

warfare. But her mission in the atomic age is not to possess atomic secrets and to wage atomic warfare, but rather to hold aloft the banner of peace and to persuade others to accept the philosophy of peaceful co-existence. The most persuasive argument for peaceful co-existence appears to be presented by the discovery of atomic energy itself. Never in the history of world were the alternatives so clear-cut: either peaceful co-existence or total annihilation which atomic warfare necessarily entails. Man has talked about the last war to end war. Today he is face to face with that grim reality of a last war ending all war as no one is likely to survive to fight another war. Even experimenting to perfect atomic weapons creates radiation hazards which contaminate air, water, food, all life, plant and animal amount, to a bacteriological warfare which treats friends and foes, peace and war times on the same footing. The grim prospects of maimed, blind, contaminated babies to be born only to experience lingering death from agonising diseases point to one and only one lesson which is to stop forthwith all further experiments for the effects of experiments have no geographical limits.¹⁵ They render all health services meaningless.

RELIGION AND PEACE

The "noblesse oblige of human dignity necessitates the adoption of a law of existence higher than the law of the Jungle. The law is the Law of the Cross, not of the A or H bomb,"¹⁶ says Purohit, presenting India's message of peace. Concerning Gandhiji, the Apostle of Truth and Non-violence, Chester Bowles remarks, "Yet, who has lived a more Christlike life?"¹⁷ Has such a man of peace a message for our distracted world? He claimed that if Christ would come today he would claim him as a true Christian. Tagore said of him that he has what is known as the Christ-Spirit for there was hardly any who could equal or surpass Gandhiji in Christlikeness. And who

could dare to live Sermon on the Mount as Gandhiji did? 310 Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in communion with the See of Canterbury assembled recently (July, 1958) in Lambeth Conference proposed a resolution (No. 106) which Gandhiji himself might have proposed. It runs thus:

"The Conference reaffirms that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ and declares that nothing less than the abolition of war itself should be the goal of the nations, their leaders and all citizens . . . framing a comprehensive international disarmament treaty which shall also provide for the progressive reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to the minimum necessary for the maintenance of internal security and the fulfilment of the obligations of States to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter."¹⁸

India's long history of peace obligates her in a unique way to profess, preach and propagate peace and make the world and herself peace-conscious. Hitherto she has put the Kingdom of God and His righteousness first and her path has been not from log cabin to White House but from Mansion to Mud Hut. The Spiritual has taken precedence over the Physical which is the keynote to India's life, India's culture, India's philosophy and has made India a home par excellence for genuine Christianity. If by and large the West has Christianity without Christ, India seems to have Christ without Christianity. During the last ten years every reform India has made goes directly towards the Christian position and not one away from it, says Stanley Jones. Christ has India's heart, hence her greatest Prophet of Peace, Gandhiji, insisted on the purity of means to achieve the end. In this we have failed at times and may fail many times more in the future but we are determined to fight to the last, leaving the results to God.

15. *Sarvodaya*, Sept., 1958, pp. 135-136.

16. A. N. Purohit, *Op.Cit.*, p. 231.

17. Chester Bowles, *Op.Cit.*, p. 74.

18. *The Lambeth Conference*, 1958, pp. 1.54-1.55.



BIPINCHANDRA PAL

Born: Nov. 6, 1858

Died: May 20, 1932



Past
Photo: Ram Kinkar Sinha



And the Present
Photo: Ram Kinkar Sinha

JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE AND THE MODERN REVIEW, 1907-1938

A Bibliography

By SOBHAN BASU, M.A.

[Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose was intimately connected with *The Modern Review*. The founder-editor of this journal, the late Ramananda Chatterjee, was a student of the Presidency College when Jagadis Chandra was a Professor there. This sweet relationship of *guru* and *sisya* was maintained throughout their life. Those interested in the life and work of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose will find ample materials in the old issues of *The Modern Review*. He contributed a large number of articles to this journal and his first contribution, "Automatism in Plant and Animal," appeared in May, 1908. There were also articles on Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose by some of his well-known contemporaries. His scientific and other activities and foreign tours were covered in the 'Notes' written by the editor and the excerpts reprinted from Indian and Foreign periodicals. *The Modern Review* also published reviews of his scientific works and a large number of pictures of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose and his experiments. Below is a classified list of his own writings, notes and articles on him by the editor of *The Modern Review* and others and also excerpts from the periodicals, reviews of his works and a list of pictures.—EDITOR, *M. R.*]

1. Contributions By Jagadis Chandra.
2. On the life and work of Jagadis Chandra.
 - A: By Various Hands.
 - B: "Notes" By Ramananda Chatterjee.
 - C: Book Reviews.
 - D: Foreign Periodicals: Gleanings and Indian Periodicals.
3. Portraits.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE

1. "Automatism in Plant and Animal," May, 1908.
2. "Literature And Science" [substance of the Presidential Address given in Bengali to the Bengal Literary Conference at Mymensingh, April, 14, 1911] [illustrated]; May, 1911.
3. "Automatic Record of Speed of Nervous Impulse in Plants," [illustrated]; October, 1913.

4. "History of a Discovery," December, 1915.
5. "Quest of Truth and Duty" [Sir J. C. Bose's address to the students of the Presidency College on receiving their *Arghya* and congratulations on the occasion of his knighthood], March, 1917.
6. "The Voice of Life" [Sir J. C. Bose's inaugural address dedicating the Bose Institute to the nation], December, 1917.
7. "Memory Image and its Revival," November, 1918.
8. "The Night-watch of Nymphalae," February, 1919.
9. "Wounded Plants," March 1919.
10. "The Menace of the Hyacinth," September, 1922.
11. "Life and its Mechanism," December, 1924.
12. "The Unvoiced Life," [illustrated], December, 1925.
13. "The Mechanism of Life," December, 1926.

ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF JAGADIS CHANDRA A: BY VARIOUS HANDS

1. Jagadananda Ray, "Dr. J. C. Bose's Psychological Researches," October, 1907.
2. Jagadananda Ray, "Dr. J. C. Bose on Memory," November, 1907.
3. Indu Madhab Mallick, "Recent Discoveries of Dr. J. C. Bose," April, 1908.
4. "An Account of Prof. J. C. Bose's Researches," December, 1912.
5. Sudhindra Bose, "Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose in America," [illustrated], May, 1915.
6. Prof. Jakob Kunz, "On the Scientific Work of Professor J. C. Bose," July, 1915.
7. A disciple of Prof. J. C. Bose [Basiswar Sen], "Round the World with My Master" [illustrated], January—March, May, June, 1916.
8. Basiswar Sen, "In America with My Master" [illustrated], July—September, 1916.
9. Basiswar Sen, "In Japan with My Master," October, 1916.

10. "The Movements of Plants," March, 1920.

11. Basiswar Sen, "The Crescograph" [illustrated], July, 1920.

12. Basiswar Sen, "The Milking of the Palm Tree" [re: Prof. J. C. Bose's researches carried out at the Sijberia Experimental Station] (illustrated), April, 1922.

13. Professor Patrick Geddes, "The Bose Research Institute Revisited," December, 1922.

14. R. K. Das, "Sir J. C. Bose in Europe," October, 1926.

15. Professor C. A. Timiriazeff, "The Movements of Plants: The History of Our Time," December, 1926.

16. Dr. Taraknath Das, "Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose: A leading figure of Asiatic Renaissance," November, 1928.

17. Prof. N. C. Nag, "Bose Institute Magnetic Crescograph," August, 1929.

18. J. K. Majumdar, "The Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries," August, 1930.

19. Basiswar Sen, "The Bose Research Institute," December, 1933.

20. Nagendra C. Nag, "Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose" [illustrated], December, 1937.

21. Ramananda Chatterjee, "The Hero As Scientist," December, 1937.

22. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose," December, 1937.

23. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose," [Authorised translation by Surendranath Tagore of the Poet's talk to the students at Santiniketan, on receiving the news of death of Jagadis Chandra], January, 1938.

24. Rabindranath Tagore, "Jagadis Chandra Bose And His Institute," December, 1938.

B: "NOTES" BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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2. "Prof. Darwin anticipated by Dr. J. C. Bose," November, 1908.

3. "The Bengal Literary Conference," [Dr. J. C. Bose's Presidential address at the Mymensingh Conference], May, 1911.

4. "Response in Plant Life," September, 1912.

5. "Living and Non-Living," November, 1912.

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7. "The Importance of Prof. Bose's Researches," February, 1913.

8. "Prof. J. C. Bose at Lahore," March 1913.

9. "Prof. Bose's Discovery of Nervous Impulse in Plants," May, 1913.

10. "Prof. J. C. Bose's Discovery," August, 1913.

11. "Dr. J. C. Bose on the Future of Research," September, 1913.

12. "Mimosa and Man," October, 1913.

13. "Prof. J. C. Bose thirty years ago," October, 1913.

14. "Honor to Rabindranath" [Dr. J. C. Bose presided on the occasion. November 23, 1913], December, 1913.

15. "Evidence of Prof. J. C. Bose" [before the Public Service Commission], January, 1914.

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"The world-movement for the advancement of knowledge," "Recruitment of Professors," "Pay," "Education a calling, not a profession," "Standards of British and Indian Universities," "British disinclination to come to India," "Stiffen up its steel," "Facilities for Research."

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17. "Prof. Bose's Recent Researches" [Researches on Irritability of Plants], March, 1914.

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20. "Prof. Bose at Cambridge. Appreciation of Sir F. Darwin," August, 1914.

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22. "Prof. J. C. Bose in Vienna," August, 1914.

23. "Prof. J. C. Bose in England," August, 1914.

24. "Dr. J. C. Bose's Success," August, 1914.
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27. "Is Prof. J. C. Bose simply to be admired in America?," April, 1915.
28. "Professor Bose's Work in the West," July, 1915.
29. "Prof. J. C. Bose at Madura," July, 1915.
30. "Vivisection and Dr. Bose's Researches," July, 1915.
31. "Living in the Past or Working for the Future," July, 1915.
32. "Dr. J. C. Bose at the Rammohun Library," August, 1915 [Dr. Bose's address is continued in the following two notes: "What Dr. Bose saw in Japan," "A Patriotic Call"].
33. "Prof. Bose's Work and Our Duty," December, 1915.
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35. "The Nation's Duty to Professor Bose," February, 1916.
36. "To Students of Prof. J. C. Bose," March, 1916.
37. "Bose Research Institute Studentship Fund," September, 1916.
38. "The Viceroy at Dr. Bose's Laboratory," January, 1917.
39. "His Students Congratulate Sir J. C. Bose," March, 1917.
40. "Dr. Bose's Research Institute," October, 1917.
41. "Bombay's Reception of Sir J. C. Bose," February, 1918.
42. "The Rishis and Dr. Bose on the Oneness of All That Is," March, 1918.
43. "Sir J. C. Bose's New Discovery," May, 1919.
44. "Sir J. C. Bose," April, 1920.
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55. "Sir J. C. Bose on Photosynthesis," April, 1924.
56. "Sir J. C. Bose's Return," May, 1924.
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60. "Professor Bose's Address to Presidency College Students," February, 1925.
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62. "Sir J. C. Bose's Instruments," November, 1925.
63. "Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Career," January, 1926.
64. "The Bose Research Institute," October, 1926.
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1. Dr. J. C. Bose (1896?), October, 1907, facing p. 363.
2. Prof. J. C. Bose lecturing on his discoveries at the Royal Institution . . . , October, 1913, p. 333.
3. J. C. Bose and Rabindranath Tagore: Deputation to Santiniketan to congratulate Rabindranath (at prayer), January, 1914, p. 107.
4. Professor and Mrs. Bose with some of the members of the Hindusthan Association at State University of Iowa, May 1915, p. 560.
5. A flash light picture taken at the home of Dr. Edwin Herbert Lewis of the Chicago Lewis Institute, May, 1915, p. 561.
6. The interior of Dr. J. C. Bose's laboratory at Maida Vale, London, January, 1916, p. 83.
7. Professor J. C. Bose, February, 1916, facing p. 188.
8. Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1897. March, 1916, facing p. 356.
9. Dr. J. C. Bose at the Royal Institution, 1914. March, 1916, facing p. 357.
10. Sir J. C. Bose: from an oil-painting by Mr. Atul Basu, May, 1921, facing p. 667.
11. Extraordinary response in the Living and the Non-living: a colour-plate. Artist—Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, July, 1921, facing p. 1.
12. Sir J. C. Bose, September, 1922, facing p. 344.
13. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, January, 1923, p. 128.
14. The Revealer: the invisible waxing and waning of life revealed by the moving trail of light. Artist: Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, December, 1925, facing p. 718.
15. Sir J. C. Bose, December, 1926, facing p. 668.
16. Jagadis Chandra Bose, February, 1935, facing p. 260.
17. Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, December, 1937, facing p. 706.

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AMERICA—WHAT IT TEACHES US

BY SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

THE first question that is often asked of a person who visits America is—What is the peculiar characteristic that strikes one above other things? Each one of us has his own reaction and impression according to our taste, predilection and mental outlook. When the giant plane in which we were travelling from London swooped round New York and you could see silhouetted against the earth's background the so-called giant sky-scrapers and how small they looked, tiny from above but huge from below, the truth flashed that it was the perspective that counted, *i.e.*, the angle from which you see things. The great island of Manhattan with its girdle of the East and West rivers, containing the world's first city and its statue of Liberty, its Empire State Building, its famous fifth avenue, symbolizes for many of us Walt Whitman's two lines,

I hear America singing
The varied carols, I hear.

This is the characteristic of America, where various peoples have integrated—the English, the Dutch, the Irish, the German, the Belgian, the Italian, the Spanish—practically the whole of Europe have come here. Many say that the USA has been the greatest single achievement of European civilisation. Many of course came in search of gold, a few in search of soul also, like the pilgrim fathers of the Mayflower and all we may say, paradoxical though it may seem, in search of life and adventure as they understood it. Call it a spirit of rugged individualism or a spirit of adventure and be they Boston Brahmins, the Cabots, the Lodges, or those who go West.

I go West
Then Ho brother Ho
To California go
There is plenty of gold in the
World we are told
On the banks of Sacramento.

Here the Lowells talked to Cabots and Cabots to God. Here were the Utah Mormons and Salt Lake City with their philosophy of plural marriage and marriage unto eternity. Here were also the Chicago bosses and gangsters or the film artists and producers of St. Barbara or Beverly Hills or Los Angeles where according to Aldous Huxley, thought was barred in this city of dreadful joys of Nineteen suburbs in search of a metropolis. As Gunther puts it; Years ago F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote—France was a land, England was a people but America was still an idea. That is partially true even today. We talk of integration. But the critic would say that integration we talk about is the integration of the whites and in spite of anti-slavery laws, in spite of the writs of the Supreme Court, in spite of public wrath aroused, there are still incidents like the Little Rock incident, still the Negro problem, still the caste system and untouchability. In Chicago alone there are 4 lakhs of Negroes. New York claims Harlem as a Negro Town by itself

Peenec Minice, Minice mow
Catch a nigger by the toe
If he hollers make him pay
Fifty dollars every day,

is not dead yet. These questions of colour, education, segregation and isolation are still problems. I can only say that better conscience of America is alive keenly to these issues and some satisfactory solution is sure to be found.

When we think of America, we must think of its vastness, its enormous natural resources and its less teeming millions. It was the first nation to produce, on a gigantic scale, coal, petroleum, steel, electricity, copper, cotton, timber and other multitudinous agricultural and industrial products. It is said that it contains 4/5ths of world's automobiles and one of half of its telephones. One hundred millions of dollars of cosmetics are spent on its home consumption. The possibility of power generation on the Pacific coast is so tremendous that 42 per cent of the total potential Kaiser shipyards and industries are flourishing today and atomic researches going on because of this power development, *e.g.*, Boeing plants at Seattle. A few years ago it was 120 billion KWH. It will almost double in a few years. The romance of

Tennessee Valley as part of F.D.R's New Deal is almost a history of the past. St. Lawrence of Canada is going to be another vast power potential which would make Chicago a sea-port. But in America you will find controversy still going on between private and state capitalism. Take the history of Grandcoulee dam. Two hundred million dollars were spent to build it. 10,0. millions of cubic yds of concrete were poured in, two hundred million cubic yds of excavation. The Roosevelt Lake it built was 151 miles long, it holds 436,000,000,000 cubic ft. of water. The drainage area is 74,000 sq. miles. The issue of Missouri Valley Authority and its operation which would constitute the greatest peacetime public undertaking is still being debated. Here was a nation in the making who have introduced some of the essential features of socialism without being doctrinaire socialists. The merging of various peoples have given also a vitality to society. They believe in making money but not in amassing it.

In America one notices that the prop of internal economy is credit. Increase your consumption, produce more and more consumer goods, market them by any means. Advertise, give facilities, make propaganda by television, radio and newspapers. Give easy instalments. This revolving credit—open a charge account—is the mainstay of their internal economy. Provided you have a job or you are in business, *i.e.* you are creditworthy, you sign over the dotted lines, and at once you get what you want, big limousines, houses, radios, refrigerators, televisions, going abroad on vacations or to a sea-beach or a world fair.

One of the problems that struck me there rather prominently was in respect of our wards and boys trained abroad who are averse to come back.

If I remember correctly a roster of trained scientists and technical men abroad was being compiled recently by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. The total number I am told is about 5,000. Only about 1,000 have registered for service in India. A question is often asked—do they pitch their salary demand high? This seems a very minor point, if not a myth. The average salary which these Indian nationals expected was Rs. 620. 67 per cent would be satisfied with less than Rs. 700/-.



85 per cent with less than Rs. 1,000/- and 23 per cent with less than Rs. 500/- to start with.

Let us analyse the figures a little closely. Average earning in Britain is Rs. 800/- with a maximum of Rs. 2185, in USA 1,800 with a maximum of Rs. 3,800. In Germany the average technologist gets Rs. 570.

In India though the average earning of a scientist or a technical man is less, it is more in comparison with our national income, which is at least 25 time less than USA. We, however, need all these men for the bettering of the very standard for which they are clamouring and we have to pay them higher wages—a compromise between their sense of a national patriotism and sense of their creature comforts. We cannot afford to lose our brothers and sisters not merely from the emotional standpoint but more from the solid selfish point of view that we want trained men.

I could talk of America in many other ways, borrow the words of Patrick Henry or Thomas Paine—give me liberty or give me death,—of its miraculous dakotas where four heroic statues lie hewn on the mountains each 480 ft. high, of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt, of the Government of the people, by the people, for the people or waging of war against any form of tyranny. I could talk of its poets and statesmen, of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, Longfellow and Walt Whitman, I could talk of its Ford and Rockefeller, Carnegie and Chrysler, of its general motors and G.E.C., of its grand Canyon, Colorado, or the Smoky Mountains, its Texas oils and the role of the railway companies in the colonisation. I could talk of its sex and sensation, rock and roll, its Reno and Las Vegas, of marriage and divorce, its juvenile delinquencies, and adult cruelties, its broadways, and little ways, its stars and stripes but I am reminded of that boyish verse in a Kansas Primer which begins—

I am a jay hawker
I do not have wings

I can sing
I can run, I can laugh
I can work
I was born in Kansas.

That is the spirit. It is the idealism of a new world imposed on the cynicism of an old. It is re-making in a virgin soil upturned, not reforming or remodelling. A sceptic who has seen the top of the world and its seven seas may say of America as still immature and emotionally unstable. Its love of television, quizzes, its love of chewing gum and sometimes extra quixotic incidents, its love of the cult of the spectacular or mysticism, may make one think that "America has not yet come of age" but think of the dynamism, think of the frankness, think of the probe and purity attached to it. Entering the big hall of the New York's public library on the famous Fifth Avenue one could see at a corner a forgotten book by an almost unknown author published in 1784 named *Oracles of Reason* by one Anthony Haswell who advocated the doctrine that Reason was the only *Oracle of Man* and considered it his supreme duty of preaching it to reform mankind from superstition and horror. Every nation has to go through trials and struggles, has to have its challenges and opportunities. World is moving fast. Its technology, its knowledge, its sense of values, its compartmentalism, are dwindling away. We see it in our own lives, in our own thought compartments. If it is a failure, it will be a glorious failure to use an expression of Herbert Hoover regarding Woodrow Wilson, moving with the pace of a Greek tragedy. One American told me that 'we follow nationalism in politics, rationalism in religion and humanism in relation to man.' That may be broadly true. In the words of Melville, one of its poets—it is life—life within life. It has its pitfalls, it has its virtues.*

* A Summary of a talk at the *Rotary Club, Asansol*.



TOLSTOY'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

By DR. NARAYANI BASU, M.A., D.Phil.

ONE day in a remote corner of Russia a boy was telling his young brother about his possession of a green stick. The secret of this magic stick when disclosed would remove all misery and misfortune, all would love one another and all would become 'Ant-Brothers'. The boy in his childish curiosity even arranged a game of 'Ant-Brotherhood' which consisted in sitting under chairs, sheltering with boxes, screening with shawls, and cuddling against one another while thus crouching in the dark. Thus the Ant-Brotherhood was revealed to him but to his utter disappointment the chief secret was left unknown. This tiny boy whose life was to search for this green stick of childish dream is L. N. Tolstoy.

A PAGAN

Curiously enough, Tolstoy started his life as a Pagan and the religious faith that taught him in his childhood soon disappeared. He started reading philosophical works at a very early age and as a result at the time he was 16 he ceased to say his prayers and ceased to go to Church. His indifference to religion was blended with an element of ridicule. Tolstoy says that when his brother Nicholas devoted himself to have a pure and moral and religious life they called him Noah to amuse themselves. One disastrous effect of this conscious rejection of the religious doctrine was that he was completely lost. Having spent his youth in extravagance and in dissoluteness Tolstoy married at the age of 34.

SEARCH FOR TRUTH

The marriage which he so earnestly desired did not give him lasting satisfaction. From the external world of riches soon he turned to the internal meaning of life. He was searching madly for the elixir but life could not give it as death appeared to him as the inevitable end of life. A feeling of despair and hopelessness pervaded his whole life. At the age of fifty he was brought to the verge of suicide and his position became like that of an wanderer overtaken on a plain by an enraged beast. It was as if leaping from the beast he got into a well; but years on was sitting there. Not daring to most doubt he should be destroyed by the en-

raged beast and not daring to leap to the bottom of the well lest he should be devoured by the dragon he seized a twig that grew up in a crack in the well. But two mice were gnawing at it. As soon as the twig would snap the traveller would fall into the dragon's jaw. Even knowing that the traveller would perish soon he looked around and found some drops of honey on the leaves of the twig, reached them with his tongue and licked. So too Tolstoy clung to the twig of life and licked the honey. But the honey no longer tasted sweet as his eyes were staring at the dragon of death. In those days of intense suffering and torment when Tolstoy was roaming about amid the gleams of mathematical and experimental sciences, out of the darkness he found an exit in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Death could no longer frighten him for he who had heard the call of Jesus to build the Kingdom of God will be immortal.

CHRISTIANITY

Jesus simply brought the message of the Kingdom of Heaven but man will have to fulfil this mission by his own efforts. The true enemy of mankind is not 'Death' but the worldly temptations. So beware of the temptations of enmity and anger which destroy the goodness of life. God does not want offering but mercy from his devotee. Jesus said to his disciples: "You have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill and whosoever shall kill shall be in the danger of judgment. But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause* shall be in the danger of judgment. . . . If therefore, thou art offering thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." (Matt. v. 21-6).

Another evil that ruins human welfare is lustfulness. The old Mosaic law knew it and

* Tolstoy thinks that the phrase 'without a cause' is an interpolation by the Christian commentators. for nobody is angry without a cause. Jesus wanted man to be free from anger even when the cause for anger exists.

TOLSTOY'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY .

laid down the law that one must not commit adultery and one must give a letter of divorce if he is separated from his wife. But Jesus told unto his disciples not even to look upon a woman with lust for whosoever looks upon a woman to lust after her commits adultery. Adultery arises because man and woman look upon each other as an object of desire and desert the soul with whom they are first united. Husband and wife are one flesh united by God and it is a sin to become separated. Christ's dictum upon divorce is clear and indubitable but strangely enough more than half of the people of the Christendom desert their wives and commit adultery.

The third temptation which ruins the welfare of man is the temptation of oath. Jesus

"Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you swear not at all. For man is entirely in God's power and cannot beforehand promise to do what his oath binds to do." Christ forbids taking of oath for many evils in the world are rooted in it. Demanding allegiance to the nation it causeth the separation of man into nations and the formation of the military class. The deception of oath consists in this that the words of all crimes, violence, war, murder are all sanctified by the oath. Soldiers who do all violence call themselves the sworn.

The fourth temptation depriving man of his welfare is that of resisting evil by means of violence. The doctrine of non-violence elevates Christianity and makes it more sublime than the Mosaic law of retaliation. In place of the old Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth Jesus gave his simple, clear and practical commandment: "Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the left also. And if anyone would go to the law with thee and take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also." So Jesus told his disciples: "Don't resist evil, do not meet violence by violence, if they beat you, endure it, if they wish to take from you what is yours, give it up." Failing to recognize the true meaning of Christ's teaching the Christians accuse Jesus of extolling suffering. Tolstoy says that it is a mistake to suppose that Jesus extolled suffering. Christ does not command us to pre-

sent the cheek and give up cloak in order to suffer. "It is just like a father sending his son off on a distant voyage, who does not order the son not to sleep at night and not to eat enough and to be drenched and to freeze, continue your journey, nevertheless; Christ does not say 'offer your cloak' but 'Resist not him that is evil and no matter what befalls you do not resist him'."

-What I Believe, p. 318 f.

Tolstoy must be credited for popularising the doctrine of non-violence but long before Tolstoy the American Quakers and people like W. L. Garrison and Adin Ballou discovered it and noticed the very foundation of Christianity in the doctrine of non-resistance of evil.

From the fourth commandment comes the fifth one, 'Be enemy of no man.' The temptation of enmity is such that it separates man from man, nation from nation. People become an easy prey to this temptation as enmity hides itself under the garb of that gross fraud called patriotism. Christ's advice to the people is: "Behave like the good Samaritan. God does not make any distinction between people and sends His blessings to all. He wants us to do likewise."

Thus Tolstoy understood the teaching of Jesus. Fulfil the teaching of Jesus and life will be meaningful to you. Man has come to the earth to live in the spirit and not in the flesh. Those who will abide by the teaching of Jesus will serve the spirit and will act cleverly like the wise manager of a rich man who knew that however well he might serve his master the master will dismiss him leaving him nothing. The manager while managing his master's affairs did favour to other people. Then when the master dismissed him those whom he had benefited received and sustained him. Men should behave similarly in the bodily life. Bodily life is the wealth not our own entrusted to us for a time. If we make good use of our own wealth that is spirit we will survive in the long run.

CHRISTIAN LAW OF EQUALITY

The ideal of life Christianity sets before mankind is one of love and universal brotherhood. This brotherhood will have no worldly aims. It will not seek either to dominate the

world of nature or the world of man. None will become rich and enjoy wealth at the cost of others. In God's kingdom everyone will have to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Work is duty; if a man does not work he shall not eat. On the other hand there will be no self-enrichment. It is harder for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. It is really a sin to possess wealth. So Jesus told unto his disciples: "He that hath two coats let him impart that hath none and he that hath food let him do likewise." Life based on love and equality will alone receive the blessings of God. There is no royal road to salvation.

CHURCH AND CHRISTIANITY

The words of Christ which are so simple and categorical have been clouded by dogmatic theology and its defender, *i.e.*, the Church. Christ's teaching is really a teaching of conduct—of how we shall live each separately and altogether. This ethical aspect of his teaching demands and as such cannot be separated from Christ's metaphysical explanation of why people should live in that way. Life on the earth is blissful indeed but man can attain the bliss only by his own efforts. Contrary to the demand of Jesus the Church extolls faith and asks his followers to have faith in God. It says here that life here is an imitation of true life, it cannot be good. The best way to live such a life is to despise it and to live by faith and the son of God will redeem the faithful. Obviously all the love of goodness and truth which lies in the soul, all the strivings of life and the victories of reason become unimportant and meaningless but only the life in faith that is to say 'life in insanity' becomes a true one. Distorting the metaphysical explanation of life the Church has replaced the ethical teaching by rituals. Is it not strange that while all religions demand from their adherents besides ceremonies the performance of certain good actions and abstention from certain bad actions there is nothing obligatory for a Christian to do something or to abstain from something? Like a spectator he should merely grieve for the fall of Adam and rejoice in the redemption of Christ. Nothing can be more insane than these ideas.

The influence of this doctrine of redemption is so deep-seated that the Christian world is either oblivious of or reluctant to fulfil the teachings of Christ. Christ's advice to the people was: "Resist not him that is evil. Give your left cheek to him that smites you on the right." But instead of turning the left cheek the Christians themselves are hitting the cheeks the Jews have turned to them. It is really regrettable that a people with so lofty an ideal is leading such an unscrupulous life. But the mischief is done by the Church. So, roared the voice of Tolstoy: 'Deery the Church.'

A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY

There are two things that make Tolstoy peculiarly disconcerting to the Christian propagandist and make it a challenge to Christianity. The first is that he enlivened the Christian ideal and that he denounced the Christian Church for the reason that the Church had shelved Christ's Sermon on the Mount as an ideal, as an impractical code for the modern man. Due to the preaching of the Church the Christians have dared practised contrary to their ideal. They are committing all those atrocities that the most barbarous of nations would shudder to think of although Christianity teaches them the doctrine of love. Christ himself cannot advocate this separation of ideal from conduct without wiping out his life of suffering and toleration. In fact, Jesus lived out and died in vain had he not intended to regulate our conduct according to his own preaching. Just like the Buddha Tolstoy believes, Jesus has shown his followers the fivefold path of right conduct: "Do not commit adultery, swear not at all, resist not him that is evil by violence and be enemy of no one." He wanted us to observe these principles for no amount of preaching will accelerate the journey to Heaven unless man by his own efforts quickens his pace. Tolstoy himself heard this imperial call and submitted to it. To be true to his creed he abandoned his vast property in favour of his family (as his wife wanted to appeal to the Tsar against her husband's will, Tolstoy was compelled to give up the decision of total abandonment), renounced the money from his writings and lived the life of a peasant tilling the land in Yasnaya Polyana.

Like a meteor detracted from its path Tolstoy fell upon the Western world and it could not face up to him. So it tried to dispose of this apostle. The Holy Synod excommunicated him from the Christian Society. His enemies called him a hypocrite living in self-indulgence at the expense of his wife. Even his family resented his mode of life. But Tolstoy never fell from his path and bore all humiliations.

Whatever may be the lot of Tolstoy the fundamental problem still remains to-day. As Tolstoy says: "Being poor does not deprive men of reason. They never have admitted and never will admit that it is right for some to have a continual holiday while others must al-

ways fast and work. Where there is a man not working because he is able to compel others to work for him—there slavery exists. . . . The ideal of an industrious life has been replaced by the ideal of a magic and inexhaustible purse." The magic of the purse has really been proved to be illusory in the homeland of Tolstoy himself. The West does not seem to have learnt any lesson out of it. Her life is still based upon the quicksand of social slavery. But sooner or later the workers will refuse to live in the state of slavery. If the West fails to realise the full implication of Christ's teaching or refuses to earn their bread by their honest labour, the Christian world will fall like the house of cards.

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MY TRIP TO MADRID

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

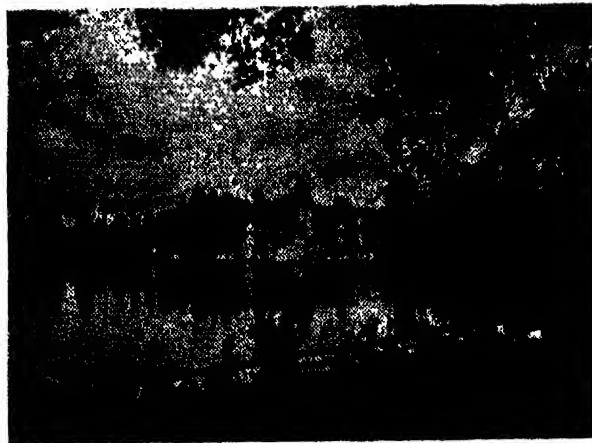
I WAS dreaming of Spain—the land of romance where one finds the charm of the East mingled with the speed and comfort of the West. I was weary with the long hours of travel and I was dozing, when the tumult of the passengers of the Iberian Airways woke me up from my dream.

We were circling over the International Air-port at Madrid and it was near midnight. I touched the soil of Spain in the sleepy atmosphere of night.

The journey in the bus from the Air-port to the Office at Plaza de Carsova was a pleasant one. I had met a Spaniard in the plane and he knew a little English. I asked him to find a cheap hotel for me. He works in a film business and I had hopes that he would not fail to help a stranger to his city. But unfortunately, he did not think it worth-while.

The people in the office advised us to go to the Palace Hotel which was nearby but its charge was very high. So I decided to take my chance and began to walk with my heavy suitcases in both hands. As I moved around, I saw an attractive feminine figure. She was old but

had a kind face. I asked her for guidance. She said in a sympathetic tone "Please come along with me." She noticed my troubles in carrying



Retiro

the heavy baggage and asked a porter to carry my things.

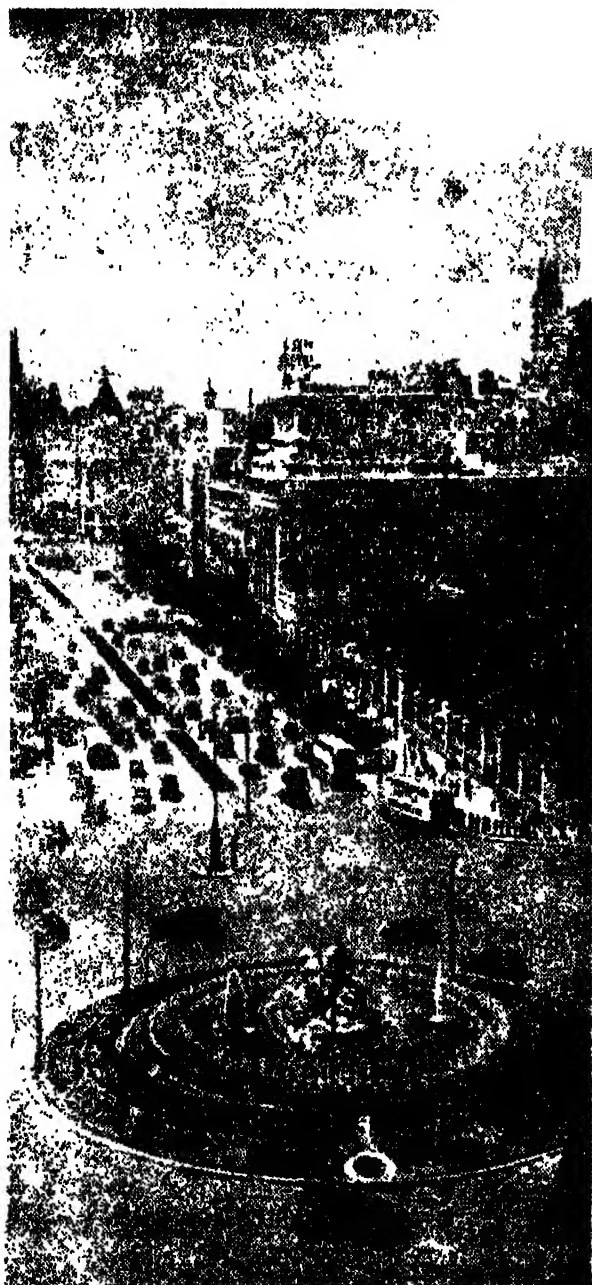
"Are you Indian?"

"Yes, I am on a world-tour to lecture about the culture and glory of Mother India."

"Oh, I am so glad to meet you. I am from

Switzerland and I come every year to enjoy the sunny climate here."

This was a first class B hotel and the room I got was nice and comfortable. I shall have to dine out. The old lady was very energetic.



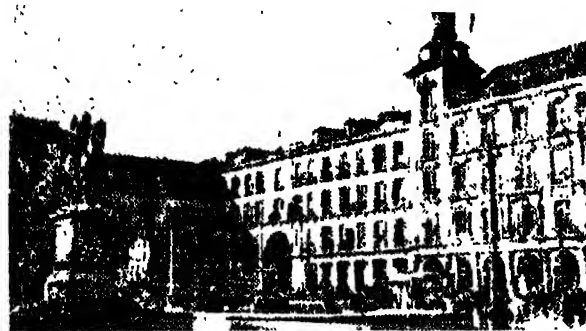
A view of the city of Madrid

After taking me to the hotel, she again went out to enjoy a local performance. It was Christmas Eve.

I went inside and soon fell into deep sleep. My roof was on the road-side and during early

hours of the night I saw people going in merry procession dancing and singing to celebrate the Christmas.

Next morning I strolled out at 8 A.M. The view of the city was nice - the clear blue of the



Plaza Mayor

sky, the green of the trees in the broad streets and the concourse of people, happy and cheerful were pleasing to the eyes.

I met a Hungarian gentleman near Plaza de Independencia. He was a very nice person and we had a long talk about India. "We are new to the business of self-government but we are doing very well with our zeal and our efforts are sure to show a new way of life." I told him with warmth and enthusiasm. "I hope you would enjoy your short stay here. I shall see if I can arrange a talk for you in the . . . where I live." I thanked him for his interest. He took my address but I did not hear from him. Perhaps his friends were not eager enough.

After leaving him I went to a zoo nearby. The gate-keeper was a shrewd man. He cheated me while giving me change. The zoo was not attractive but it had a well-kept garden inside.

The oriental role is evident in Spain and gives a glamour and delightful charm to her cities and towns. The Moors occupied Spain for many centuries and they left an abiding impression upon the character and appearance of Spain. Unfortunately, I could not go and visit the Alhambra in Granada, the Giralda tower in Seville and the Mosque in Cordoba, but I found in the Spanish people round about a familiar note. This and the sun gave me a

homely joy in the sights and sounds round about me.

I saw the Prado Museum and was charmed by its art-collections of incalculable value. It is one of the best Museums in the world and has been well kept up. Many masterpieces of Greco, Velasquez and Goya are there and all lovers of painting must make it a duty to visit the splendid art-galleries of the Prado.



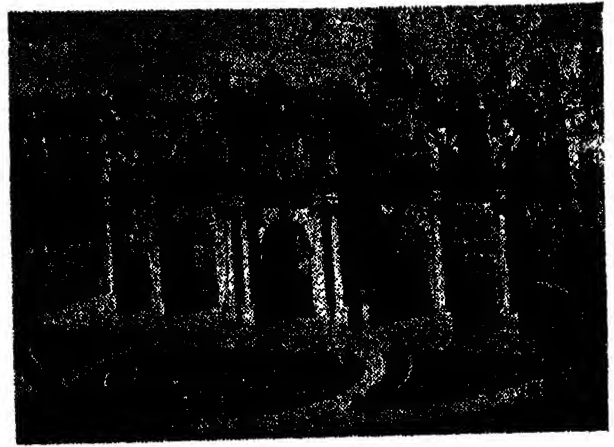
Paseo Del Pardo

The ordinary people in Spain have not the sturdy character of the Western people. They lack the honesty and straight dealings of the people of the northern neighbours. I asked a shoe-black to polish my boots and he agreed to do so at one peseta. He, thereafter, said that he should make necessary repairs and demanded 125 pesetas from me. With tact and a little anger, I was able to get out of his clutches on giving 25 pesetas.

I saw a few Spanish films. The Spaniards are lovers of dancing and skill. Because of this, the bull-fighting still survives in Spain. This aspect of Spanish character is also to be found in the Cinema. Cinema pictures are made with an eye to excitement so that they abound in fighting and adventures.

Every one is familiar with the great classic *Don Quixote* written by Cervantes (1547-1617). It is acknowledged as the greatest romance of all literature. This Quixotian characteristic is to be found in the national character of the Spanish people. But one should not forget that notwithstanding her weakness Spain was one of the world's great powers at one time and her vast and colossal empire in South

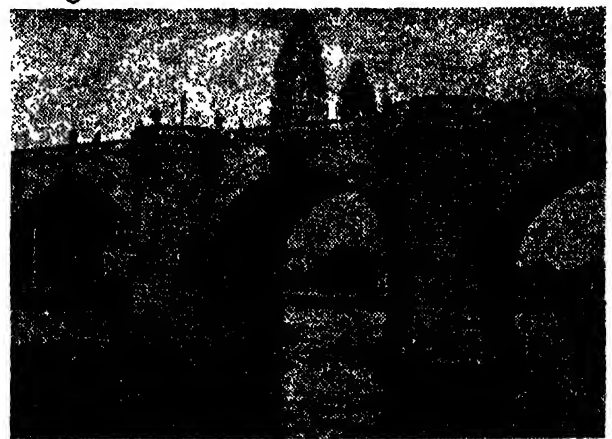
America is a glaring example of her one-time heroism. She gave her language, her culture and her faith to millions in America but alas that Golden Age is no more and to-day the



Puerta De Alcala

flame of Spanish genius is burning low, but who knows that it will not have a brilliant future* The signs of a new life are pulsating there.

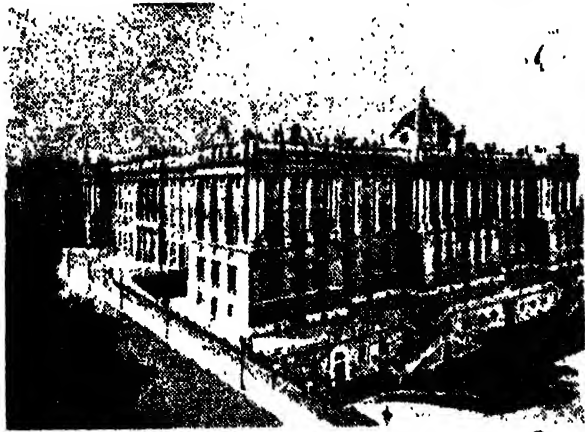
Madrid is almost in the exact centre of the Peninsula. It is a large city with a huge population and the surrounding suburbs are yearly being absorbed in the metropolitan city. But though busy and teeming with population, it has many old world aspects.



Toledo Bridge

One can meet small alleys and crooked lanes just walking a few steps from the nice thoroughfares of the modern city. Madrid has a bracing climate and my short stay there was pleasant and comfortable, though I had an attack of influenza.

I do not mean that all the Spanish are wicked. While going to the Lazaro Galdiano Museum, I asked a Spanish gentleman who was purchasing a ticket for self and his wife, how much it would cost. Noticing that I was a foreigner, he purchased a ticket for me and gave it to me. I thanked him heartily for his courtesy.



Royal Palace

I went to have a sight of the new Royal Palace. It is situated in a nice place having a beautiful landscape round about it. It was the most important building erected by the Bourbons, designed in keeping with a conception of the Baroque different from the Spanish one, in which the basic architecture is considered more important than the decoration. I could not see the inside.

I also saw many of the Baroque churches which are to be found all around. They are noted for a new style which has a great tendency to lavish decoration.

The city has several ancient gates as are to be found in Delhi and other places in India. The gates called Alcala, Toledo and Puerta de Hierro are attractive in appearance.

Some of the fountains placed on the broad highways are magnificent. These fountains such as Cilules, Aholo and Alcachafa were mainly erected in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

There is no Indian Embassy in Madrid but there is one of Pakistan. Janab Saheed Sharwardy is the Ambassador there. I went to meet him but unfortunately he was absent from Office.

As I did not know the Spanish language, it was not possible for me to go to the heart of the people, but for the little I saw and talked, I can say that the Spanish are a hospitable people. I had no contacts in Madrid, so it was not possible to meet people that count. I had been able to speak on the legacy of ancient India in almost all the countries I visited except in Spain in course of my round world-tour. It was unfortunate but one of the reasons for it was the political condition of the country. General Franco rules Spain with a reign of terror and it is not easy to have free scope for international concourse and amity.

My experience while leaving was not happy. I had toured round the world with a big suit-case and a small air-bag. None of the many Air-Lines charged me anything for excess baggage. But the man in the T.W.A. Office here was a villain. I do not know why he managed to charge excess baggage for the same. I told him that I could carry my camera, a book and a few other things free but he did not pay any heed to my remonstrance. The passengers who were in the room did not come forward to help me but that was because of the Western attitude not to poke their nose in others affairs. I was, therefore, forced to pay a sum of five dollars for it.

I do not still know whether the man wanted any bribe. I did not offer any tips but paid the excess charged. I made a complaint to the T.W.A. authorities but it is rather unfortunate that they did not care.

I would like to go back to Spain with its warmth and brilliance of the sun and study the influence of the Moorish invasion there. Spain with its extraordinary variety has a never-failing charm. I hope that our Government would soon establish an Embassy in Madrid and thereby promote business and cultural activity between the two countries.

DIGHA VISITED

By S. K. GHOSH, M.A., B.T.

The great poet Wordsworth, before he visited Yarrow, had written:

"Be Yarrow stream unseen, unknown!
It must, or we shall rue it:
We have a vision of our own:
Ah! Why should we undo it?"

My feelings were almost the same before I had actually visited Digha, the would-be Brighton of Bengal.

What I had heard and read about Digha seemed at times nothing but journalistic fanfare sounded at the instance of the Publicity Department of the Government of West Bengal, or more correctly in deference to the wishes of her popular but redoubtable Chief Minister. But I must confess that Digha often conjured up before my mind's eye seascapes of Byronic grandeur, glorious scenes of sunrise and sunset and romantic beaches flooded with the light that never was on sea or land.

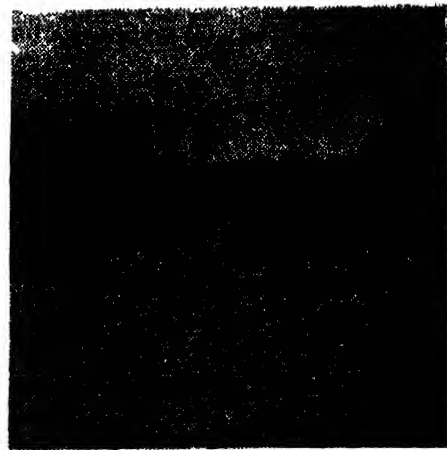
The call of the sea and of Digha was irresistible. One fine morning in February, 1958, we started for Digha. I was one of the 36 pedagogues who were invited by the West Bengal Government to attend an educational seminar organized by its Education Department.

A notoriously slow passenger train of the South-Eastern Railway took me in 12 hours to Contai Road Station which was 56 miles from my destination. This part of the journey was done by a public bus. Thanks to the fine road and a comfortable upholstered seat by the river's side, the journey was not a bone-shaking experience but a thrilling and enjoyable ride instead. As the bus sped along at an average speed of 30 miles per hour, I feasted my eyes on scenes of rural beauty that flew by. What especially charmed me was the endless avenue of mango trees laden with a heavy weight of blossoms but from which the leaves had almost disappeared.

In spite of half an hour's halt at Contai (the sub-divisional town) where another seminarist got in we covered the whole distance in

2½ hours. As the bus was negotiating the last curve I heard the distant roar of breakers. In a minute or two a charming seascape burst upon our view and then vanished like a flash of lightning. The next moment the bus came to a dead stop for it had reached its journey's end.

We were warmly greeted at the bus stop by two amiable gentlemen who guided us to our temporary home, the 'Banerji Lodge'. We met there other seminarists who had already arrived, but we were too tired to talk. We unpacked our luggage in the room allotted to me and my companion from Contai. A third gentleman soon joined us there. We were much relieved to find that our room was provided with electric lights.



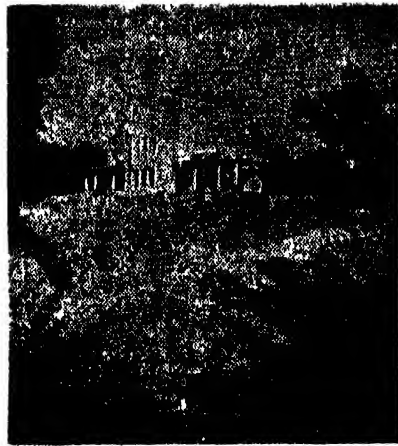
On the way to the sea

Tea was waiting for us at the cafeteria (the only one of its kind at Digha) sponsored by the West Bengal Government. It is housed in a red, double-storied building with its well-ventilated rooms. The amenities provided are not very costly. But we were surprised to find that there was no decent approach to the cafeteria. Heaps of sand lay scattered all around. A gravelled path and a fenced-in garden would have added to the charm of the place.

Tea was served in the southern verandah of the cafeteria. The clump of *jhow* (tamarisk trees) which we faced and just beyond which the sea was breaking, was a pleasing sight for us. The sea breeze added a zest to our cups

'that cheer but not inebriate'. While taking tea we talked rather freely and soon felt we were a merry company. But the sea was calling me. So leaving our seminar-minded friends in the company of the Director of the Seminar (Mr. H. R. Bhatia) I hurried with two of my new room-mates to the beach to see the sunset. We walked quite briskly, yet we missed the sunset by a few minutes. The golden twilight scene, however, was a sight for the gods to see.

We stood in silent rapture, gazing at the sky and gazing at the 'glorious mirror where the Almighty's form glasses itself'. The rolling of the endless breakers of the dark grey sea made us feel the omnipotence of Nature and our own impotence. We stood like pigmies looking at the Titans.



A house on a sand dune

We were lost in reverie till one of us spoke out. 'Look at the moon'. The shades of evening were deepening but the moon was rising in all her resplendent glory. It was another unforgettable scene, the scene of the sea 'that bares her bosom to the moon'. It was a dark and silver sea under the spangled heavens. We would have stood there for sometime longer, but the sudden chorus of about a dozen jackals called us back to reality. We were the only three souls standing in the deserted beach. We saw the last street light twinkling about half a mile away and with hasty steps we made for our lodging.

We had not rested long when dinner called us to the cafeteria a second time. It was a community dinner and the Director himself was there. We talked in a lighter vein than is usual

with seasoned pedagogues. The sea-fish which was a novelty to many of us met with a mixed reception. The abundance of chillies in our dishes was an ordeal for the majority. But the manager of the cafeteria was all attention and he knew how to tackle his hypercritical customers. Dinner over, we walked back to our respective lodgings. We were none too pleased to learn that our electric lights would go out at eleven. We were however too tired to keep awake up to that hour and the distant murmur of the sea was a lullaby to put us soon to sleep.

Early next morning we hurried to the beach to see the sunrise out of the sea. It was a grand and refreshing sight to 'one who has been long in city pent'. The orient was suffused with a vermillion glow. All of a sudden the golden rim of the rising sun leapt out of the distant waters. We watched it rise higher and higher but the last stage was too quick for our eyes. Ages ago the same scene must have inspired the Vedic *rishis* of old to pour out their hearts in immortal hymns to God and Nature.

The sun was high up in the sky when we turned back. Now was the time to enjoy the sea-breeze and walk along the never-ending beach of Digha. The sea here is not so deep as at Puri and naturally the breakers are not so high and thrilling. But the magnificent beach at Digha stretched east and west as far as the eye could see. One can walk in a straight line mile after mile. Looking like a man-made road just smoothed by a heavy steam-roller it offers an easy landing ground for helicopters. One would however miss there the shells of a thousand and one varieties that lie bestrewn on the sands of Puri. Almost every breaker brings in there thousands of them and the thousands of shell-gatherers fail to exhaust the endless supply. For those who fight shy of the crowd the beach of Digha has a special attraction. Very few sight-seers and holiday-makers are seen there. It is an ideal place for poets and philosophers who would spend a week or so 'far from the madding crowd'.

On our way back we noticed that the embankments of the sea were an almost continuous series of sand-dunes, sparsely overgrown with tamarisk (*jhor*) trees. We learnt that the

DIGHA

Forest Department of the State Government was planting tamarisks all along the Digha coast to protect it against the possible ravages of the sea. These tall, graceful trees would also add to the natural beauty of the place. The two other common species of vegetation native to the soil are the screw-pine (*keya*) and the cashew-nut. The Chief Minister recently suggested to the local people that the cashew-nut for which there is a great demand in the market, should be sown more abundantly and in an organized and planned way.



Under the tamarisk trees

During our fortnight's stay at Digha we had our breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea and dinner at the cafeteria. Our daily programme also included morning and evening walk on the beach and seminar work from 9 to 11 A.M. and again from 3 to 5 P.M. At the seminar we discussed educational problems in groups and in full assemblies. It was a fruitful and refreshing experience for all of us. But more fruitful were the new personal contacts that were made. Young and old, all were levelled to the same age and we felt rejuvenated. We called it the Digha spirit, and it made us forget our hearth and home.

Efforts are being made to develop Digha into a popular health and holiday resort but it is even now a lonely place except on special occasions. There is a talk about providing Digha with a small aerodrome for the convenience of international tourists and V.I.P.'s. But the local people apprehend that the sea may approach the site of the cafeteria and other new

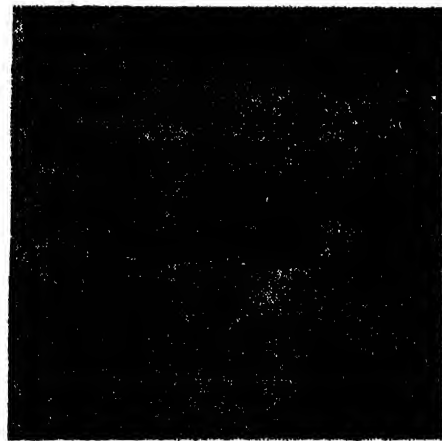
buildings. They also say that the scheme of the government is not likely to be a successful one. New buildings are being erected for the would-be health-seekers and holiday-makers. There are some fine bungalows belonging to some well-known Zaminders of Midnapore.

The sea at Digha being shallow, bathing here is not so thrilling as at Puri. But it is a safe place for those who would take their first lessons in sea-baths. One can go far into the sea without being drifted away and drowned. Digha has no *nulias* as there are very few bathers here.

Fishing is done at Digha on a limited scale. While taking our early morning walk on the beach we saw fishermen go out to the sea in their fishing boats. We were told that their catch was often very poor. But they had to go out

For men must work, and women must weep,
And there's little to earn and many to keep.

The commonly available and edible fish were the mackerel and the pomfret. We were



Fishing boats on the beach

often served with these two varieties at the cafeteria but we did not relish them. Quite a few among us suffered from disorders of the bowels as a result of taking sea-fish. Very often we saw inedible fishes and marine creatures like jelly-fish lying dead on the beach.

During the second week of our stay a party of reputed film-stars came to Digha to shoot

some desert scenes. The news of their visit spread like wild fire among the neighbouring villagers. It reached even the distant subdivisional town of Contai. Digha leapt to fame overnight and became the Mecca of the whole subdivision. They came by bus, by bicycle, and on foot. As we had our meals at the cafeteria where some of the famous stars were putting up, we shone in their reflected glory. The stars attracted men, women and even children from remote villages as a bright fire in the wood attract thousands of moths that burn themselves to death. They waited patiently for hours on end near the cafeteria

to have a chance *darshan* of the stars and the planets and their satellites.

At last came the final day of our departure. At the appointed hour we boarded the special bus which was to take us to the Khargpur Railway Station. We cast a 'longing, lingering look behind' to bid good-bye to the familiar cashew-nut bushes, the tall tamatiks and the sand-dunes beyond which the sea lay moaning. The driver blew his horn, the engine chugged and we waved our handkerchiefs bidding farewell to our friends at Digha. The bus started with thirty souls on board whose hearts must have said, 'Au revoir, Digha!'

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LEAD PENCIL—ITS POTENTIALITY

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

TALK about the difficulty of foreign exchange has almost become a byword in the context of the Second Five-year Plan. The only possible way to get out of this is to earn and save foreign currency. For that purpose we have to export much more than what we import. Although the Government of India have of late been taking measures to encourage export, it must be remembered that the scope in that direction is limited by the already existing competitors. It is, therefore, evident that a great stress will have to be placed on the reduction of import; we cannot think of eliminating it altogether till we are ready to stand on our own feet. It is not merely a question of installing machines, but it is also vitally linked up with the problem of establishing machine tools or machine-making machines. As our resources are limited, such inescapability of importing foreign machines for our basic industry means curtailing imports of consumer goods. In this field also such reduction may be possible only in respect of items falling under the category of luxury goods.

The situation is then really tight for us. It should not be forgotten that unless the

production of consumer goods is proportionate to the establishment of heavy industry, the country is likely to face an awkward situation arising out of a general discontent, apart from the possible consequences of an unbalanced economy. A very great emphasis therefore should be laid on the production of consumer goods under the small-scale or cottage industry scheme with particular reference to those items which do not call for the import of foreign machines or materials to any appreciable extent or the production of which can possibly be multiplied by intensifying our own efforts and exploiting the existing potentialities.

Looking about and around us we can find quite a few things on which we can concentrate our efforts. To mention one of these is the so-called lead pencil. Although there are some eighteen factories in India which according to an estimate have produced some 71,51,000 gross pencils in 1957, this figure is only a negligible fraction of the total quantity consumed. Taking into consideration our stride to literacy, it needs no effort to prove that total consumption of pencils will increase by leaps and bounds from year to year. It is, therefore, essential that due attention be paid to

this industry. Further, almost all the higher grades of pencils required for specialist work have to be imported today. Being of special grades their costs are also necessarily very high. That is to say, quite a good amount of money have to be paid in terms of foreign exchange. But, if we analyse the requirements of its manufacturing details it will be easy to conclude that efforts alone can yield good dividends.

Major raw materials required in pencil manufacture are graphite, clay and timber. Although the occurrence of graphite is widespread in India, all the varieties cannot be suitably processed for the manufacture of even tolerably good quality pencils. It is known from reliable sources that Mexican, Ceylonese or German graphite is mostly used in Indian manufacture. But the main problem lies in processing the existing ores. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that intensification of research work and methodical exploitation of the already known techniques may lead to self-sufficiency. The National Physical Laboratory of India, and the Indian Standard Institute may help in this matter as they have already focussed the attention of the public through the *I.S.I. Bulletins*.

The second item is the clay for which no import is needed as it is available in plenty in India.

Then comes the timber, between two slices of which the pencil-stick is sandwiched. The quality of timber is no less important to make pencils of good quality. It should be easily mendable with an average school-boy pen-knife. Cedar wood mostly used for railway slippers is said to be the ideal timber for this purpose. This wood becomes suitable for use in the manufacture of pencils when it can no longer be used as railway slippers. That is to say when the timber due to exposure to the hazards of weather loses its essential oil content, it becomes soft enough to be used for pencil making. But, unfortunately this timber mostly comes from North America. Although these Cedar trees grow in certain Himalayan Ranges, its occurrence is too thin to be of commercial use. Not only it is therefore necessary to intensify its plantation as a long-term

policy, but all efforts should be made to substitute timber which may be easily available in this vast sub-continent. In this matter the Forest Research Institute of India in Dehra Dun can do a lot. In fact, some preliminary work has already been done in this respect. One Mr. K. R. Rao of the wood workshop there claims that waste bamboo which is thrown away daily as useless, serves as one of the best substitute for Cedar. As, such bamboo pieces can be procured or obtained almost free of cost, its utilisation in the manufacture of pencils will reduce the price considerably which, considering small per-capita income, is not a mean factor in the manufacture of lead pencils.

Processing of such bamboo pieces is as simple, says Mr. Rao, as the mending of a good-quality pencil. In fact, Mr. Rao has made it a household affair. Grinding the graphite, mixing it with clay, he makes the pencil all finished ready for use. He does it without any elaborate tools. As the quality of pencils depends on graphite-processing and its proportion to clay, on which its softness or hardness and blackness depend, a pencil made in this crude method cannot be compared to any imported variety, but it may certainly be useful to the school-boy and can surely serve other simple needs where the question of cheapness is concerned and a readable impression is acceptable.

While bamboo waste may not serve the needs of the bulk of manufacture, it can surely meet small-scale needs. And who can say that there are not other waste timbers and things like that which we are just throwing away and which can be of immense value in pencil manufacture. To increase the production of lead pencils it would therefore be proper.

- (a) to assess the production capacity of the existing manufacturing concerns and to introduce shift system to the maximum extent,
- (b) to devise ways and means for improving the technique of graphite-processing so that the indigenous varieties can be extensively used,
- (c) to make systematic research work to utilise indigenously grown timber or its suitable substitutes, such as bamboo wastes,

some desert scenes. The news of their visit spread like wild fire among the neighbouring villagers. It reached even the distant subdivisional town of Contai. Digha leapt to fame overnight and became the Mecca of the whole subdivision. They came by bus, by bicycle, and on foot. As we had our meals at the cafeteria where some of the famous stars were putting up, we shone in their reflected glory. The stars attracted men, women and even children from remote villages as a bright fire in the wood attract thousands of moths that burn themselves to death. They waited patiently for hours on end near the cafeteria

to have a chance *darshan* of the stars and the planets and their satellites.

At last came the final day of our departure. At the appointed hour we boarded the special bus which was to take us to the Khargpur Railway Station. We cast a 'longing, lingering look behind' to bid good-bye to the familiar cashew-nut bushes, the tall tamatiks and the sand-dunes beyond which the sea lay moaning. The driver blew his horn, the engine chugged and we waved our handkerchiefs bidding farewell to our friends at Digha. The bus started with thirty souls on board whose hearts must have said, 'Au revoir, Digha!'

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LEAD PENCIL—ITS POTENTIALITY

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

TALK about the difficulty of foreign exchange has almost become a byword in the context of the Second Five-year Plan. The only possible way to get out of this is to earn and save foreign currency. For that purpose we have to export much more than what we import. Although the Government of India have of late been taking measures to encourage export, it must be remembered that the scope in that direction is limited by the already existing competitors. It is, therefore, evident that a great stress will have to be placed on the reduction of import; we cannot think of eliminating it altogether till we are ready to stand on our own feet. It is not merely a question of installing machines, but it is also vitally linked up with the problem of establishing machine tools or machine-making machines. As our resources are limited, such incapability of importing foreign machines for our basic industry means curtailing imports of consumer goods. In this field also such reduction may be possible only in respect of items falling under the category of luxury goods.

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production of consumer goods is proportionate to the establishment of heavy industry, the country is likely to face an awkward situation arising out of a general discontent, apart from the possible consequences of an unbalanced economy. A very great emphasis therefore should be laid on the production of consumer goods under the small-scale or cottage industry scheme with particular reference to those items which do not call for the import of foreign machines or materials to any appreciable extent or the production of which can possibly be multiplied by intensifying our own efforts and exploiting the existing potentialities.

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this industry. Further, almost all the higher grades of pencils required for specialist work have to be imported today. Being of special grades their costs are also necessarily very high. That is to say, quite a good amount of money have to be paid in terms of foreign exchange. But, if we analyse the requirements of its manufacturing details it will be easy to conclude that efforts alone can yield good dividends.

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policy, but all efforts should be made to substitute timber which may be easily avail in this vast sub-continent. In this matter the Forest Research Institute of India in Dehra Dun can do a lot. In fact, some preliminary work has already been done in this respect. One Mr. K. R. Rao of the wood workshop there claims that waste bamboo which is thrown away daily as useless, serves as one of the best substitute for Cedar. As, such bamboo pieces can be procured or obtained almost free of cost, its utilisation in the manufacture of pencils will reduce the price considerably which, considering small per-capita income, is not a mean factor in the manufacture of lead pencils.

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- (a) to assess the production capacity of the existing manufacturing concerns and to introduce shift system to the maximum extent,
- (b) to devise ways and means for improving the technique of graphite-processing so that the indigenous varieties can be extensively used,
- (c) to make systematic research work to utilise indigenously grown timber or its suitable substitutes, such as bamboo wastes,

(d) and to encourage small-scale industry for producing cheaper varieties.

Before concluding it may not be out of place here to trace in a few lines the history and growth of the use of pencils and its manufacture.

It is said that the use of pencil came into vogue in about the sixties of the sixteenth century when graphite mines were discovered in Cumberland in England. This graphite was found ready for use; pencil sticks had only to be cut into size and shape. But as soon as the

mines were exhausted, graphite ores occurring in nature had to be processed with clay; and Germany and France have done pioneering work in this field so much so that their standard is so high that we accept their products blindly.

These countries have achieved this position through sheer force of will, industry, and tenacity of purpose. What is needed then for us today is to harness our own mental forces which alone can provide work and food to the millions and save the much-desired foreign exchange.

—:O

THE QUEEN AND HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH

BY PROF. KAMALAKSHA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, in the Christmas Day radio and television broadcast, said:

"Today things are very different. I cannot lead you into battle, I do not give you laws or administer justice, but I can do something else—I can give you my heart, and my devotion to these old islands and to all the people of our brotherhood of nations."¹

This concept of monarchy is, indeed, 'one of the finest devices that modern democracy has for the conduct of public affairs.'² It is an interesting episode of history that in a grim tussle between the power of Parliament as against the crown, one King lost his head while another had to seek refuge outside his territory. As matters stand, the monarch, to become strictly constitutional, has divested himself of many of the original powers, the loss, nonetheless, has largely been offset. To the British people, the constitutional monarchy

stands today as an institution of pride or, even some should say, that it is 'the envy of the entire world'.³

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BRITISH NATION

The monarch in Britain as its Ceremonial Head is, to use Mr. Morrison's language, 'the incarnation of the state', the esteemed non-party representative of the nation as a whole'.⁴ We learn on the authority of Sir Harold Nicolson's celebrated work *King George V. His Life and Reign* how King George crystallised the functions and duties of a constitutional monarch when he came to the throne. Sir Nicolson admirably estimates: "His faith in the principle of monarchy was simple, devout even; but self-less. All that he aspired to do was to serve that Principle with rectitude; to represent that was most straight-forward in the national character; to give to the world an example of personal probity to advise, to encourage and to warn. To few men has it been granted to fulfil their aspirations with such completeness".⁵

1. Extract from Queen's Radio-TV Broadcast on Christmas Day, 1957—*Fortnightly Review of News and Events*, Dec. 1957—Jan. 4, 1958, pp. 5-6.

2. H. V. Hodson, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Commonwealth Issue, 1950.

3. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, Oct. 23, 1957 (U.P.I.—A.F.P.).

4. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, (O.U.P.) 1954, p. 87.

5. H. Nicolson, *King George V, His Life and Reign*, pp. 61-63.

THE QUEEN AND HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH

It will be ungracious to think that the sovereignty of the crown has toppled down to a vanishing point; the diminution of so-called powers have added to the lustre and dignity of the institution. The status of the crown has been immeasurably and progressively elevated as the Empire transforms itself into the Commonwealth of Nations. It is almost a revolution how the present Queen, within little more than half a century since the demise of Queen Victoria (1819-1901), could speak herself, both in law and fact, as 'Queen of Canada' and 'Head of the Canadian Nation'. She is Queen of Canada and Head of the Nation of Canada, of Australia, of New Zealand, of South Africa, of Ceylon and Ghana in the same constitutional sense as she is the Queen and Head of the United Kingdom. In India, Pakistan and the Federation of Malay⁶ (per se Kutuan Tanah Melayu) she is the Head of the Commonwealth (India and Pakistan being republic—members of the Commonwealth). It is really another surprise of history that the British Empire right up to 1876 was without an Emperor when Queen Victoria by the Royal proclamation dated April 28, 1876 added to her style and titles the words 'India Imperatrix.' The Republic of India no longer owes allegiance to the British monarch, still it is interesting to recapitulate, that the Hindu view of kingship closely approximates to that of the British idea of a sovereign.⁷

The subjects (*prajas*) used to regard themselves as the progeny of the King who in relation to his subjects was the father for his fondling care and protection.

6. On 31st August, 1957, the Federation of Malay achieved independent nationhood and became a member of the Commonwealth. Juan Ku Abdul Rahman ibni Al-marhum Juan Ku Muhammad, Ruler of Negri Sembilan, was formally installed 'as King and Ruler of the Federation of Malay.' The Queen's status in the Federation is derived solely from her position as Head of the Commonwealth.

7. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article "The British Monarchy in Indian History." *The Statesman Coronation Magazine*, III.

MONARCH—A SOCIAL SYMBOL OF THE PEOPLE

It has been said that 'the king reigns, but does not govern.' Speaking in a metaphorical sense it can be said that an English monarch rules supreme in 'the fond breast' of the loving subject. The feeling of the common people was dramatically expressed on a great royal occasion when an East London slum put a banner carrying the humorous slogan: 'Lousy but loyal'.⁸ Queen Elizabeth I once remarked: 'Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown that I have reigned with your love.'⁹ The tradition of deep personal feeling continues. On the very day of the Coronation, Queen Elizabeth II in a world-wide broadcast said, "As this day draws to its close I know that my abiding memory of it will be not only the solemnity and beauty of the ceremony but the inspiration of your loyalty and affection."¹⁰

It is true that Queen Victoria laid the firm foundation of monarchy 'while society was still highly stratified and quite reasonably only the top strata were associated with the crown.'¹¹ Society in the Victorian sense is an anachronism to-day and the effect of maintaining the traditions of the court would strain the sympathy of the mass of the people who may very reasonably like to see their appointed representative 'the image of themselves at their finest' one with themselves in their simplicity.

Recently Lord Altrincham and Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge criticized* rather strongly the presentation parties at the Royal court which give the appearance that the Queen just stood 'at the apex of our aristocratic and plutocratic pyramid'; they expressed resentment in no uncertain terms against the whole system of 'titles.

8. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, p. 92.

9. Quoted in the *Most Excellent Majesty*, H.M. 50, 1953, p. 33.

10. Extract from the Coronation Broadcast, *Statesman*, June, 1953.

11. Ivor, Jennings, *The British Constitution*, 1950, p. 117.

* See Malcolm Muggeridge's article: 'Does England really Need a Queen?'

snobbery and accent¹². In fairness it should be added that the Queen personally too did not favour so much of ostentation and formality and she was thinking to dispense with these long before the criticisms were hotly and publicly made. It is noteworthy that the Queen had professed to make her television appearance with the hope that her message would be 'more personal and direct.'

It may not be out of place here to reproduce what Sir Leslie Munro spoke so tersely and beautifully about the Queen while she addressed the U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 21, 1957. In thanking the Queen for her address to the United General Assembly of the Nations, Sir Leslie Munro, President of the U.N. Assembly, paid her tributes which I think deserve to be quoted for they bring out her representative qualities:

"Your Majesty as Head of the Commonwealth expressed the devotion of its farflung and diverse peoples to the purposes of peace, advancement and justice. I venture to say that there is not one among us who does not rejoice in the presence here to-day of a Queen, a wife and a mother who is symbol, in her lovely person of the noble ideals of womanhood."¹³

THE COMMONWEALTH AND DEMOCRACY

Emerson wrote that an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man. Of the institution of Parliament¹⁴ it may equally be said that it is the lengthened shadow of the British Crown (notwithstanding party system and the cabinet, the two noble characteristics of the constitutional monarchy). It is the Queen who stands at its pinnacle and facilitates the process of Parliamentary Government and functions as an upholder of freedom and representative Government.¹⁵ The formal centraliz-

ing institutions of the Empire are fast disappearing as the Empire graduates to the status of the Commonwealth, which to use Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's fine expression, represents not only the democratic institutions but in a considerable measure the content of democracy.¹⁶

The British Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth has a far more wider range than the British Prime Minister. To her the Commonwealth not merely owes life but continuance of life.

COMMONWEALTH CONNEXION—A PHASE OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In India the issue to be within the Empire or outside it made its regular appearance on the agenda of the Indian National Congress till the last date of the calendar year of 1929 when all speculations were set at rest by the Congress acceptance of the complete Independence Resolution under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The Congress answer to the British connexion without compromise to its Independence Resolution was 'Hail—but not farewell.' The Commonwealth and India's membership of it, to agree with V. K. Krishna Menon, was an integral part and phase of our national development and fulfilment. India, a sovereign democratic republic country in 1950 continued her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the Queen as the symbol of free association of its independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth declaration of 1949 has been a classic and crucial formula. It can be interpreted as a re-statement of India's national approach. India rather than breaking the existing association had placed it in a better light and broadened the nucleus of co-operation. The position of Pakistan since 1956 (also Ceylon when the republican constitution

12. Elizabeth II is popular but powerless, *Statesman*, Oct. 15, 1957.

13. *Fortnightly Review of News and Events*, BIS, Oct. 13-26, 1957, pp. 3-4.

14. S. Gordon, "Our Parliament". *Hansard and Society*, 3rd edn., p. 7; used in another context.

15. H. Morrison, *Government and Parliament*, p. 92.

16. See Nehru's welcome address to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, December 2, 1957.

would be inaugurated¹⁷) is largely patterned on the Indian model

THE VISIT OF THE HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The idea of the Commonwealth is almost extraordinary. Etymologically, there is no conflict between the concept of the Commonwealth and that of the peaceful co-existence of Nations. The great thing about the Commonwealth was, observes Mr. Nehru, "not the points of similarity but the points of differences among its members which had not been allowed to come in the way of their meeting and conferring together."

Since Independence India has the privilege of receiving a large number of distinguished personalities of whom many were Heads of different states. So far of six British monarchs from Queen Victoria to Queen Elizabeth II only one visited India and that was two scores and seven years ago.

It is needless to emphasise that the State

17. At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting (27th June to 6th July, 1956) the Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that in accordance with their declared policy, the Ceylon Government would introduce a republican constitution. The other Prime Ministers took note of the statement and expressed their agreement to Ceylon's remaining a member of the Commonwealth.

visits, on the top of all, afford great ceremonial occasions and promote mutual trust and cement the chords of friendship. The Queen herself, during one of her tours to Auckland, New Zealand, in 1953, said:

"I set out on the journey to see as much as possible of the people and countries of the Commonwealth and Empire to learn at first hand something of their triumphs and difficulties and something of their hopes and fears. At the same time, I want to show that the Crown is not merely an abstract symbol of our unity but a personal and living bond."¹⁸

In the case of the people while they cheer the Queen and sing her praises they cheer the triumphs of democracy and its great custodian.

India's reception to the first visiting Prime Minister of Britain was spectacular and it was an eloquent commentary on India's direct and intimate connection with the Commonwealth and its Head.

The proposed visit of the Queen to India, if it materialises, will, no doubt, create a tremendous impression at a time when the Commonwealth is responding to the spirit of adventure and continues to admit independent members into its fold of Nations. The greatest days of the Commonwealth are, however, still ahead.

18. *The Monarchy and the Commonwealth*, Col. London, 1955, p. 8.



A PLEA FOR MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA

By PRABUDDHA NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.

THE Municipal Act now in force for Calcutta drastically curbs local self-government in the city. It places the executive power of the Municipality virtually in charge of the State Government. All the important functionaries of the Calcutta Corporation including the Chief Engineer, the Health Officer, the Finance Officer and the Chief Accountant are placed under the Commissioner who is a nominee of the State Government and removable only by the State Government. A creature of the State Government, the powers vested in the Commissioner do not emanate from the Corporation, while under the former Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923,—the handiwork of the great Surendra Nath Banerjee—the powers exercised by the Chief Executive Officer were really those of the Corporation itself, i.e., of the elected body set up by the citizens of Calcutta. Because previously the Corporation itself selected and appointed the said Chief Executive Officer and could also terminate his services. Whereas under the present law though the Commissioner has much more powers than those ever enjoyed by the Chief Executive Officer of the former times, the Corporation can neither appoint nor dismiss him.

This is hardly municipal self-government. According to Prof. Sidgwick (*Elements of Politics*) municipal self-government means an institution which though completely subordinate to the State Legislature, is independent of the State Executive in appointments and to some considerable extent in its decisions. Local officials of the State Government and the Commissioner in the present instance is nothing but a mere local official of the West Bengal Executive—however beneficently entrusted with functions of local interest cannot form local or municipal self-government.

Local or municipal self-government has been for a long time universally acclaimed as

a school for good citizenship. It promotes public spirit and civic sense among the people. Within a representative Government it is an invaluable important educative agency.

But for this the local self-governing body must have sufficient powers and sufficiently responsible functions to discharge.

Under the present Act, the powers of the Councillors elected by the people are drastically curtailed and with the Commissioner able to defy the elected Councillors—their accredited agents—the rights of the citizens are also correspondingly diminished. Unlike the Act of 1923, the present Act rarely makes the decisions of the Councillors mandatory on the Municipal Executive—mostly they are made to be of an advisory or recommendatory effect. We have seen that the Councillors have been comparatively listless in coping with the recent cholera epidemic in Calcutta. The mournful comment of the Mayor Shri Triguna Sen that they may have plans but they have no power to make Calcutta a better city, is well grounded. This negation of self-government is an affront not only to the Councillors but also to the people of Calcutta who elect them. It seems that the authorities which made the present Act had lost faith in Democracy.

One of the declared objects of repealing the previous constitution of the Calcutta Municipality was to put an end to "continued mal-administration" in the Corporation. But the West Bengal Government which took upon itself—through its agent, the Commissioner—the powers previously vested in the Corporation is itself certainly not, to say the very least, a paragon of virtue or a model of good administrative machinery. Its own record of administration is not as yet very creditable. Charges of gross corruption and nepotism against it are legion. Various High Court judgments bear testimony to this. In circumstances where the kettle calls the pot black,

A PLEA FOR MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA

should the citizens of Calcutta be required to trust the West Bengal Bureaucracy more than their own elected representatives in the Corporation in the management of what is purely their own local affairs?

Of course, in matters partly of local interest and partly of wider interests of the State, it is proper that control should be absolutely with the State Government. Even there, the rule is that while the determination of principles and general supervision should be left to the State Government, the actual executive work should be left to the local authorities.

But at present the State Government—and this means the State Executive or the bureaucracy—may control or carry out through its nominee the Commissioner even the details of the administration of purely local interests in Calcutta. If the State Government desires it, this will be so against the avowed and expressed wish of the elected representatives of the citizens. What else can the motive be for the nomination of the Commissioner by the State Executive when it has otherwise already sufficient controlling power over the acts of the Corporation?

Section 19 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1951 frees the Commissioner from responsibility to the Corporation and makes him absolutely a creature of the State Government. The power to require his removal given by sub-section (3) of Section 19 to the Corporation is illusory. In practice it is often next to impossible for the Corporation to get rid of even that Commissioner who persistently flouts the mandate of the Corporation or the opinion prevailing in the Corporation; the Commissioner in such cases has only to make sure to be in the good books of just a biggish coterie inside the Corporation which will not join any motion to bring about his downfall. On the 29th March, 1958 last, the Commissioner could not be removed by the Corporation though as many as 38 Councillors constituting the majority of the Councillors present voted in favour of the motion recommending his removal and not a single Councillor voted against such recommendation. The ruse em-

ployed by the Commissioner was clear. Though he could not persuade any councillor to vote in his favour yet by some means or other he could arrange that a certain number of councillors be absent from the Corporation meeting or at least remain neutral when the vote is taken so that the number of votes against him—though unquestionably in a majority—did not reach the decisive figure of 44.

Also, in the background of the unprecedented powers of exclusive jurisdiction given to the Commissioner, the power given to the Corporation by Section 25 of the Municipal Act is more of an academic than of practical content. Protected by his exclusive jurisdiction it is almost always relatively easy for the Commissioner to disregard any resolution that may be passed by the Corporation concerning him.

It is not that the Government of West Bengal has otherwise no controlling powers over the Corporation. The Corporation has all along been, apart from anything else, placed directly under the control of the Minister for local self-government. What more in all fairness could be required? But no, the authorities designed to make the Calcutta Municipality substantially a mere department of the West Bengal Executive and, therefore, enacted the present Municipal Act.

When we think of the extremely reduced power and jurisdiction that our elected representatives as constituted in the Corporation have, we are reminded of the warning Prof. Gilchrist uttered on this subject, "Experience shows that the greater the responsibilities of a local body, the more likely it is that a better class of men will come forward to serve the community by being members of the local body. Where a local body merely interprets and executes the will of a Central Government, it is difficult to secure public-spirited men of the proper type."—*Principles of Political Science*: Chapter on Local Government.

The *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* frequently laments in its pages that "most people treat municipal subjects with indifference and unconcern" but it is not because of "everybody's business being nobody's business" that this is

so—people take a good deal of interest in the working of the national Government though that is also everybody's business in a true sense—but because they have little hand in influencing the cause of the municipal affairs with their representatives in the Corporation given so little power and responsibility. Only the other day (8.11.57) councillor Shri Biman Mitra was complaining that though he was the accredited representative of the Corporation in the Hospital Inspection and Advisory Committee of Nilratan Sircar Hospital, the Hospital authorities did not care to call him to a single sitting of the Committee and on being questioned they saucily replied that Shri Mitra might represent the Corporation but until they heard from the Government about this matter they could scarcely recognise him. The result is that *inter alia* due to lack of proper supervision from the city fathers the administration of the Hospital is far from satisfactory.

In short, it is extremely necessary for genuine local self-government to increase the power and responsibilities of the municipal legislators and to delete the provision in the Municipal Act that the Chief Executive in the Calcutta Municipality shall be merely a nominee of the State Government. A more democratic method of "recruitment" of the Chief Executive would be appointment by the Government from only the panel of names suggested by the Corporation but the best method is election—direct or indirect. In some of the politically-advanced countries the Chief Executive in a municipality is the Mayor who is an elected official. We may with advantage adopt the system prevailing in those countries in this respect. We may likewise make the Mayor of Calcutta the Chief Executive in the city municipality. The Mayor may be elected by the Corporation Councillors as in Britain or in France, or if it is desired to make him as the Chief Executive, a separate body from the legislative or the directive body in the municipality, *viz.*, from the Corporation Councillors—in accordance with the principle of separation of powers—let the Mayor or the Chief Executive be elected directly by the citizens of Calcutta. This is the rule in American cities. If this rule is adopted, the election

of the Mayor and of the Corporation Councillors should take place at the same time and at equal intervals. This would probably ensure both the Chief Executive and the majority of the legislators of the municipality being returned from the same political party which may at the time hold public opinion on its side. If both the executive and the bulk of the legislators are returned from the same party the chances of friction and of conflict between the two bodies are reduced to the minimum thus facilitating a smooth and efficient conduct of administration. For similar reasons and also to economise the time and energies of the people by a symmetrical pattern of electoral system—for elections are great disturbers of public mind and of the even tenor of public life—it is advisable that the time of municipal elections should synchronise with and be the same as that for general elections to the country's legislature and the term of office of the Chief Executive as well as that of the Councillors in the municipality should be five years.

For the protection of the Mayor, *i.e.*, the Chief Executive, he should have the power to veto acts of the councillors assembled in the Corporation, as is the system usually obtaining in American cities. Again, to prevent executive arbitrariness in this respect, the veto may be over-ridden, if say, two-thirds majority among the councillors is in favour of the measure that is vetoed.

For promptness of decision and energy of action it is necessary for the Chief Executive to have the very full powers. It is necessary for him to have the entire authority as regards appointments, dismissal, etc., at the same time feeling that he is directly responsible to the Corporation or to the citizens of Calcutta for his actions. These features are conspicuous by their absence in our present municipal constitution. We want an elected official to be the Chief Executive with very full powers and then to make him solely responsible for good or ill. To maintain responsibility at its highest there must be one person who receives the whole praise for what is well done or the whole blame for what is ill. It is thus that the res-

A PLEA FOR MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CALCUTTA

straints of public opinion are best exercised. Responsibility alone makes the Executives careful in the conduct of their duties. There may be a provision for recalling the Mayor or the suggested Chief Municipal Executive if he is proving unsatisfactory on the petition of a sufficient percentage—let us say 40 per cent of the electors. After his term the Mayor should be re-eligible for election, so that the continuity of a satisfactory policy and of a prosperous regime might be possible.

On these lines of reasoning it is clear that the Municipal Service Commission should not be appointed by the State Government as it is now. As it is, the Municipal Service Commission is really nothing but a branch of State Public Service Commission with no logic for its separate existence. The best thing for the Commission would be to be set up by the Chief Municipal Executive himself acting on the advice of other Chief Officers of the municipality. It is they who in a system of responsible Municipal Government, as envisaged above, have the strongest motive for appointment of the fittest persons to assist them in building up the reputation for efficiency and good administration.

Much of the above-stated suggestions are features of the United States' local or municipal self-government and considering the prosperity even grandeur of cities and towns in the United States and the amenities enjoyed by their citizens, there is no reason why we should not adopt some of their methods and laws in this respect.*

* *Vide Government of Cities in the United States* By Harold Zink. Chapter XV.

We cannot close without mentioning another monstrosity in the present Calcutta Municipal Act, viz., that of limiting the franchise in municipal elections to direct contributors to the municipal revenue. The name Corporation should not make the municipality a Joint Stock Company where only share-holders, i.e., who are the owners and contributors to its finances are eligible to vote. In a proper analysis the Corporation of Calcutta is a local government so far as its jurisdiction goes and hence in a true democracy all adult citizens without disability, whether tax-payers or not, should be entitled to exercise the vote in choosing their representatives in the institution whose functions affect their day-to-day life. The poorest inhabitant of a *bustee* is as much interested, if not more, in the efficient functioning of the municipal routine as the proud owner of a palace and the distinction made as among citizens of India in matters of franchise on grounds equivalent to those of wealth is base and invidious and against the spirit of our national Constitution. Only last November (1957) the Corporation in its general meeting of its councillors adopted a resolution advocating adult franchise. Elections for both Bombay and Madras municipalities are conducted on the same principles. None can say that municipalities in those places are inferior to Calcutta Corporation. In particular, the Corporation of Bombay has a greater reputation than its counter-part in Calcutta and is spoken of as the premier municipality in India.



A STUDY IN EVOLUTION OF ARAB NATIONALISM

BY JASWANT SINGH

THE Arab world is at the threshold of momentous developments. Dictatorial Egypt and Syria, followed by theocratic Yemen, joined together to constitute the United Arab Republic. Monarchical Iraq and Jordan had jointly proclaimed the Arab Federal State but monarchy in Iraq has lately been swept off. The Lebanon is still recovering from a powerful civil strife. Other Arab countries are subjected to tremendous pressure, not exclusively internal. The events in themselves, however, hardly initiate a smooth and rapid evolution towards Arab unity. They only underscore the increased polarisation of forces and accentuation of inter-neine conflicts in the Arab world.

Ever since their dramatic debut into civilisation, the Arabs have exhibited powerful centrifugal trends. At the fag-end of the fourteenth century, the great Arab historian and sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, laden with wise long years, noted with dismay that the "fierce character, pride, roughness and jealousy of one another, especially in political matters" had made every Arab regard himself as "worthy to rule." He found that an Arab "submitting willingly to another, be it his father or his brother or the head of his clan" had become an extremely rare phenomenon. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, concluded more in sorrow than in anger that the Arabs were "the most difficult people to lead" and "incapable of founding an empire." History since indicates little abatement in Arab turbulence.

However, the long-drawn Ottoman rule and the Western impact engendered in the Arab mind an irresistible impulse to recapture its old splendour and lost self-respect. The consciousness of Arab unity and nationalism is a by-product of this great endeavour over the past decades.

The Western interest in West Asia, undoubtedly imperial in essence, was primarily directed to secure and safeguard the vital imperial communications to the East, since the dis-

covery of oil reserves was a rather late development. The Arab world had only strategic significance for the West. The French occupied Algeria in 1830 and Tunisia in 1881; the British occupied Egypt in 1882. The Turks were left undisturbed to hold sway over the rest of the West Asian landmass.

But it was not only soldiers and guns that came from the West. Besides came a large number of teachers and books dispersed in innumerable American, British and French mission schools that sprang up everywhere. In 1866, the Americans founded the Syrian Protestant College, the present-day famous American University of Beirut which receives as many students from Jordan, Iraq and Syria as from the Lebanon itself. The Americans in particular greatly contributed in the revival, development and modernisation of classical Arabic—the one positive denominator of the Arab world—and in the printing and dissemination of Arabic books. From across the Atlantic, the Lebanese emigrants like traveller Amin Rihani and mystic Khalil Gibran helped Arab renaissance by imbibing and transmitting to the Arab world the cultural influence of the West through their writings, both in English and Arabic. The nineteenth century concepts of nationalism, freedom and democracy thus began to stimulate and fertilise the Arab intellect.

The growing national consciousness of the Arabs sought fulfilment in the ambitions of the local potentates, the most astute amongst them being Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca (the Custodian of the Holy Places of Islam), and a descendant of the Prophet's family who had earlier been a virtual political prisoner in Constantinople for fourteen years. But they could hardly venture to attempt liberation on their own. The Sherif sent his elder son, Abdullah, to Cairo in February 1914 to sound Lord Kitchener if the British were interested in supporting Hussein against the Turks. The British were not. But

when with the First World War Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey joined the Germans and issued an appeal to all the Muslims to rise in *jihad* against Britain, the British were only too eager to turn to Hussein for help. He could now bargain; and he did. Protracted negotiations followed. The British eventually agreed in secret to the formation on the Arabian Peninsula of a single, unified Arab kingdom under Hussein subject only to certain reservations regarding the British dominant influence in the Baghdad province and the traditional French interests in the area. Later in the year, Hussein proclaimed himself King of the Arabs, and with the help of Britons like T. E. Lawrence launched a revolt against the 'Turks. Nationalism and unity for the first time appeared to the Arabs as a live, immediate, practical proposition.

But disillusion was in store for the Arabs. For they had reckoned without the ambivalence of the British diplomacy and its makers. That was truly characteristic of the Arab mind which, according to a modern Arab thinker, is swayed more by words than by ideas, and more by ideas than by facts. Between 1914 and 1918 the Foreign Office in London, the Arab Bureau in Cairo and the British Indian Government in New Delhi were frequently working at cross-purposes and often ignorant of each other's moves in West Asia. Within a few months of their agreement with the Arabs, the British were signing the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the French and the Czarist Russia under which Iraq *minus* Mosul and Jordan were to pass under the British, Syria *plus* Mosul and the Lebanon under the French mandate, and Palestine under an international regime. The Agreement was kept a closely guarded secret; it was only when the Bolsheviks after the war published its text to spite the allies that the world came to know of its existence.

The allied victory pushed the Turks back to their geographic home. The Arabs, liberated mainly with alien help, could not but continue to breathe in the climate of dependence. The Americans before long relapsed into their traditional isolationism. Lenin in the north was busy with consolidating the gains of revolution;

his theory of conquering London and Paris and Peking and Calcutta had relegated West Asia far back into the oblivious corners of the world communist schedule. The British, too clever for the French, thus emerged as the paramount power in the Arab world. Masters of the technique of divide and rule, they played their part extremely well. It only whetted the Arab appetite for unity and freedom.

In 1919, came the provocative Anglo-French agreement on Syria confirming the Sykes-Picot arrangement. The Arab forces and nationalists in Damascus with, paradoxically enough, British approval proclaimed Hussein's two sons—the stormy petrels of the Arab revolt—Abdullah and Feisal as Kings of Iraq and Syria, respectively. Then followed the Great Power agreement placing Palestine and Iraq under the British, and Syria and the Lebanon under the French mandatory rule. Soon after, the French forces marched on Damascus. Feisal had to flee for his life.

The mandate over Iraq provoked a fierce three-month long rebellion which cost the British £40 million to quell. To pacify the people, the British proposed and the bulk of the populace accepted Feisal as constitutional monarch under the British overlordship. Foreign affairs and finance were in the hands of the British till 1932 when Iraq became the first free Arab country to join the League of Nations. For more than a decade, Feisal successfully held a delicate balance between the British and the Arab extremists.

Emir Abdullah appeared in Transjordan to engineer an armed rebellion against the French in Syria. The British offered to recognise him instead as the Emir of Transjordan under British protection to which he readily agreed in 1922. The British persuaded the League of Nations to make Transjordan immune from the provisions of the mandate allowing Jewish immigration and land-purchase. Renamed Jordan, it became completely independent a few years ago.

By stubbornly opposing the Jewish immigration into Palestine, Hussein, the King of Arabs, alienated British sympathies. By arrogating to himself the Caliphate of Islam he aroused intense jealousy of other Arab rulers,

especially of Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud of Nejd, his erstwhile foe who had earlier beaten back an attack by Abdullah. On the pretext that Hussein had intrigued against Nejd, Abdul Aziz invaded Mecca in 1925. Hussein abdicated and the holy cities of Islam were added to Abdul Aziz's realms, later renamed Saudi Arabia. In return for British recognition—he was an old friend of the British who had remained lukewarm in the war because of his feud with Hussein—he agreed to the British demarcation of his frontiers with Iraq and Jordan. A balance of power was thus achieved on the Peninsula.

The freedom urge in Egypt became powerful and vociferous after the First World War. In 1922, the British unilaterally proclaimed Egyptian independence reserving for future settlement the questions of the Sudan, the security of the British imperial communications, defence and the protection of alien residents and native minorities. The Egyptians, however, continued to agitate till 1936 when a regular Anglo-Egyptian treaty was concluded providing for twenty years' alliance between the signatories and terminating the British military occupation of Egypt.

The history of the French in Syria and the Lebanon was little different from that of the British elsewhere in West Asia. Jolted out of complacency by a powerful rebellion in Syria in 1925, the French too decided on a policy of reconciliation and appeasement. In 1936, during the Popular Front Government of Leon Blum, they negotiated for a treaty relationship with Syria and the Lebanon, conceding a substantial measure of independence to them and promising French sponsorship for their admission into the League of Nations. The treaties, dissimilar though they were in certain respects, were ratified by the Syrian and the Lebanese Parliaments, but unfortunately the Blum Government fell before their ratification by the French National Assembly.

Thus by 1936, both the British and the French had by and large pacified the Arab national sentiment except in Palestine. Having divided the Arabs into artificial and mutually suspicious principalities, the West could well afford to be magnanimous without jeo-

pardising its own vital interests it had secured by treaties with the newly-liberated countries.

Palestine presented the most stubborn and intricate problem. On November 2, 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration proclaiming that the British favour the establishment in Palestine of a "national home" for the Jews, at the same time safe-guarding the "civil and religious" rights of the non-Jews. From the equivocation of this Declaration have stemmed the two mutually hostile currents of Arab and Jewish nationalisms defying solution. Further clarifications only made the confusion worse confounded. While the Jews asserted that Palestine as envisaged in the Declaration would be as "Jewish as England is English," the Arabs vehemently opposed any such interpretation. They saw in Zionism a foe more deadly and lasting than the imposition of European rule on this country or that. So imbued were they with the absolute justice of their cause that they refused to foresee any possibility of their defeat.

From 1920 onwards violent outbursts in Palestine became a normal permanent feature. In 1922, the British issued a policy statement clarifying that they had pledged not to convert Palestine into a Jewish national home but only to create a Jewish national home in Palestine. A violent Arab outburst in 1929 elicited another British declaration maintaining that the establishment of Jewish national home in Palestine would not be allowed to take precedence over the British obligation towards the non-Jews in Palestine. The phenomenal rise in the Jewish immigration into Palestine (by 1936 their annual influx was touching the figure of 60,000 in a land of a million and a half souls) caused by the increased persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany, provoked the most bitter and violent Arab resistance. The two-month long Arab general strike was followed by a rising that 20,000 Tommies failed to quell completely; the advent of the Second World War alone could put it in cold storage. The Jews felt sure that the revolt was British inspired. It had also inflamed the Arab passions everywhere.

The British tried to pacify the Arab senti-

ment. But they could not at this late stage have backed out of their commitment to the Jews. Besides it would have been utterly inhuman. The British Royal Commission found out in 1937 that the Balfour Declaration was hopelessly unrealisable; it recommended partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. When the war came, the British convened a round table conference to which, besides the Jews and Arabs of Palestine, were invited the Arab delegates from Egypt and Iraq. An agreed solution having failed to materialise, the British unilaterally issued the White Paper of 1939, embodying the British intention to set up within ten years an independent Palestine State, both the Arabs and the Jews sharing in its government. In the meantime Jewish immigration was limited to 150,000 and land-purchase by them in certain areas was prohibited. The Arabs, however, remained sullen and unsatisfied.

All through the Second World War, the Arab Governments remained passive and uncommitted, if not actually hostile towards the allies; the Arabs were constantly fed by anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda broadcast of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem from the German radio, exhorting them to rise in revolt against the British and to kill the Jews because it would please God, religion and history. They declared war against the Axis only in March 1945 when the allied victory appeared round the corner. The Jews actively sided with the allies; they thus acquired the military experience and skill that stood them in good stead after the war.

As the war drew near its end, the British, still by far the most experienced and astute diplomats of the world, conceived of a master plan to hinge the Arab world on to the chariot of a pro-British alliance. Thus was founded in Cairo on March 22, 1945 the Arab League. It was the rudimentary form of the United Arab nation that had impelled the Arabs ever since their modern reawakening. But the British move suffered from one lacuna; it reckoned without the deep-rooted anti-West sentiment born of a generation of Arab distrust. Even their subsequent role in the expul-

sion of the French from Lebanon, and the grant of independence to Jordan, failed to penetrate the solid crust of anti-West feeling encompassing the Arab mind.

In the post-war Arab world, Palestine became the burning issue of Arab nationalism. During the war, out of the six million and a half of the pre-war Continental Jews, Hitler physically liquidated over five million. To them who were left and saved by miracle from the most poignant human catastrophe, Europe looked like a vast graveyard and Palestine the only haven of security—in the long run. Milk of human kindness flowed for them. The British, though not without reluctance, at last agreed to partition Palestine to carve out the Jewish State of Israel and withdraw. The Arab League proclaimed its intention to prevent by force the creation of Israel. On the night following the official proclamation of the birth of Israel, the Arab armies from the neighbouring countries crossed the Israeli borders. They were badly mauled. Rent by acute local and dynastic rivalries, they failed to evolve any proper co-ordination. But for the intervention of the United Nations, Israeli borders would have greatly advanced.

The Arab defeat marked the turning point in the evolution of Arab nationalism. It exposed the inherent weaknesses from which the Arab regimes suffered. The internal stability of many an Arab country seemed to be in jeopardy from the resultant frustration and disillusion. The ruling circles began to find it more discreet to divert the gaze of the people in outward directions. The Arab world was itching for the second round against Israel whose disappearance became an article of the Arab faith. It was the touch-stone on which the Arabs came to test their friends and foes. King Abdullah of Jordan was murdered because he was suspected of lacking in anti-Jewish fervour. King Farouk was thrown out because he was friendly to the pro-Jewish British. When King Ibn Saud called for a holy war against Israel—"a cancer to the human body"—and the sacrifice of ten million Arabs, if necessary, out of the total fifty million and odd, he was only giving vent to the innermost thoughts of

the humiliated Arabs. It was a sentiment which Arab governments could ill afford not to share publicly.

The discovery of oil in the Arab world greatly influenced the national consciousness of the Arabs. It had at the same time provided a potent economic argument for Arab unity, since oil was found only in some of the Arab countries. Primarily a wartime development, its importance could hardly be exaggerated. Whereas West Asia produced 16 million tons of crude oil in 1938, its production in 1955 exceeded 163 million tons which amounts to 64.6 per cent of the then total world production. Not only that, but also whereas till 1929, of the 50,398 exploratory wells drilled in the United States over 95 per cent brought no results (the disproportion having considerably increased since), in Saudi Arabia no more than 150 exploratory wells fully tapped the entire oil resources there. Besides, in contrast to the average daily output of 2 tons per well elsewhere and 25 tons per well in Venezuela, the West Asian average was more than a 1,000 tons of crude oil per well per day. The Arabs rightly felt much more important and powerful than others were prone to admit.

Nevertheless, the Arab world continues to be a vast sea of seething discontent and instability. Underdeveloped industry and primitive agriculture do not provide sufficient employment opportunities to the rapidly expanding middle classes imbued with new urges and aspirations derived from cinema, radio, press and widespread education even amongst women who are emerging out of the traditional seclusion. The lower classes continue to be steeped in grinding poverty, appalling ignorance and almost universal illiteracy. The fabulous oil royalties only go to enrich the royal personal fortunes. Politics has become a close preserve of a corrupt plutocracy. Governments fall as easily as they come into power.

The Arab rulers are acutely divided and their hatred for each other knows no bound. Danger to their own regimes alone impels them to seek each other's friendship. A unified Arab State must make in the long run short shrift of most of them but they must not relent in their

championship of Arab unity. In fact, each ruling house, royal or plebian, is seeking to achieve it at the cost of others. West Asia has become a world where there is little security but plenty of opportunity. It is waiting like ripe fruit to fall into the lap of the Nassers and Kuwatlies if they only play their game in as shrewd and masterly a manner as they seem to have been doing hitherto.

The gushing oil wells and lack of stability have sucked West Asia right into the vortex of international diplomacy. The British and the French were already there. The Americans came during and after the Second World War. In 1943, a U.S. Senate Committee presided over by the then Senator Truman, apprehending inadequacy of indigenous American oil resources, recommended "full diplomatic backing" to the U.S. nationals for "large-scale expansion" of their foreign oil holdings. President Roosevelt finalised an oil deal with Ibn Saud at the time of the Yalta meet, and President Truman managed a major oil concession for the Americans in the Anglo-Iranian oil crisis. No longer locked up in the traditional isolationist traps, the Americans became a grand presence in the Arab world. They provided West Asia's only hope to economic betterment in the near and foreseeable future.

The Soviet Union could hardly remain behind. With Peking already fallen and Calcutta being the immediate target (at any rate in 1948), the West Asian landmass was no longer lost in the oblivious corners of the world Communist schedule. The stationing of the Soviet troops in north Iran during the war made it easy for the Kremlin to spread its influence through Peace Councils and other front organisations that began to crop up in the Arab world. But Stalin had to withdraw his forces; having little immediate stake in the Arab world, he chose not to provoke a world conflict in West Asia at a time when major gains were accruing to him both in the East and the West. He could very well afford to wait and see.

The West has extended vast economic and military aid to some of the Arab countries like Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. It has as well witnessed the emergence of anti-West regimes

like those in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. With 40 per cent of the entire Arab population living within her borders, by extending unstinted support and asylum to the North African Arabs fighting against the French, by consistently opposing the British, and by constantly clamouring and preparing for the second round against Israel, Egypt has become by far the most important Arab power. Psychologically, Egyptian and Arab nationalisms have become two streams running into and out of one another. Over a million Arab refugees from Israel—half of them living in Jordan to which were added the Arab areas of Palestine—desperately waiting to re-enter their lost homes, have provided Egypt with an effective handle against the governments that refuse to accept the Egyptian supremacy. The Western effort to rehabilitate them permanently in their new homes has evoked little if not hostile response. Iraq, the traditional rival of Egypt for Arab leadership and the West's main hope in the Arab world, has effectively been swept aside.

The West Asian and the world developments during the past decade and more have made the Arab world a hotbed of international intrigue. The dice is, however, loaded heavily against the West. For the West not only appears to the Arabs as an imperialist—as in Algeria—it as well refuses to help the Arabs prepare and equip for the second round with Israel. Jordan and Saudi Arabia, so abundantly aided by the West, have scrupulously avoided any link with the Baghdad Pact which has become all the more taboo since the Anglo-French police action against Egypt. Jordan had, in fact, expelled the British commander of the Arab Legion who helped her to possess one of the finest fighting forces in the Arab world. That she recently invited the British paratroopers to land and stay in Jordan was only due to the monarch's anxiety to save his throne

from the immediate peril. Of the Arab countries, Iraq alone took courage to be a Baghdad Pact participant. That she suffered primarily on that count is no secret.

The Soviet Union is singularly free from the handicaps the West suffers from. She has consistently harped upon the anti-West themes in her propaganda floods directed to the Arab world. Having nothing to lose in an armed conflict in West Asia, and having no political pressure or moral compunction to be fair to the Jews, the Soviet Union has plentifully supplied the Egyptians and the Syrians with arms to fight against Israel which the West is rightly determined to prevent. That anti-West regimes like those of Nasser and Kuwatly should have spearheaded the movement for Arab unity is of immense gain to the Soviet Union. She could not have wished for a better opportunity to infiltrate into the Arab world. Her patience has been amply rewarded.

Democracy in the Arab world is at the cross-roads. Its material base—a fairly rapid economic advancement, adequate indigenous technical know-how, a large number of conscientious politicians with vision, and a tolerably efficient administration—is the weakest. Economically advanced countries can certainly make up for some of these shortcomings but the danger involved is forbidding. The presence of foreign experts will only help revive bitter Arab memories. The Western persuasion to extend frontiers of democracy in friendly Arab countries will only add to the anti-West resistance without evoking sympathetic response of the Arab in the street. The presence of the Soviet influence will end to retard if not actually undermine the democratic evolution. The Arabs are truly sitting on the verge of a live crater.



ODE TO SHELEY

By KALIDAS RAY

SAVE the Ocean vast that soul so great
who else could have borne and held
In his bosom sublime?
Is it for this it merged at last
In the fathomless brine?
That soul-sprung voice doth rumble still
In the majestic drums of waves
And surge and swell shore to shore
With endless rebound.
Age to age it rolls forth,
Ebbs and flows, far and wide,—
Assumes forms, e'er-new and varied;
And fashioned in mighty melodies,
Hymns the world's rebirth.

Its echo is carried to the core of the Conchs
In the bottomless abyss of the sea;
'Tis blown to-day in a myriad homes
Upon our Earth;
Then leaping into space, it explores the Stars
And litters the beach of heaven
With dreams of gold,
—Thy fancies untold.
Carries Neptune away in his gorgeous car
Thine creations grand,
And rolling thro' the paths of Eternity,
Resounds every aeon and strand.

THY boat had sunk, but not thy creation fine.
No flood can ever wreck it, I know.
It floats for aye furrowing the Sea of Time
In weather fair and foul, defying storms and
snow,

Thy ashes, 'great with fire celestial,
Were washed ashore,—
The fire that Mediterranean could not quench;
Nor Oblivion contrive to chill
The hearts of thy race
Wherein enshrined, Love arrays thee evermore
With all its grace.

NAY, thy bones were not made
For the victuals of the worms,
To whiten in the grave obscure.
That's why they sought no useless coffin,
That's why were they placed on the pyre,
Like incense on the fire.
And from off that unextinguished flames,
As from the crater inexhaustible,—
Thy spirit is scattered to the world,
Thy message among mankind.

THOU Priest of Beauty Intellectual,
Wooer of Love, and Spirit of Delight!
Dreamer of dreams and seer of visions,
No ugly thing couldst thou bear in life.
Lest infirmity comes and overtakes thee,
Age and disease cripple thee,
Thou didst dedicate thy full-blown youth
With all its splendour rich,
To Sea and Fire of eternal youth,
That never know decay.

—Translated from Bengali by
UMANATH BHATTACHARYA





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. - Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

RAMAYANA: By C. Rajagopalachari. *Bhavan's Book University* (44). *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay*. Pp. 357. Price Rs. 2.00.

This is a reprint of the English version of the story of Valmiki's immortal epic published by the author along with its Tamil original serially in two South Indian Journals some time back. Written in a simple unaffected style mainly, as the author tells us in the end (p. 326), for the benefit of the children, the work reflects in many striking episodes of the career of the hero something of the beauty and pathos of the great Sanskrit epic. The author has further earned the gratitude of his readers by occasional quotations from the parallel versions of the two great vernacular poets of mediaeval India, viz., Tulsidas in the north and Kamban in the South. A useful glossary of Sanskrit terms is given at the end. On one important point the reviewer has no other choice than to join issue with the author. Sri Rajagopalachari has left out completely the story of the *Uttarakanda* with its narrative of the tragedy of the last phase of the career of Sita. This is justified purely on psychological grounds. For, as the author says (p. 327). "Although there is beauty in the *Uttarakanda*, I must say my heart rebels against it. . . . We may take it that it mirrors the voiceless and endless suffering of our womenfolk." On the other hand, one cannot but highly appreciate the spirit reflected in the author's statement (preface, p. viii) that the writing of the two books wherein he has retold the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* is in his opinion the best service he has rendered to his people in the course of a busy life during a great and eventful period of Indian history. For, as he finely observes, "The real need of the hour is a re-communion between us and the sages of our land, so that the future may be built on rock and not on sand."

U. N. GHOSHAL

AMARNATH JHA MEMORIAL

VOLUME, 1957: Edited by K. K. Mehrotra, Reader in English, Allahabad University. Pages viii + 294. Price not mentioned.

Few men in recent years have played such a conspicuous role in the educational life of U.P. and for the matter of that, of India as Dr. Amarnath. Appointed Lecturer in English, Muir Central College in Allahabad University, he rose to be the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University in 1938, before he had completed his thirties. For nearly ten years he served the University in that capacity and then became Vice-Chancellor of Benares in 1948 and pro-Chancellor of Rishikul University in 1949. During this period he served U.P. in other capacities, as Chairman of Public Service Commission, and President of the English Teachers' Conference at Lucknow; while he represented India in international conferences such as the International Universities Conference in 1934, the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, Paris, 1947.

This eminence was won primarily by his versatility of intellect, catholicity of temper and administrative keenness. How far inheritance facilitated his elevation (as it did conspicuously elsewhere) is a matter best known to those conversant with the affairs of Allahabad University. Long before his election as Vice-Chancellor, when Sir Philip Hartog accosted him, after being introduced by Dr. Sapru, as the Vice-Chancellor, he blandly replied, "not yet."

Dr. Amarnath along with his illustrious Father Dr. Ganganath, governed Allahabad University for twenty years and contributed to making Allahabad a leading centre of learning. Amarnath, as Vice-Chancellor, enjoyed a prestige in Allahabad which is said to be next only to that of the two colossi of our time, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Yet as viewed by his friends and admirers in the volume under review, his was a singular

personality. In his command over the whole range of English literature excluding perhaps that of the modern times (the writings of whom he sweeps aside as those of the "Futurists, the Imagists and the Transcendentalists"), he had few equals among his contemporaries. His private collection of books on English literature was the most distinguished that any professor ever had. As one of his admirers writes, several Publishing Houses in India and abroad sent him books on particular subjects as soon as they were published, so that sometimes he received three or four copies of the same book from different sources. His interest in Music and Fine Arts was great. He encouraged the scheme of a Music Department in Allahabad University and Music Conferences held in Allahabad received a good deal of patronage from him. With his knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, English and his own vernacular, Maithili, he felt as much at home in the 'Kavi Sammilan' as in the *mushaira* of Urdu poets. He spoke English with ease and grace, so that he was complimented by a group of Englishmen after a speech with the words:

"He speaks English much better than many in our own universities."

His articles on *Rudyard Kipling*, *Sarojini Naidu's Poetry*, *Appeal of English Literature* and some other essays are proofs of his keenness as a literary critic and of his competent style. Many, however, will differ from him in his interpretation of *Siva and the Grass-hopper* which is rather a mockery of the Hindu religion than a sympathetic understanding of the Hindu mind. Amarnath's was a highly cultivated mind, yet strangely enough, he had weakness for show and glamour that recalled the *Indian Nawabs* and their successors in a small section of the high-ups in the Indian Civil Service. This is reflected in an admirer's casual reference to his travel in the railway. An orderly followed by a pair of porters first entered the compartment, carrying all sorts of light and heavy travelling equipments, such as "steel-trunks, leather-attache case, brief case, hat-container, thermos, surahi stand, hold-all and what not. When the luggage was arranged, and the luxurious bed spread out, came in another turbaned peon in scarlet cloth who put a number of new and attractive volumes, beside the lamp, at the head of the bed."

Amarnath had an unusual love of flowers. It was his practice to fix a rose in his button-hole, keep bouquets of flower on both sides of his seat in the automobile. His flair for Western mode of living was patent; his English

dress was immaculate; his ties were of perfect taste; and from his lips protruded a fine cigar.

This prententious exterior hid the innate, Brahmanic pride in him. So that in his role as the President of the English Teachers Conference he remarked of Nehru's English style in the following words, "Nehru writes a firm, nervous, vigorous style, with a distinct literary flavour. He can write *very poor prose, halting, repeating words and phrases, dragging to unnecessary length, bordering on boredom*" and while addressing the Mysore University Convocation he made a slashing attack on the Non-violent campaign in rather sarcastic terms:

"In circumstances like these, it will be the negation of wisdom and the height of logical imbecility merely to sing hymns and Psalms and remind the aggressor of the supreme value of human life, the folly of his ways and the attractions of non-violence peace."

Hence the effusive words of an admirer expressed in the verse

"Here was a man to hold against the world,
A man to match the mountains and the sea"
which is perhaps inapt in the particular case. Nevertheless nobody can deny Amarnath's claims to the grateful esteem of the students and teachers whose lot it was to receive tuition and guidance from him and certain carping remarks made by B. N. Jha about him should have been avoided. The reviewer recommends the study of Amarnath's writings to University students.

N. B. Roy

ATMABAD: By Lalit Kumar Sen. Das Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3, College Street. Pages 372 D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 10.

This is a treatise enquiring into the validity of faith in the existence of soul and the position of ethical views of man.

The author has taken great pains and searched the store-house of knowledge—both of the East and the West. He has collected valuable treasures and has presented quotations from various sources in his book. In Indian Philosophy faith in God and denial of God abounds side by side. In the 19th Century, with the rise of science in the West, Atheism and Agnosticism became very prominent. Again in the 20th Century thinkers were born upholding faith in God and Soul. They had their opposite camps who denied both. The author has taken a survey of all these views as far as practicable and dealt with them in his book. The book is undoubtedly encyclopaedic. Out of the 10 sections, the first seven deal with science

and in the last three the author has summed up his views.

The present age is pre-eminently an age of synthesis. Details and complexities have been multiplying on one side and on the other the human mind has been endeavouring to harmonize them. India has all along from the beginning of her history shown her genius in the path of synthesis. In the present age a new line of synthesis opened out with Rammohun and Keshab Chandra, which the latter named the New Dispensation. It is undoubtedly a new dispensation as its technique and achievements are both new. Sri Aurobindo nicely puts it as integration of the intellect, the emotion, the spirit and the mind, the four *margas* of yoga, bhakti, karma, jnana, ethics and aesthetics combined to form the integral *sadhan*, the new endeavour at harmony.

The author has made Upanishad the basis of his thesis. He has discussed modern science and philosophy in the light of the Upanishads. And again he has put the search-light of modern thoughts on the Upanishads to make them own.

The book is written in lucid Bengali. The author has coined many new terms to express his views. Printing and get-up of the book are good. It is expected that the book will be welcome and useful to thoughtful readers and students of philosophy.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

EVOLUTIONARY SPIRITUALISM: By Swami Ramananda, M.A. Published by Sadhana Karyalaya, Bilaspur, U.P., N. E. Rly. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2/-

As this book has no index of contents, it seems to be hastily printed and published. May I conjecture, if there be a printers' devil there must be a publishers' devil. If both join hands the book-business is going to be doomed. Every publisher should bear in mind that publication is a sacred service to the nation and any flaw in it is a criminal dis-service.

The author of this book is a Master of Arts of some Indian University and the author of a dozen Hindi books and four English books, besides the one under review. In this book he deals with the problem and process of evolution in its multifarious aspects in the light of Indian thought. The chapters on Reincarnation, Karma, Prana, the Divine and Ultimate Reality are thoughtfully written. The treatment appears to be hackneyed and commonplace. The author takes the standpoint of spiritual evolution and refutes the materialistic view. He defines Prana as anima characterised by

the external functions of inhalation and exhalation. In our opinion, Indian conception of Prana and the western definition of Life are not synonymous, since Prana is cosmic and like the thread of a garland upholds the Universe. The last chapter on Karma ends with the sentence, 'Wisdom is the state of Karmaless activity.' 'Karmaless activity,' I am afraid, is not a very happy wording. What he means to say is 'naiskarmya,' but it is a state which is desireless, not 'Karmaless'. In the state of wisdom Karma is there, but it is *niskarma*, not prompted by desire.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

GANDHI THE PATRIARCH: By Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and C. N. Zutshi, M.A., D.Litt. (Col.). Published by Hans Raj Sharma and Sons, 62, Esplanade Road, Delhi. Price not mentioned.

Gandhi, "the greatest man of our generation," is also among the Immortals of History. But for him the Indian independence might have been delayed for years, if not generations. It is yet a paradox that India has all but forgotten the ideals of the Father of the Nation. A new generation is rising to whom Gandhi is only little more than a name.

"Gandhi," the authors point out, "was one of those who strove and tried and reached the height of greatness. By sheer love and service, he became as great a saint and teacher as Gautam Buddha." Gandhi, in fact, was a statesman among saints and a saint among statesmen. In the words of a biographer, "The prophet and the practical statesman met in Gandhi. The prophet had his eyes on the Ultimate. When the latter in him came to the fore, he became the leader of men, the unquestioned general, who led his hosts to victory. When the former prevailed, he became the 'voice in the Wilderness,' biding his time." He raised politics to the level of religion. He acclaimed Truth as the only God and Non-violence was his only form of worship.

Gandhi the Patriarch is a very timely and useful publication. Meant for juvenile and adolescent readers, it is sure to be read with interest and profit by the grown-ups as well. It gives a brief outline of Gandhi's teachings and principles, his programme and technique. A number of Appendices—six in all—a glossary of Sanskrit and Hindusthani words and a bibliography enhance the value of the volume under review.

We congratulate the authors and publishers on having brought out a handy volume of interest and importance.

S. B. MOOKHERJI

STUDIES IN PRACTICAL BANKING:
By Parimal Chandra Kar, M.Com., and Kamal Kumar Ghose, M.Com. The Post-Graduate Book Mart, 55, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9. 1958. Pp. 115. Rs. 6.00.

This is a digest intended for students of commerce and banking—but with a difference in that the authors have sought to utilise the question and answer form to acquaint their rather impatient readers with the different authorities on the subject so that those who may form an abiding interest in the subject would get much valuable clue to further and more serious study.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE MEASUREMENT OF UTILITY:
By Dr. Tapas Mazumdar. Published by Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Price 13s. 6d. Pages 149.

In the words of the author, 'The study is designed to be mainly a methodological contribution to utility (economic welfare). It is not a study in welfare economics.' An enquiry has been made into the meaning and operational consequences of the concept of measureable utility in economics. Controversy is going on for the last quarter of a century over the measurability, and the author in his attempt at solution, in the words of Prof. Lionel Robbins, "has shown great courage and great devotion to the pursuit of abstract truth."

Dr. Mazumdar examines in detail the positions of Marshall, Hicks, Samuelson, Morgenstern and Von Neumann—their views are compared and contrasted. The views of those who believe in cardinal hypothesis are set side by side with those of ordinalist. In course of argument, legitimacy of introspection in the analysis of choice and valuation comes in. The question of psychological analysis of the consumer's behaviour is given serious consideration. The author seeks to establish the superior claims of introspective methods and an ordinal rather than cardinal ranking of utilities. Again to quote Prof. Robbins "I confess I find his main position, midway between the extremes of flat-footed cardinalism at the one end and radical behaviourism at the other, one which is congenial and convincing."

The book is extremely valuable for its clear presentation of the different points of view of this controversial subject and even to those who do not accept the position taken by the author, it will be a thought-provoking study. Indeed it is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HINDI SAHITYA KE NAVIN DHARAYEN: A symposium by Vishnu Prabhakar, Nagendra, Udayshankar Bhatt and Ramachandra Tiwari. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi-8. Pp. 31. Price six annas.

Four representative writers in Hindi—a story-writer, a poet, a playwright and a novelist—have written about the new tendencies in their respective fields in current Hindi literature with vision as well as wisdom and vigour. A very informative and significant pamphlet, indeed. The representatives of the various regional literatures and the State Governments concerned will do well to emulate the commendable example of their Hindi counterparts and the present publishers.

VIDHATA KI BHUL: By Jyotindranath. Rajendra Prakash, Patna-4. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2.

A collection of fifteen short stories by a writer, who is comparatively new in the field but one who has already proved his mettle in his previous collection, *Pret ki Chhaya*. His outstanding virtue is uncanny directness and engaging simplicity in handling situations and characters. For example, in *Pati-patni* and *Nari ki Mamata* the problems (or plots) are raised and resolved in a manner, which is free from strains and stress of any kind. Fact and fancy are fused in due and delightful proportions, so that reading the stories, the reader is constrained to say, "Well, such is life."

G. M.

SIKSHAME VIVEK: SIKSHAKA VIKASH: By K. G. Mashruwalla. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March, 1956. Rs. 1/8/- and 1/4/- only.

These two are companion volumes. Shri K. G. Mashruwalla has been a well-known associate of Mahatma Gandhi who had enjoyed a position of trust among the select in his circle and who by questions and reasoning cleared up what might have seemed obscure in his teachings. These two books belong to the sphere of

education. The first is concerned with the fundamentals of education, and it consists of three parts—the philosophical aspect, the patterns of activity, and some discussions of problems. The second is concerned with the development of education—from Sabarmati to Sevagram, and it has a foreword contributed by Shri Narhari Parekh on the topics of nayee talim and self-help, and some notes on the lesson of history. The book has, naturally enough, two parts—the first concerned with Sabarmati, the second with Sevagram.

Both these books are compiled mainly from Mashruwalla's old writings—with modifications here and there. They are valuable contribution to the educational thought of our country and they deserve to be translated into other Indian languages. They have, besides, a historical importance, tracing the development of basic education in the momentous days of intense national activity.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

MADH (HONEY). By Dr. Kishordas Gupta. Published by the Nisargopacharch Mandal, Bombay. 1951. Printed at the Rupam Printing Press. Thick paper cover, with an illustration of a honey-comb on a tree. Pp. 37. Price four annas.

The Nature Cure Society of Bombay, has been publishing tiny little hand-books on the use and abuse of Natural Foods, such as milk curds and honey. This little booklet deals with honey and its manufacturer, the busy bee, and its factory, the honey-comb. Its uses and doses for preserving health are given. The life, and the structure of that body of the bee are given and also how the insect manufactures honey. Its sting contains poison and so does honey contain poison, though in a dormant state; the reason as to why the poison is there being that the bee extracts its food from harmless as well as poisonous flowers like *Dhutura*. It is, on the whole, a very informative production.

K. M. J.

JUST PUBLISHED

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA IN AMERICA NEW DISCOVERIES

By MARIE LOUISE BURKE

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Indian Periodicals

Are We Dissipating Our Moral Patrimony?

In the course of an article in the *Aryan Path* Dr. Alexander F. Skutch observes :

We owe to our remote ancestors all those modes of feeling and behaviour which bind men together, making of a society an organic unity rather than a mechanical aggregation of self-seeking men ; but our present social arrangements do nothing to augment this precious moral heritage. On the contrary, they are slowly but surely dissipating it, thereby undermining the innate foundations of any society to which a generous man would care to belong. In the absence of these ancestral sentiments, social living can be based only on an endless minute calculation of debits and credits—a situation so nauseating that a self-respecting person might prefer to dwell as a hermit in the wilderness.

• • Diverted from its original function of supporting the life of the community, our primitive impulse to help those around us finds certain minor outlets. The first of these is the exchange of gifts. In the more prosperous ranks of society, vast sums are spent on presents for weddings, anniversaries of all sorts and festive occasions of religious or national significance. While some of these gifts are of service to the recipients, a considerable share of them are neither useful nor beautiful ; so that the traffic in these things greatly increases the waste of a society that is already inordinately wasteful. The obligation to give presents becomes for many, especially for those whose relatives and friends happen to be more prosperous than themselves, a heavy economic burden ; and much calculation may be required to find means to purchase all the gifts which are expected by one's circle of intimates in course of a year. For from easing life or diverting one's attention from monetary considerations, the practice of exchanging presents tends on the whole, to make life more burdensome and to intensify our preoccupation with the money.

The second substitute for free co-operation is almsgiving, in modern times mis-called charity. The bestowal of money or goods upon the indigent has often been regarded, especially in Muhammedan countries, as a means of purifying one's wealth—which seems to be a tacit admission that a large share of wealth is ill-gotten. Thereby we correct, in a pitiful manner, a small fraction of the ills for which our economic activities are responsible. Morally and spiritually, an ounce of free co-operation in a common endeavour is worth a ton of almsgiving. Moral relations are ideally reciprocal, involving the mutual efforts of intelligent beings to attain and preserve harmony with each other ; whereas the dispensing of alms is a wholly one-sided relationship. We tend to view as equals those with whom we freely engage in a common endeavour, but as inferiors those who subsist on our bounty. Thus free co-operation increases that love and respect for our fellows which is an essential part of charity in the proper meaning of the word, while almsgiving makes a truly charitable attitude more difficult to preserve.

Not the least unfortunate of the effects of money is the perversion of values for which it is responsible. The habit of assessing in terms of a medium of exchange all the services that we perform or require, everything that we supply to others or procure for ourselves, inevitable under modern conditions of life, leads us to undervalue the goods on which it is hardly possible to set a price. Yet it is universally recognized by men of fine sensibilities that the highest and most enduring of all the values which we can experience fall into this class of things for which it is impossible to assign a pecuniary equivalent, and for this reason the ignorant and the vulgar can hardly avoid undervaluing them. The paper notes which today are everywhere the principal medium of exchange are mere tokens, and few of us take the trouble to learn whether those we are constantly receiving

and spending are backed by an equivalent of gold or silver in the public treasury. In many countries they are not so supported. It is obvious that when one takes as his standard of values something which is intrinsically valueless, his sense of values will be profoundly distorted.

This perversion of values makes men easy dupes of unprincipled people whose only motive in serving their fellows is to fill their own pockets. We are offered all sorts of unnecessary, worthless or even harmful goods, and ingenious methods are employed to overcome our resistance and make us buy what we do not really desire or need. There is nothing so ugly or injurious, no deed so vile or disgraceful, that somebody will not offer to provide or perform it for a price. On the other hand, those who have contributed most to their fellows have often received no remuneration, or at most the pittance they needed to support life.

Thus money, which was apparently first coined by the Indians, is one of those brilliant inventions, of which we have too many examples, which in the long run create more difficult problems than they solve. It facilitates industry and commerce on a large scale, but at the price of introducing a subtle poison into human relations. If it does not create, it at least exacerbates avarice, envy and pride; while it tends to destroy good will and mutual helpfulness among men. A society without a medium of exchange must be held together by the loyalty, friendliness and free co-operation of its members; with such a medium, social living becomes an endless selfish calculation of profits and losses. It is understandable why so many planners of ideal commonwealth have kept them free of money. But only if its citizens had in large measure such qualities as mutual good will, co-operative-ness, self-respect, loyalty and responsibility could a moneyless community continue to supply the needs of its members. It is doubtful whether any contemporary society, save possibly a few primitive tribes surviving in remote forests, or mountain fastnesses, possesses these traits of character in adequate measure. And the longer we continue our present social arrangements we are slowly dissipating moral

qualities that were developed in closely-knit communities based on free co-operation; the less possible it becomes for a moneyless society, or any society, to hold together. This is the tragic predicament of contemporary civilization; and our best hope is that, before it is too late, there will arise one great enough to show to escape from it.

Religion and Politics

Dr. Tara Chand writes in *Careers and Courses* :

Religion and politics are two centres round which the history of man has revolved. Both are protean phenomena. There is no age when mankind was not divided into multiplicity of faiths. Every religion has numerous sects, and every sect has history. Religions have grown, have been promulgated, have decayed. Sometimes they have died, some have revived. It is not possible to bring any order into this kaleidoscopic phenomenon. It is difficult to subsume religions under any scientific scheme of classification. Believers of a religion will not accept any fixed formula. Distinguishing attributes are hard to apply—such as natural, ethical, revealed, universal, for all claim to possess them. All regard they are true and possess the key to perfection.

DIFFERENT DOCTRINES

To evaluate religion may be indiscreet, but to explain it is necessary. The enterprise is beset with difficulties. For, what is common to all religions? Are there any general attributes linking together religions? Early Buddhism was silent on the existence of God and soul. Islam has laid the greatest emphasis upon the unity of God, its Prophet has been called God-drunk. The Christians believe in the triune nature of the divine. Man as a compound of actions and their traces, is involved in a cycle of life and death and is dissolved when he attains Nirvana, such is the Buddhist doctrine. Man is a creature and slave of Allah and is either chosen by Him for heaven or rejected and condemned for ever, holds Islam. Man may be saved from punishment for his original sin, if he has faith in the Christ, whom God sent as the mediator, teaches Christianity.

There are deep differences about other fundamental doctrines.

TWO ASPECTS

But apart from these there are matters of *form, attitude and also of content* which help in understanding the variety of religions and appreciating some of its universal features. For instance, all religions have two aspects—*focal and peripheral*. The first is that personal indescribable experience which lies at the core. William James and other psychologists have attempted to understand it. But although its characteristics may be grouped under a limited number of types, the experience itself seems to differ from man to man. In some it has been so intense and so possessive as to make of them persons apart from the generality of mankind. Such have been the prophets, seers and saints. The capacity for such experience varies and there are some who seem to have none.

Round such experiences have been built up vast structures of religious dogmas and doctrines. Some religions—Christianity and Buddhism for instance, formulate only spiritual and ethical principles. Others have a wider range. Hinduism and Islam cover the whole ground of man's life—religious, social, political and economic.

But whether the propositional content of a religion is small or large, there is a peripheral content in each built round its focal insight and intuition of reality. This content grows, changes, and is subject to influences emanating from individuals and groups.

MYSTIC EXPERIENCE

The mystic experience which constitutes the core of religion is incommunicable. It is impossible to say whether labels of particular religions can be attached to it. From all that is known about it this appears unlikely.

The peripheral content has reference to *both supranatural and natural matters*. Some of its parts may be based upon direct perception and therefore demand immediate assent; others would enjoy varying degrees of objectivity and validity, depending on the part which reason plays in their formulation. These may indicate ideals of individual and social conduct, prohibitions and permission. They may set out the values which ought to be pursued and the destiny which awaits man.

Politics is less diverse. Human intellect has not been as fecund in producing forms of government and state. Ancient philosophers accounted six as the main types, each covering several varieties. The moderns do not regard the question of classification important. In a sense each state is *suigeneris*.

Religion and state both demand the allegiance of man. The demand of the State is accompanied with extreme sanctions. In states where differentiation between politics and religion is not recognised temporal punishments are reinforced with spiritual ones and both Church and State have recourse to them.

The claim upon the obedience of the individual by these two authorities has been a prolific source of conflicts in history. The modern secular sovereign state has arisen out of wars originating in religious differences. There is a great deal of evidence for the view that as mankind has advanced in civilization the power of the State has increased and that of religion has retreated. From a time when religion and politics were identical, society has moved to the position wherein the State has assumed almost unlimited authority.

DIVINE KINGSHIP

In the early history of man the high priest and king were the same person, and kingship was regarded as divine. Miraculous powers were attributed to him. In the Middle Ages in Denmark mothers brought their infants and peasants their grain for him, believing that if he lays his hands on them they both would thrive. The queens and kings of England exercised the gift of healing. King Charles II touched a hundred thousand persons to cure scrofula. That divinity resided in a king was a widespread belief. The kings of ancient Rome claimed to be embodiments of Jupiter, the god of sky. Muslim chroniclers designated their kings as shadows of God (Zille Allah). Abul Fazl records a saying of Akbar, "Indeed to behold the king, is a means of calling to mind the Creator". The Dalai Lama of Tibet is even today considered the very incarnation of God.

The kings were not always the heads of the State and of religion. The sacred books of the Hindus, the *Dharma Shastras*, laid

down the duties of the king and the subjects and their injunctions were binding on both.

All the three civilizations have been faced with the predicament involved in the relation between the State and the church, or politics and religion.

STATE AND THE CHURCH

In the Christian west the struggle continued for several hundred years. The thirteenth century Popes asserted claims to the highest authority upon earth, and the climax was reached when Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) proclaimed the universal supremacy of the Church. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of England, France and other countries were treated as subordinates whose duty it was to obey the dictates of the Holy Father.

This was a challenge. The peoples of Europe were emerging from feudal anarchy and forming consolidated societies under the aegis of centralised governments headed by kings and supported by the middle classes of merchants and entrepreneurs. Both resented Papal interference in matters of internal administration which tended to reduce the authority of the king and to perpetuate division of loyalty and also to cause the drain of wealth to the coffers of the Church, mainly in Rome.

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

The Reformation was a direct attack upon the Papal conception of religion and politics. Many kings and princes and the middle classes found in Martin Luther's movement a powerful aid to their own cause. The struggle that ensued led to war and bloodshed. In France there was a civil war which lasted more than 30 years, and which witnessed a series of brutal massacres, till in the end out of sheer exhaustion political leaders established a compromise and the country turned away from religious fanaticism. England had its religious persecutions, in which the Roman Catholics and the Protestants burnt their opponents at the stake. On continental Europe the Thirty Years' War decimated the population. All this led people to the conclusion that mixing of religion and politics was the source of these conflicts and so from the middle of the 17th century religion began

to be depoliticized, and religious toleration was accepted as the basic principle of State. Today all western states are secular wherever there is an established church, it is subordinate to secular authority.

ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

The history of Islamic countries has been different. Islam has always been plagued by sectarian wars and persecutions. In the period of the Caliphate much blood was shed because of doctrinal differences and on the question of succession to the Caliphate. In Iran the Safavi kings who were Shiahs persecuted the Sunnis. There was bitter hostility against such sects as the Karmathians, the Ismailians, and in recent times between the Wahabis and others. Since the Islamic countries have come under western influence liberal and national ideas are making headway. The growth of industrialization and the strengthening of the middle classes promise to stimulate these tendencies.

Even as it is, many Muslim countries have adopted constitutions based upon liberal principles of toleration, equality and freedom.

LIBERAL TREND

Examples are Turkey. Article 2 of Chapter I of its Constitution says: "The Turkish state is republican, nationalist, populist, etatist, secular and reformist," and article 75 of Chapter V ensures, "no one may be censured for the philosophical creed, religion or doctrine to which he may adhere." The Iraqi constitution forbids differentiation based on creed or religion. The Lebanese law guarantees complete freedom of conscience and respect for all creeds. In Syria freedom of belief and protection of all forms of worship is ensured. The only concession that it makes to religious exclusiveness is in providing that the religion of the President of the Republic must be Islam, as in England the king must belong to the Anglican Church. The Egyptian constitution prescribes free exercise of religion and belief, and although it still makes Islam the State religion it abolishes religious courts. In Indonesia the State is secular and every one is entitled to freedom of religion, conscience and worship.

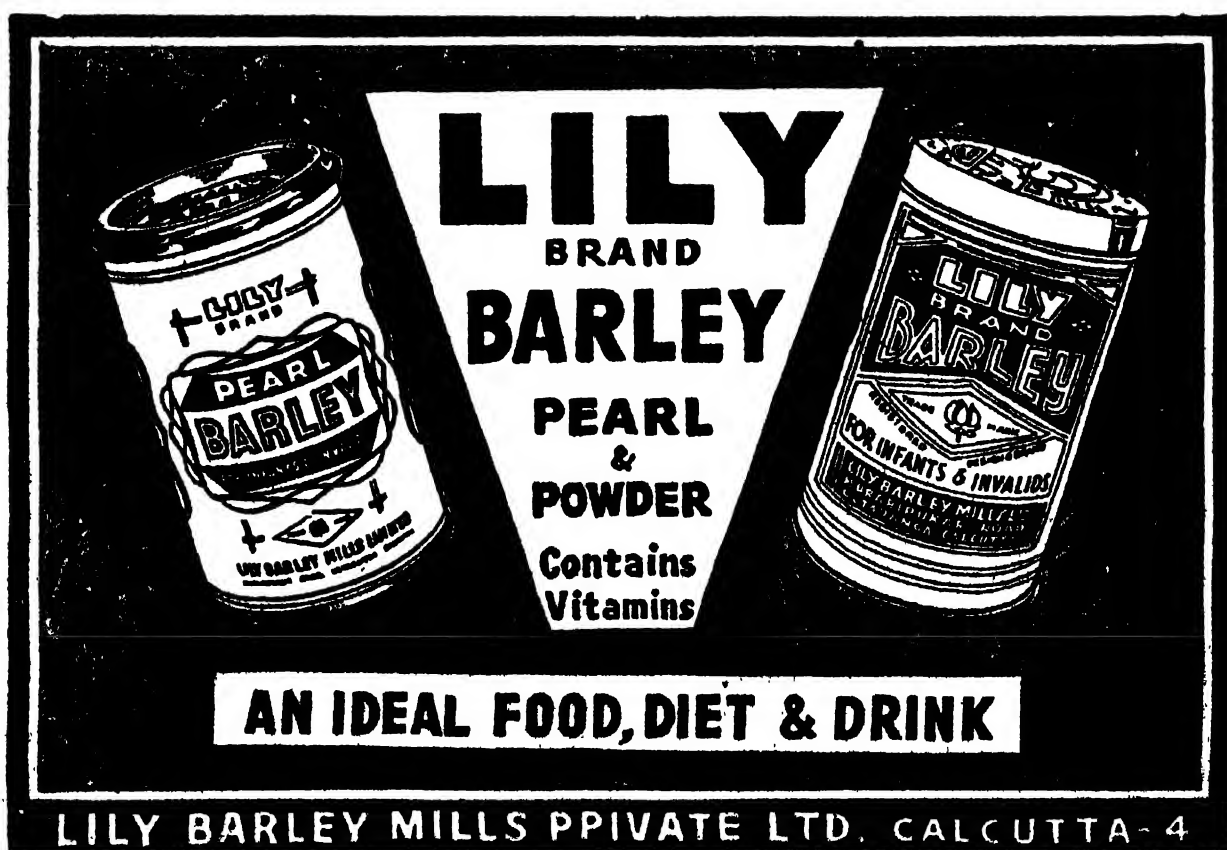
The trend towards secularism or separation of politics and religion is in the interests of both State and faith.

RELIGION IS SUBJECTIVE

The focal aspect of religion is subjective. It involves the spiritual relation between the individual and God. Obviously it is impossible for any external agency to intervene in the communion of man with the Supreme Being. Laws of State and regulations of society have little relevance to this matter. The other aspect which is peripheral includes morals, laws, social affairs, which may be related to religious doctrines. Now these doctrines are subject to the understanding of man, and it is the experience of history that agreement as to their meaning and application is hard to obtain. Unfortunately differences lead to violence.

ABOVE CONTROVERSY

Religion as concerned with spiritual experience and with truths and principles which are absolute and eternal, ought to be above controversy and conflict. Religion, dealing with social, economic and political affairs faces a paradox, for these affairs unlike spiritual matters are variable under the pressure of temporal factors. If they are treated as unalterable and universal, society becomes stagnant, and lack of adaptation threatens it with extinction. If changes in temporal affairs are considered as tantamount to change of religion, then religion is placed at the mercy of every change in opinion. Intellectual freedom, objectivity and rationalism which are the distinguishing marks of the modern age suggest the solution for the freedom in the saying of Jesus Christ, "Render unto Caesar the things that belong to Caesar and to God the things that are His".



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The History of Labor Day in the United States

American Labor Review, in its September issue, 1958, presents the following editorial:

On Monday, September 1, 1958, the United States marks its seventy-seventh observance of Labor Day, the national holiday set aside to honor the working people of the nation.

On this day American labor celebrates its past achievements, honors the memory of those who pioneered labor's early struggles, and re-dedicates itself to the task of co-operating with men of good will everywhere in the common effort to build a world founded on principles of peace, freedom and social justice.

Labor Day is more than a worker's holiday. It is a community event. Not only members of organized labor, but the entire population of the United States observes the day. All stores and factories are closed. It is an occasion for parades, picnics, public meetings, special church services, speeches and ceremonies. In large cities and in small hamlets, throughout the country, Americans from all walks of life gather to pay tribute to labor's progress and aspirations.

The origin of Labor Day goes back to 1882 when Peter J. McGuire, secretary of the Carpenters Union, appeared before the New York Central Labor Union urging that one day of the year be set aside as a general holiday for the working people. "This holiday," he said, "should be dedicated to the strength and spirit of the trade and labor organizations, to the working people who are the great vital force of every nation."

The meaning of Labor Day was prophetically expressed in McGuire's own words, written in 1897 in the flowery language of the period:

"On this day the hosts of labor shout their hosannas! From a thousand groves and hillsides, by rippling brooks and gurgling streams, comes the glad acclaim. No festival of martial glory or warrior's renown is this, no pageant, pomp or warlike conquest, no glory of fratricidal strife attend this day. It is dedicated to peace, civilization and the triumph of industry. It is a demonstration of fraternity and the harbinger of a better age—a more chivalrous time when labor shall be best honored and well-rewarded. In Labor Day we honor the

toilers of the earth, and pay homage to those who from rude nature have delved and carved all the comfort and grandeur we behold."

The first Labor Day was celebrated in New York on September 5, 1882. More than 10,000 trade unionists gathered in Union Square and then paraded up New York's famed Broadway, waving placards and singing songs. A newsman who watched the parade reported that "the men in line made a fine appearance and were applauded loudly by the spectators along the route. Americans, English, Irish and Germans hobnobbed and seemed on friendly footing as though the common cause had established a sense of brotherhood."

The idea of a legal, national holiday for labor caught on. In 1887, five years after the original parade and celebration, the State of Oregon, on the other side of the continent, passed a law designating the first Monday in September as a legal holiday to be known as Labor Day.

Other states followed the example, and in 1894 the U.S. Congress made Labor Day a national holiday. The bill establishing the holiday was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland. The pen used by the President in signing the act was given to Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor and a pioneer among America's great men of labor.

McGuire, the father of Labor Day, was born in New York in 1852. A union man from the age of 15, he was noted for his militant efforts in behalf of labor. In 1881 he organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and joiners and later was one of the prime movers in the creation of the AFL. He died in 1906.

Speaking at the memorial dedication, Maurice J. Tobin, then U.S. Secretary of Labor, praised McGuire as "a crusader" in labor's cause. He said: "If Samuel Gompers gave to the American Federation of Labor its practical spirit, Peter McGuire gave it its fighting spirit . . . We will always need the practical wisdom of a Gompers, but the fighting spirit of McGuire is the life-blood of the American labor movement. Labor must never lose that crusading zeal, that fearless and restless energy and high idealism that will always be associated with the flame-like spirit of McGuire."

Where do Atoms come From ?

The *Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in India* recently has published an enlightening article in which Allah Masevich, the eminent Soviet Scientist, discusses about the origin of atoms :

The Universe is eternal. It had no beginning, and it will have no end. However, it is not static. It is constantly changing and we have grounds for believing that in the visible part of the universe we are able to observe the atoms of heavy chemical elements which did not always exist.

As a result of nuclear reactions hydrogen is being transformed into helium within the sun and in ordinary stars. The energy released in this process is the source of the light of the sun and similar stars.

A detailed study of all possible nuclear reactions within the sun was made in 1938 by Professor Hans A. Bethe, an American physicist, who showed that chemical elements which are heavier than helium cannot originate in such stars.

The physicist and the astronomers had to answer the question : when and where did those elements originate which are heavier than helium and are met with throughout the cosmos : In the stars, the planets, meteorites, in interstellar gas. This question was particularly interesting as regards the heavy radioactive elements which disintegrate spontaneously and have a limited life-span not more than 10 billion years - and, consequently, could not have originated at an infinitely remote time.

It is known that the formation of heavy atoms, calls for very high temperatures of up to one billion degrees and very high densities, approaching the density of the atomic nucleus.

Scientists have to assume that approximately 10 billion years ago our galaxy was in a very hot and condensed state and expanded later on with cooling.

During that pre-stellar period (pre-stellar because there were no stars at the time and matter was in a state of a specific neutron gas) chemical elements were formed which subsequently entered the composition of stars and planets.

These suppositions have provided the basis for various hypotheses put forward during recent decades. However, not one of them

has been able to give a quantitative explanation of the relative distribution of elements in the cosmos, which we observe in reality.

It has been established during the past few years that certain stars pass through states of evolution when their internal temperature and density increase substantially. These later stages in the life of stars are comparatively brief and unstable. Estimates show that it is precisely at these stages that the formation of elements heavier than helium, including the heaviest atoms in Mendeleyev's Table of Elements, can take place in the centres of such stars.

The formed elements are scattered in space together with the matter of the star as a result of a stellar explosion and become mixed with interstellar matter. Young stars which originate in such a medium contain more heavy elements than the stars which were formed at an earlier stage of the development of our galaxy. This supposition seems to be corroborated by the spectroscopic data on the chemical composition of stellar atmospheres. In some old stars the number of atoms of metals and other heavy elements in comparison with the number of hydrogen atoms is less than that in the young stars.

This theory has been put forward by W. Fowler and J. Greenstein from America, and by British astrophysicists Margaret and Geoffrey Burbidge. According to this theory, all chemical elements found in nature have been formed in the stars during the lifetime of our galaxy. The formation of elements is continuing in those stars which are in the latest stages of their development.

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A Home for the Aged

In the *Information Bulletin*, October, 1958, of the German Democratic Republic, this very interesting report has been given by Wolfgang Gothel:

Near the banks of the river Elbe, surrounded by the green of ancient trees, a hostel in Dresden, bearing the name of "Klara Zetkin" gives shelter to the aged. 358 men and women, grown old and grey in long years of toil, are spending the evening of their lives here in loving care and free of worry about the coming day.

Before the war the city of Dresden had old-age homes with a total of 2,000 places. Many of them were destroyed during the war. The new and re-construction of old-age homes, started in 1947, helped to bridge over the most dire want. While in 1947 there were 626 places in the old-age homes of Dresden, this figure had increased to 2,096 by 1955. At the end of the second Five Year Plan there will be more than 3,000 places.

* * *

I asked an old couple living at the "Klara Zetkin" home, whether they were happy there and liked it. This was what they replied: "During the three months that we have been here, we have seen more of the good side of life than during all the rest of our lives." They advised me to have a look at the plan of monthly events.

The following are only a few of the events planned for June: an evening of song and dance for the old folks, presented by the ensemble from the Pioneer Palace, Dresden; the amateur art group of the VEB Lace Curtain manufacture present an evening on the life and work of Heinrich Heine; a concert by the folk-music group of the VEB Kosmos factory; a puppet show by the Saalfeld puppet theatre, which, by the way, called forth roars of laughter. Further welcome visitors to this home include the district cinemas, which in June showed the French film "The Honourable Whore" and the DEFA film "Recovery". Altogether 14 nights of the month of June alone were filled with cultural events, arranged specially for the old people at this home; may we mention, that admission to all of them was entirely free.

This survey is in fact rather incomplete, since the cultural life of the home has many more sides to it. Thus, for instance, there is a considerable gathering around the television every evening; this was presented to the inmates of the home by the National Construction Committee, in appreciation of the many thousands of voluntary building shifts which they had worked. Others like to frequent the club rooms; there is one on every floor. In these club rooms there are beautifully inlaid chess-tables for enthusiasts of this game; the old grannies like to have a game of "Doppelkopf" (Card-game, often played by elderly women) while the men prefer a game of skat. And those who used to enjoy knocking down the nine pins can have a go at bowling here in the home as well.

It hardly needs to be mentioned, that ample care is taken to supply reading; fans—which include the majority of inmates. The library already has 1,538 books on the shelves, and new acquisitions are added every month; they are partly bought with money from the library fund and part of them are presented to the home by the workers at Dresden's factories and offices.

When I was told that many of the inmates were bombed out during the war, or resettlers, I became interested in having a look at their rooms to see how they were living. Each inmate has one room and married couples have two rooms of their own. Those who came without anything, having lost everything in the war, were completely newly equipped by the management of the home—from modern furniture down to linen. All others, who managed to retain their furniture, brought it to the home and arranged it in their rooms according to their tastes. Nowadays there is a legacy commission at the home, elected by the inmates, which sees to it, that the children of a deceased are handed out all possessions, up to the last piece of linen.

* * *

This leads up to the social and health arrangements at the home. Every inmate pays DM 60—a month for food and accommodation, a sum which lies below the minimum pension. All those who did not work for pay during their lifetime

and therefore receive no pension have this sum paid for them by the city. Moreover, every inmate who only draws a minimum pension or none at all, is given a monthly sum as pocket money, of DM 28.—Simultaneously with the general growth of our national revenue, this sum has also been increased up to September 1950 only DM 5.—could be paid out as pocket money every month; from October 1950 this was raised to DM 18.—a month and as from July 1953 the present rate was introduced.

To illustrate the considerable amount of money, reserved for old-age homes of this kind on the budget of the city of Dresden, we might mention, that the town council spent DM 1,630.—for each inmate of a home during the last year. There is also a first-rate health service available for these old people. A doctor from a neighbouring polyclinic holds regular consultation hours for them and turns up in all cases of emergency. Those who fall ill are cared for at the home's sick-day by a number of nurses, who are part of the home's permanent staff, and attended until final recovery. For the alleviation of ailments, which occur with particular frequency during old age, such as rheumatism, lumbago, etc., the home has its own facilities for ray treatment, *e.g.* latest constructions of shortwave equipment, *ultra-violet* lamps, hot air boxes, *infra-red* ray lamps, etc. As there is a bathroom on every floor, several kinds of medical baths can be given at the home.

In brief: none of the inmates, who fall ill, seriously or slightly, need to despair. They all know that the nursing staff will do all they can to help them. This knowledge in itself helps to recovery; it even makes them feel younger; I talked to quite a few men and women who were some ten years older than they looked.

"Love and humour pass through the stomach", said comrade Koch, the chairman of the hostel-committee jokingly, when I talked to him about the food. They all confirmed that the food was prepared with much devotion. There is always a choice of two dishes, and diet meals are served for

those with weak stomachs on doctor's orders. Naturally the inmates have a great say in the matter of shaping the weekly menu. Once a term the kitchen commission is re-elected, which is composed of two representatives from each floor. This commission works out the weekly food-programme, together with the cooks, it controls, whether all required components are in fact added to the food according to fixed standards and it supervises the hygienic preparation of the meals.

* * *

In case any more proofs should be needed to convince anyone, that the inmates of the old-age home "Klara Zetkin" are really taking part in life, here it is: In March 1955 there was a small notice in a newspaper, stating that: "The old-age pensioners of the "Klara Zetkin" home have pledged themselves to work 2,000 hours in voluntary reconstruction work this year." Some people incredulously shook their heads, thinking: "They'll never manage that. They had better go to the parks and sit in the sun". Yet he laughs best, who laughs last! It turned out that the "Zetkiners" not only managed to do 2,000, but as much as 4,843 hours. Many of them proudly carry the construction medal in bronze, silver or gold. They don't make much fuss over their contribution. All they have to say, is: "We couldn't sit still when we were young, and even less now that we are old. That would be all the more difficult today, when we are anxiously waiting to see the last of all rubble." Yes, indeed, they are very modest; but the less they say themselves, the more is said for them by cleared sites, new children's play-grounds, where the small folk enjoy themselves in the warm season, and the carefully cleaned bricks, which serve to build new houses and new homes.

The old-age home "Klara Zetkin" is one of many in our Republic. We can proudly look upon the words of praise, which a West German doctor, who came on a visit, entered in the guest-book:

"A system, which considers age worthy of esteem and care, must be a good one!"



THE BRONZE STATUE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Installed at the crossing of Park Street and Chowringhee Road, Calcutta and unveiled by Prime Minister Nehru on Nov. 30, 1958.

Sculptor: Deviprosad Roy Choydhury



MOONLIGHT

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

STOCK TAKING

Another year is drawing to a close. It is necessary to take stock of the nation's assets and liabilities, both in the terms of the concrete and the abstract, at this period. For ever since the dawn of freedom, we have allowed matters to proceed in a haphazard way, right from the top.

In the terms of concrete figures, it is usual to show progress, both in the national income and in national assets. But if the income is adjusted against the purchasing power of the rupee, in the terms of foodstuffs and essential consumer goods, then another state of affairs would be indicated. We would emphatically state here that the price of commodity indexes, as fabricated at New Delhi and elsewhere are totally bogus.

Similarly, if the assets that the nation has put up, in the public and in the private sectors, equated against the availability to the consumer and the sale price of the products, and overall, to the actual benefits apparently accrued to the Man in India, the assets assume quite a different aspect altogether. Indeed, most of the "assets" are as yet heavy liabilities to the taxpayer of today and tomorrow.

But it is when we turn to the abstract considerations we are aware of a frightful picture of degeneration and demoralization. The people of the country are in imminent danger of a moral collapse due to the total debasement of moral values.

Our complacent tin-gods are not totally unaware of that, as when Kerala is concerned we find that even our Congress President comes out of a trance. But where the Centre is con-

cerned, or the other States are concerned, we find footling excuses, with the Constitution as the main reason. Even where cinema censorship is concerned we find the Cabinet minister concerned putting forward that lame excuse, and what is more astonishing, the members of the Lok Sabha complacently nodding their heads.

We are constrained to make such a deprecating remark against the Congress President, not because we have any special bias for or against the Kerala Government, but because he is the symbol of what Gandhiji stood for. And the Gandhian tradition is that of uncompromising Truth.

We see, and the world sees, compromise with evil going on, on all levels, in the Congress Governments. Indeed, it has come to such a pass that parochialism, nepotism and corruption is rampant even in high places, as a result of which Evil is being fostered—indeed, supported actively—by those very people who have infiltrated into office under the guise of Gandhism. So, why hold up Kerala?

Mr. Justice Sankaran has remarked in his report that defiance of law and order has become universal in all labour agitations. This is quite correct, and disastrous results have followed in West Bengal, where Bengali labour has become almost unemployable. But then labour leadership is mostly in the hands of leaders who are, to say the least, irresponsible to the point of disruption. Honest people, who have furthered the cause of labour when it was dangerous to do so, are unable to convince labour in the face of a general degeneration of moral values.

Has the Congress President no responsibilities in this respect?

The Latest Appraisal of the Second Plan

The Planning Commission in its latest appraisal on the Second Plan has stated that the implementation of Part A of the Plan might involve a total expenditure of the order of Rs. 4,650 crores as against Rs. 4,500 crores previously envisaged. The estimates of financial resources for the last two years of the Plan were shown at Rs. 1,804 crores and that for the five years at Rs. 4,260 crores. Between the minimum outlay target of Rs. 4,500 crores and the estimated resources, there was thus a gap of Rs. 240 crores. On an overall view, having regard to possible shortfalls in expenditure and changes in estimates under individual heads, the gap in financial resources may thus be of the order of Rs. 300 to Rs. 350 crores rather than Rs. 240 crores estimated earlier.

The Planning Commission states that the total investment envisaged for large-scale industries in the Public and Private Sectors together was of the order of Rs. 1,094 crores. In the Public Sector the amount allocated is of Rs. 524 crores in addition to Rs. 60 to Rs. 65 crores provided for the National Industrial Development Corporation; of this amount Rs. 35 crores have been set apart for new basic and heavy industries. Under the latest estimates for the principal industrial projects in the Public Sector, the total expenditure has been placed at Rs. 882 crores, of which Rs. 15 crores are for schemes in the States. The latest estimates have thus raised the expenditure in the Public Sector by Rs. 358 crores.

As in the Public Sector, the investment requirements of the Private Sector has also to be revised upwards. The Plan originally estimated a total investment of Rs. 685 crores for industries in the Private Sector, of which Rs. 535 crores represented new investment and Rs. 150 crores replacements. The foreign exchange expenditure was estimated at Rs. 320 crores. The total investment requirements have increased by about Rs. 155 crores and foreign exchange costs have gone up by about 120 crores.

The Memorandum of the Planning Commission states that as compared to the original estimate of Rs. 1,100 crores, the aggregate

deficit over the Plan period was likely to be about Rs. 1,700 crores. One of the reasons for the increase in the foreign exchange gap is the rise in food imports. In 1956-57, food imports amounted to 2.4 million tons and for 1957-58, they came to 3.7 million tons. In 1958-59, the food imports are estimated to exceed 3.5 million tons. The total value of food imports in the first two years was Rs. 259 crores, of which the amount covered under special agreements was Rs. 173 crores. Outstanding foreign exchange commitments stood at Rs. 990 crores at the end of September 1957, and Rs. 888 crores at the end of March 1958. Of the latter, Rs. 547 crores were on Government account, Rs. 300 crores on private account and Rs. 41 crores for imports of iron and steel for use by both the Public and the Private Sectors.

The Planning Commission has rightly held that an increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2.5 per cent per annum, which has so far been achieved, is not sufficient enough to support a large plan of economic development. In terms of production potential, the achievement in 1956-57 is assessed at 1.3 million tons and in 1957-58 at 2.3 million tons. It is expected that in 1958-59 the increase in production potential may be of the order of 3 million tons. Thus over the three years 1956-59, the total increase in production potential may be less than one-half of the revised target of the Plan period. The reduction in the total allocation for Irrigation and Power under the Plan from Rs. 913 crores to Rs. 832 crores is likely to affect the targets for irrigation and power. It is estimated that in place of additional irrigation of 12 million acres as envisaged in the Plan, large and medium projects are expected to provide additional irrigation to the order of 10.4 million acres.

The impact of the shortage of foreign exchange on the targets of power is likely to be of considerable extent. In the Second Plan, the target of additional capacity has been placed at 3.5 million Kw. of which 2.9 million Kw. are to be installed in the Public Sector, 300,000 Kw. in the Private Sector and 300,000 Kw., in industrial plants providing for their own gene-

rating capacity. During the past two years, the demand for power has been rising steadily. It is now estimated that the additional power installed in the Public Sector may be about 2.5 million Kw., in the Private Sector 175,000 Kw., and in industrial establishments providing their own power 300,000. The total achievement is thus 3 million Kw., or about 0.5 million Kw. less than the additional capacity envisaged in the Plan.

Co-operatives at the Cross Roads

At a recent meeting in New Delhi, the executive committee of the All-India Co-operative Union has urged the Union and State Governments to work principally through non-official leadership in developing the Co-operative Movement in the country. The suggestion explains that national and State Co-operative Unions should be closely associated in the implementation of the co-operative policy as enunciated by the National Development Council. They should also be given adequate financial assistance and facilities to undertake the task of developing the movement with the necessary speed and thoroughness. The committee points out that the Co-operative Movement has not made much headway in West Bengal, U.P., and other places where there was too much official control. In States, like Bombay and Madras, where there was not so much official control, the movement had expanded.

The Executive Committee has also suggested that the agricultural loan programme of a Co-operative Society should assist the farmers in the preparation of the production programme and the proper application of the borrowed funds. We, however, suggest that it is time that the authorities reconsider the entire development and the achievement of the Co-operative Movement in the country. We think the co-operative movement in India has failed, notwithstanding paper publicity. Ever since its inception, the authorities in India have been pursuing after the will-o'-the-wisp to achieve what cannot be achieved for various reasons. The last fifty years of existence of the co-operative movement in India does not hold out

any hopeful prospect for the future. In many countries of the West, there is no co-operative movement. It is not essential for the purpose of financing and developing agricultural operations.

The only solution to the creation of machinery to undertake financing of agricultural operations in the country is to start agricultural banks all over the country on the model of farm credit organizations as they obtain in the USA or the U.K. The co-operatives have become totally outmoded in modern times, particularly in India. At least, that is the verdict of the history of the movement here. To think otherwise is to evade the issue and avoid the solution. In the immediate future, joint stock banks should be asked to open branches in the village areas for the purpose of supplying finance to the cultivators. But that would be just a temporary measure and the ultimate solution will lie in the extensive opening of agricultural banks in the villages under a central farm credit organisation, that is, an agricultural central bank. The Agricultural central bank will work in co-operation with the warehousing corporations which have been set up. More such warehouses will have to be set up to provide a net-work of financial operations in the rural sector.

At the New Delhi meeting, the executive committee has called for close and continuous association of Community Development work with the work of co-operatives in rural areas. But so far as the Community Development Projects are concerned, we need not reiterate that the Community Development movement has been just another failure of a planned project. The Community Development is not only a failure, it has become a machinery perpetrating fraud on the national resources of the country. In the name of community development, crores and crores of rupees are being appropriated and misappropriated without any tangible result. The community development movement should immediately be withdrawn and the task should be entrusted to local bodies like the village Panchayats, district boards and the municipalities where honest men should be nominated if necessary. The Union Government should

divert their resources and energies to work which will have immediate result in providing employment and in raising the standard of living of the people. The Plan has moved to such a point that concentrated efforts are required to make it successful.

Law's Lacunae

There lies a great slip between law's codification and its execution. Indian penal laws are mostly followed more in their breach than in their observance. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act is an example on the point. This paper has had the occasion to draw attention of the authorities that the leakage in foreign exchange earnings of India considerably accounts for the present shortage of such exchanges. But our caution perhaps did not receive the due approbation. The case of Mr. S. P. Jain is just one example out of many still remaining undiscovered. It was reported in the Press that Mr. S. P. Jain had a bank balance of about Rs. 17 lakhs in foreign banks and this balance accumulated in a clandestine way, that is, the accumulation without the sanction of the authorities had been an act violating the law of the land, particularly the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and the Indian Income Tax Act.

It would, however, be folly to think that such smuggling or leakage of valuable foreign exchanges of India has been done by only Mr. Jain. There are hundreds of persons doing this sort of act, particularly those who are engaged as agents of foreign business concerns. A large part of commission earned on agency business is kept outside the country and thus India is deprived of its valuable foreign exchange earnings. This point deserves immediate and thorough enquiry by competent persons. The present machinery for finding out such anti-national activities is much too inadequate for the purpose. The Reserve Bank has failed palpably in its task to check the smuggling out of the country or the leakage of foreign exchange earnings of the country. We fail to understand how with the provisions of the Exchange Control Regulation Act, a person can deceive the Bank in not disclosing the

amount which is lying in his account with foreign banks outside the country.

The income-tax authorities are also to blame. If the entire income of Mr. Jain could have been accounted for, then this leakage would have not been possible. The entire apparatus in the country for checking such frauds on the national exchequer is totally inefficient. Now is the time to launch a country-wide search for the hidden income of persons. If the authorities rest with the case of Mr. Jain, they will commit a great blunder. The departments concerned no doubt live in an ivory tower thinking that mere codification of the law will automatically bring about its effective execution. The conduct of the officers concerned of the respective departments should also be enquired into and punishment ought to be meted out in deserving cases. It is our experience that honest statements of people, in smaller concerns, are usually the one's that are arbitrarily challenged by the Income Tax department.

We take this opportunity to ventilate another aspect of our economy and this is a peculiar feature of underdeveloped economy not to be found in any text-book written by authorities on developed economy. This is the question of blackmarketing and profiteering. The instances will be a legion. Just to cite one example and it is that of paper control. The Government of India has imposed control on paper and the standing directions to the dealers are that they should dispose of their stock immediately on receipt of the same from the mills. This has provided a great opportunity for blackmarketing to the dealers of papers. Most of the big dealers have their own fictitious middlemen dealers and the agents or wholesalers dispose of their stock to such middlemen. The agents or the wholesalers always will reply in the negative whenever any enquiry is made as to whether any stock is available. They will promptly reply that they have no stock of the material enquired after. But if "extra" price is offered, the dealers will arrange the supply. The market is not so very short of any quality of paper, rather it is over-full of some. The entire paper supply, thanks to Government's measures, has gone underground

for the benefit of the few paper dealers and agents. We are compelled to request the authorities—"If you cannot do it effectively, please do not do it."

The very activities of the Government in recent months seem to support the view that they are out to help the blackmarketeers and profiteers and other anti-social elements. Whether it is the import restriction, or price fixation or any other direction, the large body of consumers are made to suffer for the benefit of the few. There is racketeering in medicines, in foodgrains, in paper and in what not. The authorities think that by merely fixing the prices of commodities, the problem of supply will be solved. But the real problem begins there and it is the problem of short supply in open market with a flourish in the blackmarkets. It is not merely quixotic, it is foolish to fix the prices without caring to assure the supply of the related commodities. India is the traditional home of the blackmarketeers and racketeers and no text-book can explain this position of anomaly, that is, of a flourishing underground market with a dwindling open market and that is done under the very nose of the authorities. Any legal measure designed to have curative or ameliorative effect has promptly reacted generating instead anti-social activities within the bounds of law. And the authorities remain a silent spectator, speaking no word on the suffering of the people.

Neither price fixation nor control on distribution can bring about a condition conducive to the benefits of the consumers. Those who preach in favour of private enterprise in India should bear in mind that what India requires today is a state of strict regimentation on the lines of Pakistan or China. Democracy is no answer to the rapid growth of anti-social elements and its machinery is quite ineffective to cope with the situation. The revolt against the so-called democracy in the countries of the East and the Middle East has its deeper roots in objective conditions and that is that democracy in an underdeveloped country does not always confer social justice to all.

New Portuguese Trick in Goa

From January 1, 1959 the Indian rupee would be superseded in Goa by the Portuguese currency *escudo*. This sudden decision to alter the currency in use for centuries in the Portuguese-held territories in India would adversely affect the interests of the people of Goa. The implications of the introduction of this new policy have been analysed in an article in the fortnightly *Free Goa* of Bombay.

The *escudo* would be legal tender throughout the *Estado da India* (that is Goa, Daman and Diu) and only within the territory its export out of that State being prohibited. The new *escudo* would not be allowed to circulate in other Portuguese territories nor even in Portugal despite the declaration that the exchange would be guaranteed of all the *escudos* on a par.

The analyst of the *Free Goa* writes: "The law further disposes that the fiduciary circulation limit is fixed at 500,000 *contos* (each *conto* is worth the 1000 *escudos* and each *escudo* Rs. 6) of which 450,000 are in notes and 50,000 in coins.

"If a new currency is going to be introduced against all natural processes only to simulate the impossible integrity of the Portuguese Overseas Empire, such a measure only comes to strengthen Portuguese economy in Goa at the cost of the sacrifices of the people of Goa and the Indian currency which after being depreciated by the exchange rates will go to serve as the reserve fund to guarantee the permanence of the inconvertible *escudo* with the convertible Indian currency.

"Of such a monetary policy can derive various unpleasant consequences like: 1) the provoking of the devaluation of the rupee in Goa and the consequent exchange speculation in favour of the *escudo*; 2) In its turn the Goan *escudo* can suffer devaluation in relation to the *escudo* of Mozambique, Angola and Portugal if the financial and economic position of those colonies and Portugal happens to be sounder than that of Goa; 3) The limitation of the circulation of the *escudo* within the colony points to the intrinsic weakness of the Goan currency which is, for an example, not ex-

changeable in Mozambique, whereas the Indian rupee has international value (its value is higher than that of the Pakistani or Burmese rupee, and is exchangeable in Mozambique). The exchangeable speculation will provoke the artificial devaluation of the remittances of the emigrants in Indian currency; 5) In small populations like those of Daman and Diu where the daily necessities cannot do without the Indian market, in spite of the apparent prohibition, the tragedy will be all the greater as these territories have no outlet but the sea; 6) The Goan students studying in India and the Goan who come to India for reasons of health, etc., will be subjected to the loss and the difficulties brought about by the exchange operations; 7) Finally when trade between Goa and India becomes free again the mutual relations will be prejudiced by the new currency, causing chaos and despair where before there was mutual understanding, accessibility and well-being."

Company Contribution to Political Parties

The question of company contribution to the funds of political parties was recently discussed in both Houses of Parliament. In the Lok Sabha the discussion centred upon a non-official bill sponsored by Shri S. Mahanty (Ganatantra Parishad—Orissa) seeking to limit contribution by companies to political parties to Rs. 5,000 which was rejected by 93 votes to 25. Shri Mahanty characterised company contribution to political parties as "bribery and illegal gratification" and alleged that, Government had advanced interest-free loans to the Tatas and the Indian Iron and Steel Company "because they contributed funds to the Congress Party."

Opposing the bill Shri Satish Chandra, Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry, said that Government had taken note of the observations of the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay stressing upon the necessity for these contributions to be distinctly shown in the accounts of the Company. He added that the matter had been referred to a Committee headed by Shri Viswanatha Sastri, a retired judge and the Committee also had come to the

same conclusion that when companies made contributions to political parties they should be shown in their Profit and Loss Accounts. He also disclosed that Government proposed to bring forward a Bill to amend the Companies Act providing, among other things, that contributions made by companies to political parties should be made public.

Shri Satish Chandra said amidst opposition interruption: "I am sure that, candidate for candidate, the expenditure incurred by the Congress Party during the elections is much less than what was incurred by any other political party or Independents. That is an unchallengeable statement." The accounts of the Congress Party, he added, constituted a public document, while other parties had never disclosed their accounts.

In the Rajya Sabha Shri Bhupesh Gupta (Communist—West Bengal) withdrew his non-official bill to amend the Company Act after the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, had assured that the matter was under the active consideration of the Government and that the Government would place before the House an amending Bill in the coming session. During the debate Shri Babubhai Chinai, an industrialist member, said that he was proud of the fact that his firm had contributed 1½ lakhs of rupees to the "party in power" at the time of the last General Elections and added: "If it comes to the question of paying more, well, I am prepared to see that that concern pays more also."

All India Radio

While there has indeed been much improvement in the programmes of the All India Radio, much yet remains to be done. There is obviously the need to make the programmes more diversified and more interesting. The efforts of the authorities are limited by the resources available but the available resources may be used more rationally. On the policy level the Government should decide upon the role of regional languages in broadcasts. It is difficult to see why the Government has failed to implement the suggestion for according the regional languages a more important role in radio broadcasts.

Most of the important talks broadcast regionally are still in the English language. While English should continue to be profitably used in relaying national broadcasts, the authorities need to show some greater concern for broadcasts in regional languages.

A related problem is to ensure that the people would be able in larger numbers to enjoy the benefits of national broadcasts. Though the talk of a people's wireless receiving set has been in the making for nearly a decade now—and the point was reiterated by the Estimates Committee of the Parliament in its thirty-first report on the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting—nothing tangible has been done so far. Neither has anything substantial been done in ascertaining the listener's attitude to the broadcast items. The replies to the questionnaire on programme preferences which had been distributed among the radio listeners at the end of 1956 are still "being studied and tabulated."

Referring to the Estimates Committee's report the *Hindu* writes in an editorial article:

"The Committee's suggestions for the improvement of the spoken word broadcasts deserve attention. Regional news coverage has been inadequate. Government's decision to extend the broadcast of such news bulletins to all linguistic regions should be welcome. When sound radio languished and faced extinction in the face of competition from television in U.S.A., it was its re-organisation with a strong accent on local news and local news that revived it and made it popular again. More frequent on-the-spot broadcasts should lend greater interest to such news reports and make them lively. Talks on the air are often an invitation to the listener to switch off the receiver and this need not happen if more care is taken in the choice of the subject as well as the speaker, the delivery being as important as the content. The mutilation of Indian names by A.I.R.'s news announcers is so frequent nowadays that some action is called for. 'The Radio Farm Forum' which has been tried on an experimental basis in Bombay State seems to have achieved useful results and its extension to other areas should help to hasten the improvement of villages. These listening-cum-

discussion-cum-action groups should give greater meaning to the rural programmes being broadcast by A.I.R. for many years now. We should also mention that the information about Government's plans and achievements sought to be conveyed to the rural listener in the form of dialogues between villagers would be more acceptable if it were not made to be hailed as great or praiseworthy everytime by one of the speakers. The introduction of a more critical appraisal of Governmental activities should also answer the criticism that A.I.R. is being used all the time for official propaganda."

The Official Language

The draft report of the Parliamentary Committee on official languages was finalised on November 28. The Committee consisting of twenty members of the Lok Sabha and ten members of the Rajya Sabha was set up under the Chairmanship of Pandit G. B. Pant on November 16, 1957 under Article 344 of the Constitution which lays down that "the President may issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of the report of the Committee."

The recommendations of the committee have not been made public. Commenting on the work of the Committee Pandit Pant said: "We have reached the end of our labours. That is only one stage in our march onwards towards the goal which we have placed before ourselves. The questions relating to language are always complicated, and also delicate. Language is charged with passions and cannot always be handled or dealt with in a prosaic manner. In fact, language finds its bloom in poetry and this shows how intimately and inextricably it is bound up with emotions. Emotions can be novel but they can also sometimes create a sort of a consuming passion which comes in the way of a rational approach."

"I am grateful to the honourable members and to every one of you for the way you have managed the affairs of this committee. It was a very difficult task and in fact most people thought that we would not cover much ground in agreement. Such apprehensions could not be said to be altogether unfounded but in the diversity of our country we have basic unity."

We have got a fundamental uniformity too. So though we may have different approaches to different problems when we are determined to find a solution, we can succeed in extracting out of these complications solutions of a satisfactory and encouraging and heartening character.

"It is not so much, I may submit, the contents of the report or the decisions that we have taken as the spirit which has moved every one of us. We are anxious that somehow or other the spirit of harmony should prevail in the country, the forces of unity and cohesion should be further strengthened so that we may really succeed in meeting the needs of the common man and raise his stature in our country. That is the objective of every democratic system and also of ourselves. First things must come first.

"Language is certainly a very important item but there are other things, too, which cannot be relegated to a second place. There are millions who are starving, there is so much of disease, illiteracy, poverty in the country. Those problems have to be tackled and tackled effectively. But if we get involved in other controversies then our attention is diverted from matters which are of extreme urgency and which cannot wait for solution. I have been throughout trying to secure the support of the honourable members to propositions which might be acceptable to all and with which most of you would agree, as you have done and for this, I am grateful. The main idea before my mind was this: There are so many other problems which we have to solve and if we ourselves become the cause for generating further controversies, then the solution of those matters which cannot wait will be delayed.

"I have reason and justification, in the light of public interest, to feel profoundly grateful to all of you, Dr. Mudaliar, Mr. Dange, Mr. Malliah and Tandonji, whom I revere and from whom we learnt our first lessons in public service.

"If on certain occasions the convictions that have been formed and have grown in the course of the decades come in the way of complete agreement in thought or unity in action, that has to be attributed to the way these con-

victions had reacted on the mind and had become somewhat crystallised. So we have reason to feel that we have perhaps rendered some service to the country and the little that we have been able to do will contribute towards speedy progress and enable us to achieve our aim somewhat earlier than it would have been possible if we had gone out with too many voices, thus showing our incapacity for accommodation and understanding."

Monopoly in India

The Rajya Sabha on Nov. 28, rejected by a voice vote a non-official resolution, moved by Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour (Communist—Andhra) urging the appointment of a Committee of members of Parliament to suggest measures to restrict the powers and activities of monopolistic concerns detrimental to the interests of the country. While the resolution failed of adoption it helped reveal many interesting facts about the operation of the Indian economy. Socialist and Communist members referred to specific instances of the growth of monopoly in particular industries.

Mr. P. Narayanan Nair (Com.—Kerala) referred to the foreign monopoly of the country's tea industry and said that 72 per cent of Rs. 100 crores invested was held by a few non-Indian concerns. Foreign companies held the bulk of tea acreage and repatriation of the whole capital by way of profits had been going on for decades. These concerns were not interested in re-plantation and conservation of the industry because of their growing interest in Africa. Internal distribution of tea in the country was also the monopoly of two foreign concerns and the consumer was paying a very high price per pound. Predominant interest in tea auctions also belonged to foreign firms. Unless Government was in a position to take more and more of marketing and trading in tea through institutions like the S.T.C., crores and crores of rupees would be lost to the national exchequer, he said.

Dr. P. J. Thomas (Ind.—Kerala) said that though monopoly was inherent and inevitable to some extent in certain types of industry, it was necessary for Government to have some kind of expert enquiry to go into the

allegations about the growth of monopolistic trends so that effective steps could be taken to curb them. He did not agree with the view that Government management could solve the problem as he said it was not possible for Government to work industries very efficiently without experts. He added that an enquiry through an expert agency would make available to the country information which was lacking at present.

Mr. K. L. Narasimham (Com.—Andhra) gave the instance of cigarette manufacture and said that the bulk of Virginia tobacco grown in Andhra was purchased by a foreign concern which dictated the price, at which cultivators were forced to sell, and controlled supplies to tobacco manufacturing concerns.

Government, he said, had failed to regulate the prices of different varieties of tobacco and thus allowed exploitation to continue. He suggested that the despatch of tobacco to countries, with which India had entered into barter agreements, should be made through various traders instead of through any monopolistic concern.

Privilege Motion in Parliament

There was much commotion before the Lok Sabha eventually decided to refer Mr. Masani's motion on the alleged breach of the privileges of the House by the Kerala Chief Minister, Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad to the Privileges Committee. The voting was 138 to 32 with 24 abstentions including the Prime Minister Shri Nehru. Mr. Masani had asked the Privileges Committee to go into the two telegrams sent by Shri Namboodiripad to the Union Home Minister Shri Pant in September last. While on the surface there was much force in Shri Masani's motion the Prime Minister's arguments for dropping the matter was equally forceful. In the end however, the House chose to go its own way disregarding the advice of the Prime Minister. The whole affair was a partisan political affair; the advantages of the motion were however, not very apparent to the ordinary mind.

Bombay-Mysore Border Dispute

It is strange but nevertheless true that a minor border dispute between two States of the Indian Union—Bombay and Mysore—has been allowed to linger on for more than two years giving rise to much avoidable passion and anger. An aspect (perhaps a little one-sided but nevertheless providing the salient points) of the problem is given by the following comments of the *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial article:

"As the four-week old Belgaum-Karwar border agitation gathers momentum the Mysoreans are hardening their hearts against any amicable settlement. The harsh methods adopted to suppress the agitation are further embittering feelings. And on top of it prominent Mysore politicians have been proclaiming from house-tops that the border issue was closed for ever and there was no chance of readjustment. It is well that Bombay's Chief Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, has emphatically declared that it is not so. Naturally, he does not want to get involved in a controversy but relies on the good sense of Mr. G. B. Pant for ending the dispute amicably. It is now two years that Belgaum-Karwar and Bhalaki-Santpur areas were included wrongly in the Mysore state. The matter once came up for discussion at the Western Zone meeting. There were many informal talks at the state level. There was also a good precedent to follow in the Pataskar award which resolved the Madras-Andhra border dispute. If the principle enunciated there was to be followed then the disputed areas must definitely come to Bombay State. But the Centre would not firmly say so and the problem, which could have been solved long before an agitation was launched, has been allowed to become a handle for the opposition to spread discontent. No wonder the Marathi-speaking Congressmen from Belgaum bitterly complain that the Congress Government seems to be following the time-honoured way once adopted by the British bureaucracy of "allowing the parties to agitate and then solving the problem after considerable damage both to property and person." As Mr. Pant's suggestion for arbitration is not

acceptable to Mysore and negotiations between the two Chief Ministers have proved futile, the only feasible solution seems to be that the Centre should apply firmly the Pataskar formula to solve the dispute. The problem has been thrashed thoroughly and no new fact or argument is likely to come up by appointing a fresh commission. It is time the Centre took a firm decision for justice delayed is justice denied."

Berlin Crisis

The political and diplomatic crisis over Berlin has raised a mild storm in the political horizon of the world. The present crisis is not a new one, but it has been given a new momentum by the declaration of Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, and the East German Government, that the city of Berlin should be declared a free city and that occupation army should withdraw. The declaration said that Russia would not agree to talks designed to bring about German reunification without the Germans and behind their backs. But the Soviet Union would not refuse to discuss the conclusion of a peace treaty which, in its view, falls within the competence of the four Powers. The Soviet statement rejected the Western suggestions of free election for the whole of Germany as pure demagoguery. It also accused the USA of creating a threat to peace by keeping troops in West Berlin.

The present campaign was foreshadowed in a speech by the East German Communist Party Chief, Herr Walter Ulbricht, on October 27, in which he stated that the Western Powers were no longer entitled to occupy West Berlin by their failure to fulfil their obligation under the 1945 Potsdam agreement; that the whole of Berlin was in the territory of the East German Democratic Republic, and that the city belonged to the East German sphere of authority. Subsequently Mr. Khrushchev made a pronouncement on November 10, in which he said that it was time to abandon the four-Power status of Berlin and that it would be right for the Soviet Union to hand over its responsibilities in the city to the East German authorities. Mr. Khrushchev also pointed out that the Western Powers' rights in Berlin were

derived from the Potsdam agreement, which they had now rendered null and void.

The facts in issue may be stated as follows: The four-Power occupation of Berlin was agreed in 1943 by the European Advisory Commission, and the rights of the Western Powers in Berlin, and their rights of access to the city are derived from Germany's unconditional surrender in 1945. The European Advisory Commission agreements were, of course, made on the assumption that Germany would be administered as a whole. From the very beginning of military occupation by the Allied forces, the Soviet Union made the military administration difficult. The first indication that the Russians might try to force the Western Allies out of Berlin came in 1947 when Soviet protests were sent to Western Powers accusing them of trying to merge their sectors of Berlin with their West German zones. In February 1948, the Soviet authorities refused to allow invited British representatives to attend a German political meeting in East Berlin, on the grounds that Berlin was part of the Soviet zone. Early that year, the Soviet authorities began to take measures designed to impede and restrict access to West Berlin. Various restrictions were imposed on traffic between Berlin and the West. The Western Powers were accused of using West Berlin as a centre for spying and sabotage against East Germany. All these restrictive measures were gradually increased and tightened. On June 16, 1948, the Soviet representative walked out of the four-Power Berlin Kommandatura, and the four-Power administration of the city effectively came to an end.

On the 24th June, 1948, the full-scale Berlin blockade was imposed. This was the most serious and determined Soviet attempt to force the Western Powers to withdraw from Berlin. It failed owing to the fortitude of the population of West Berlin and the effective organization of the Allied air-lift. Over the present impasse, the U.S. State Department has reminded Russia of the Western Powers' declaration of October 3, 1954, when they reaffirmed that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon their forces and themselves.

The present diplomatic manoeuvres by Soviet Russia over Berlin is not a new one. It has become a permanent feature, with periodical intensity. Russia wants withdrawal of Western forces from Berlin. The justification is claimed on the fact that East Berlin is the capital of the German Democratic Republic; that it is under the control and administration of the East German authorities; and that the four-Power occupation has ended. The demand for withdrawal of the Western Powers from Berlin may be regarded as a counter-blow by the Soviet Union to the Western Powers' move to free Eastern Germany from the domination of Soviet Russia. In a recent report on developments in East Germany submitted to the autumn session of the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly by Mr. Peter Kirk, a British Conservative M.P., an observation was made as follows: "The situation in the Soviet occupied zone of Germany is becoming ever more grave. It is no longer of concern only to Germany or Europe, but to the whole world."

The Soviet-occupied zone of Germany is still a part of Germany. The recent Strasbourg meeting of the Parliamentarians of 15 European member-nations of the Council of Europe acknowledged the Bonn Government as the legitimate spokesman of Germany. A Dutch Socialist Deputy explained this standpoint in the following words: "We recognize only the Government of the West German Federal Republic and the freely-elected members of the Bundestag as the legitimate representatives of the population of the Soviet-occupied zone. We do not recognize the Government of Pankow, which is in fact no more than a group of men forced upon the people in this zone of Germany by the Soviet troops and the Soviet regime." The British M.P., Mr. Kirk, in his report drew the attention of the Council of Europe to the distress of the East German people. He stated that the Pankow regime of East Germany was probably the most "Stalinist" of all the satellite governments. In recent months there has been a heavy influx of refugees from East Germany to West Germany, which is the "western island in the sea of Communism." The Council of Europe in its

resolution stated that the Pankow regime was employing every means to sever the remaining ties between the inhabitants of East Germany and their relatives in West Germany.

German problem deserves a solution without further delay. Reunification is the only solution. That reunification, theoretically, should be achieved by free election among the people themselves. Freedom of decision will be possible only when the occupation army have withdrawn from both the zones. Germany belongs to the Germans and no nation has any right to rule it in any form. Recently there was a tussle between Dr. Adenauer's Government and the Bundestag Committee over the issue of sending a note to Russia on the question of reunification of Germany. Some members of the Bundestag pointed out that what stands in the way of reunification of Germany is not Soviet Russia alone. It is the World Communism which has not given up its hope of outlasting all other systems of Government and replacing them by Communist rule. A feeling is growing all over the world as to whether any lasting understanding with Communism can really be possible on any but isolated problems. The case of the Nobel Prize winner Boris Pasternak is apt to cause scepticism about the hope for a lasting understanding between Communism and Democracy.

Africa Awakes

The awakening of the peoples of Africa is the most significant development of our time. Africa is the last stronghold of European colonialism. The people are on the march there and the future of colonialism is doomed; but in the short run the continuation of colonialism has meant much distress and yet more suffering for the long suffering people of Africa. Therefore, the measures taken against the colonial machinations are of the most profound significance. Four African nations are destined to regain freedom in 1960: Togoland, the Camerons, Nigeria and Somaliland. Yet there would still then be the larger part of the great continent under European yoke: Algeria, Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, the British colonies, the Portuguese colonies and the white racialism in South Africa.

The most effective blow to imperialism is the unity of the African peoples. The Accra conference of April (15 to 22) this year was the first move in this direction. In that conference leaders of already independent African States: Ghana, Liberia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and the United Arab Republic met to discuss the affairs of the continent and to exchange their points of view on the various problems.

Now a much bigger and more representative conference is meeting in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, to decide upon a course of action for the liberation of the continent. The following organisations are taking part in the deliberations: the People's Convention Party (Ghana), the Nationalist Party of Zanzibar, the Labour Federation of Tanganyika, the National African Union (Tanganyika), the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the National Congress (Uganda), the People's Convention Party of Nairobi (Kenya), the Youth League of Somaliland, the African National Congress of South Africa, the National Vanguard (Nigeria), the Labour Federation of Kenya, the Trade Union Congress (Ghana), the Organisation of African Elected Representatives (Kenya), the Council of United Farmers (Ghana), the Organisation for African Unification (Liberia), the African League (Great Britain), the United Congress Party (Uganda), the Neo-Destour (Tunisia), the Istiqlal (Morocco), the Juvento (French Congo), the African Forum (Great Britain), the Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar), the National Students' Union (East Africa), the African League (Angola), the African Convention (Senegal), the United Party (French Togoland) and the Pan African Federation.

Some other organisations from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somaliland, the Sudan and Gambia are also participating in the conference. The imperialist rulers of Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi (territory held by Belgium under UN Trusteeship system) and Mozambique and Angola (held by Portugal) have not allowed any popular representative from those countries to attend the conference.

The declaration accompanying the invitation to the conference says:

"Unlike the recent Conference of Independent African States, this Conference will be held at a non-governmental level, and will be attended by hundreds of representatives of different organisations, progressive, nationalist, political, trade union, co-operative, feminist, youth, and other popular organisations from every country in Africa engaged in the combat for complete independence.

"Persons of African descent, as well representatives of non-African organisations approving the Conference's aims and objectives, will also be invited as fraternal delegates and unoff . . .

"This Conference will be the greatest assemblage of its sort ever held on African soil. It will demonstrate the solidarity and fraternity uniting the awakening peoples of Africa, beyond the barriers of race and tribe, beyond the artificial boundaries that the imperialists have imposed in order to divide us and maintain the evil system of colonialism, racial domination and tribal separatism.

"This Conference will formulate and proclaim our African personality, based on the philosophy of All-African Socialism, the ideology of the African Non-Violent Revolution.

"Henceforth our slogan must be:

"Peoples of Africa, unite! You have no thing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to win! You must attain human freedom and dignity!"

"The main goal of the All-African Peoples Conference must be to formulate concrete plans and to apply the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African Non-Violent Revolution, concerning:

- (1) Colonialism and imperialism;
- (2) Racism and discriminatory laws and practices;
- (3) Tribalism and religious separatism;
- (4) The position of chiefs
 - in the colonial regime;
 - in a democratic free society.

"The time has come to denounce openly and attack the propagators of tribalism, who are today the most dangerous Negro agents of the imperialists, for their poisonous policy con-

sists in setting Africans against Africans, brothers against brothers, tribes against tribes; therein lies the greatest obstacle to the creation of United Fronts of Freedom Fighters, who alone can rapidly put an end to foreign domination.

"We must denounce and unmask the anti-patriotic role of these African political careerists whose activities serve only to allow the imperialists to prolong their traditional policy: divide and rule. This is necessary if Africa is to reconquer its lost freedom and take its legitimate place in the comity of nations on a basis of equality.

"This problem of 'divide and rule' along tribal lines is a never-ending danger in the so-called multi-racial territories of Central and East Africa, where our uncompromising demands must be:

- (1) The land to the Africans;
- (2) equal voting rights for all, without regard to race, tribe, colour, or belief;
- (3) application of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, as worked out by the United Nations.

"The Conference will also examine the question of irredentism and will discuss plans aiming at a regrouping of independent African states on the bases of:

- (1) The adjusting of existing artificial frontiers;
- (2) fusion or federation of territories on a regional basis;
- (3) gradual federation or confederation of regional groups of states in a final All-African Commonwealth, the free and independent United States of Africa."

The Referendum in France

Mr. Pierre Courtade, member of the Central Committee, French Communist Party, analyses the results and prospects of the French referendum in an article in the *International Affairs*. His analysis brings to the fore the magnitude of the changes that have overtaken France—already referred to in these columns.

He admits, like others, that the overwhelming support for De Gaulle was completely unexpected. It marked, as he says "one of the greatest swings of opinion to have occurred in France during the last 25 years and no doubt the most rapid one." He takes note of the fall in Communist popularity and avers that it "would be futile to deny the gravity of this fact." Another aspect of the Communist failure was that "the (Communist) loss of votes was particularly noticeable in the working class areas," though the party was able to retain a larger following in peasant areas. It was further evident that in predominantly working class areas of the North and along the Mediterranean (Marseilles, Nice and other areas) the Socialist dissidents who opposed the Constitution received a far less support than the Socialists supporting De Gaulle.

De Gaulle had won because the people wanted a change from the ineffectual Governments to one "that would govern." The French people thought that it was only De Gaulle who could save France from internal strife. With allowances, the De Gaulle legend had played the same role as the Napoleonic legend had played in Louis Napoleon's success in the plebiscite that had followed the *coup d'etat* on December 2, 1851. But all these even would not have been enough for De Gaulle's victory had the left not been impotent. To the voters there was no meaning for a 'no' vote. The Left was unable to place before the nation a constructive programme. The result was that De Gaulle was vested with powers "such as no sovereign, not even Napoleon I, ever enjoyed."

Another significant admission by the French Communist leader was that the Communist unpopularity had been to a large extent due to their support of the Russian intervention in Hungary.

Togoland to be Free in 1960

Togoland in Central West Africa had been a German Colony before World War I. Under the terms of the Versailles Treaty France received 21,893 square miles, about two-thirds of the territory as a mandate. The territory came under the United Nations Trusteeship.

Council on December 14, 1956. The French cabinet in a decision taken on August 24, 1956 granted Togoland internal autonomy as a republic within the French Union. Recently agreement was reached between the Governments of France and Togoland that Togoland should be fully free in 1960. Following this agreement the United Nations General Assembly in a resolution in the middle of November unanimously decided to end the UN Trusteeship over the territory on the date it attained independence. The other third of Togoland had earlier been emerged with Gold Coast to form the State of Ghana.

New Developments in Communism?

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists has been roundly condemned by the great majority of the Communist Parties of the World. Most criticism was evidently made without any reference to the text of the programme; the critics' attitude was determined by the position taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in some cases, by the Communist Party of China. Most of the criticism has been focussed, again not unnaturally as one recalls the manner of the criticism, on the Yugoslav characterisation of the international position and more particularly on the Yugoslav reluctance to toe the Kremlin line. The document, an English text of which is now available in India for the first time, however, contains many ideas of greater profundity though due either to the lack of acquaintance with the text or to a failure of comprehension the critics' attention has not been focussed on those points. The Yugoslav programme is a comprehensive document and whether one agrees with it or not, it will amply repay a reading.

Space does not permit here a full discussion of the points raised so that we will be content to touch upon only one point which refers to the role of the Communist Party in a Socialist State. Heretofore, Communist theory and practice have been emphatic upon the imperative need for the monopoly of power for the Communist Party in the Socialist State—notwithstanding the multi-party experiments in so-called "people's democracies." While the

disclosures of the atrocities of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union opened the eyes of many to the characteristic evils of a one-party State there was no theoretical denial of one-party rule. The Yugoslav assertion that the monopoly of the Communist Party is not an essential ingredient of socialism is more significant because Yugoslavia itself is a socialist country where the Communist Party had enjoyed monopoly of political power for more than twelve years. True, there is as yet no second significant political party in Yugoslavia. That is, however, not relevant to the point under discussion. The rise and fall of political parties are determined by historical conditions and whatever may be done, a second party may not emerge in Yugoslavia, USSR or China for almost the same reasons due to which a third party has failed to establish itself in the U.K. or the U.S.A. The relevant question is whether any deliberate and co-ordinated governmental measures are being taken to prevent the emergence of such parties. Such restrictive measures may even be justified in certain circumstances in the short run and if any such restrictive practice be found in Yugoslavia that is not of much concern. The most significant thing is that a Communist Party in power proclaims that it has come to see its limitations and openly admits the scope of action for other elements.

This boldness on the part of Yugoslav theorists would put a further nail in the coffin of the Soviet propaganda that the loss of monopoly of power by the Communist Party would mean a reversion to bourgeois rule. If after some initial restriction the bourgeoisie could allow the feudal elements political freedom without a reversion to the overthrown feudalism there is little ground to think that a second party in power in the USSR would be able to undo the revolutionary achievements of forty years and re-establish capitalism there even if it wanted to do so. If then the Soviet Party bosses should still cling on to a theory which was perhaps valid for the USSR for the first few years there must be other, more personal, reasons than a selfless devotion to a theory. There is little doubt that the impact of these new and very profound theoretical assertions

would be increasingly felt among the ranks of other Communist Parties as with the passage of time experience bears out the basic truth of the Yugoslav assertions. That some rethinking is already on is provided by Professor Paul A. Baran's article entitled "Crisis of Marxism" in the *Monthly Review* of New York where he lays bare the utter hollowness of the practice of flinging isolated quotations from Marx and Engels on the face of critics of Communist practices. Prof. Baran, an acknowledged authority on Marxian economics, now occupying the Chair of Economics at Stanford University, USA, boldly asserts the need for rejecting the old method of a dogmatic application of Marxism. When the international Communist movement has declared that revisionism (as opposed to dogmatism) represents a greater danger to communism the explosive character of the ideas of Prof. Baran can hardly be over-emphasized—especially as they are based upon a correct comprehension of theory and practice.

Scandals in Russia

It is very important that Indians take note of the strong points in the Soviet society and developments. However as Prof. Nirmal Kumar Siddhanta, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, pointed out the other day to a gathering that had come to listen to the experiences in China of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Shri Gopal Haldar, it is no less important that Indian approach to these achievements should be in a spirit of understanding, and not of blind eulogy which only tends to create a sense of frustration in one's self. In this context it is essential that Indians do take correct note of the weaknesses of Soviet development and society—a knowledge that may help them avoid many of the mistakes committed in the USSR. There has again been a lot of propaganda on either side denouncing or applauding aspects of Soviet society. Some of the achievements—especially in the economic, educational and military fields are beyond doubt. There are, however, regions where doubt is not unnatural: in the field of literature and creative arts. Again how far the Soviet society is capable of correcting the mistakes or perversions of men in authority? Not much however,

it seems—at any rate there is not much scope for the correction of the faults of those who *remain in authority*. Otherwise a man could not indulge in sex orgies for nearly seventeen years in the full knowledge of many people. The story of Alexandrov's aberrations very much reads like the one recently published about the affairs in the Botanical Gardens, Sibpore.

Professor G. F. Alexandrov, one of the foremost ideologists of the Soviet Union, had for nearly seventeen years indulging in these orgies. The decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union refers to the participants in Alexandrov's orgies as young movie actresses, ballerinos, young girls from theatrical schools, and even female Komsomols and party members. Leading members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (presumably including Stalin himself) frequently were drawn into these orgies. Summarising the report of the Soviet Party Central Committee, Boris I. Nicolaevsky writes in the weekly *New Leader*: "The orgies were held each week for a number of years at Alexandrov's suburban *dacha*. The subsequent investigation, during which a good many of the participants—including some minors—were questioned, revealed a pattern of brutal coercion: *Those who had agreed to take part had risen quickly in their professions; those who had refused had been persecuted, expelled from their schools, etc.*" Prof. Alexandrov had stuffed his personal library with pornographic literature and drawings but had sought to camouflage them by inscribing on the expensive cases "Marx", "Lenin", etc. (Italics added).

In another instance Prof. M. A. Leonov, another philosopher and Stalin prize winner, was found to have fraudulently used the manuscript of the late Khaskachikh who had left it with the former for safe-keeping. Mrs. Khaskachikh failed in all her efforts to regain the manuscript from Leonov who was awarded the Stalin Prize on the basis of that book. With the disgrace of Alexandrov came the exposure of Leonov, his friend. "Various papers were found at Moscow University and in the files of the Institute of Philosophy. *The most damaging discovery was made in the files*

of the State Political Publishing House, which had brought out the first edition of Leonov's book. It turned out that part of the book had actually been set in type directly from Khas-kachikh's original manuscript."

The treatment meted out to these two delinquents has been very lenient. Both are on their jobs in the provincial towns in the USSR. However, the most significant thing is that the victims in either had no channel to remedy their grievances and as Mr. Nicolaevsky makes it clear in his incisive analysis neither Alex-androv nor Leonov would ever have met even this lenient punishment had not their political boss Malenkov had also fallen. No further comment seems necessary.

Ting Ling Disgraced

Reuter reports:

Hong Kong, Nov. 19. Ting Ling, 51-year-old Chinese authoress and a Stalin prize winner, has been dismissed as Shantung province deputy to the National People's Congress, the *New China* news agency reported, today.

Ting Ling, Stalin prize winner, in 1951 for her book *Sunshine Over Sangkan River* was bitterly denounced last year in a purge of rightwing elements in China.

She was reported to have been suspended from all her official duties.

Also dismissed were two vice-governors of Shantung province, Wang Cho Ju and Yuan Yse Yang and four other members of the local Congress. They were all accused of being right-wingers.—In the absence of any further details we can only say that the lot of the intellectual seems as uncertain in People's China as in the U.S.S.R.

West Berlin

The proposal to turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city is a very complex proposition as the following partial extract from the special report by Sydney Gruson to the *New York Times* would indicate.

Bonn, Germany, December 6.—The Soviet proposal to transform West Berlin into a demilitarized free city may have a fine-sounding ring to it in Ghana or India or in any other far-off place where communism has not yet become a menace. But here in Germany,

where East Europe's experience sounds a continuous warning, the ring is hollow and the proposal is seen as a sham.

No responsible person in West Germany believes that only the future of West Berlin and its 2,300,000 people is at stake in this latest crisis with the Soviet Union.

Adolf Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*, the blueprint for his conquests that he wrote long before coming to power in Germany: "An intelligent victor will, whenever possible, present his demands to the vanquished in instalments."

The logic of the Soviet drive to win all Europe demands that West Germany become the next instalment if West Berlin falls. But Berlin must be made secure first, for it lies 100 miles behind the Communist's front line in Central Europe, a shining reminder not only to East Germany's eighteen millions but to neighbouring Poland and Czechoslovakia as well that there is a way of life other than that imposed on them by communism.

The East Germans, Poles and Czechs cannot hope to get to Paris or London or New York. But many of them do come to East Berlin and it is only a subway ride from one part of the divided city to the other—from greyness and restrictions to bright lights that somehow have come to be regarded as a symbol of a free if imperfect existence.

The world's future may be decided eventually in the Far East by political allegiances won or exacted from the teeming millions of India and China. But this is 1958, and the balance of power in the world still lies in ancient Europe. The heart of Europe remains German.

It is not a question of size. The truncated post-war border of all Germany, East and West, encompass an area that is only a few square miles larger than New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia together. The population is more important—the two Germanys' seventy millions form the biggest single nation in Europe outside of the Soviet Union.

But it is not numbers alone that are important in this situation. It is the skills, energy, resources and industrial prowess that the German people possess that would tip the scales were they all to fall under Soviet domination.

The great bulk of these skills, energy, resources and industrial powers lie in West Germany. By winning West Germany the Soviets would gather in Europe's most productive industrial complex, including twenty-five million tons of steel annually, 160 million tons of coal and nearly ninety billion kilowatt hours of electricity.

And—most important of all—the capture of West Germany for communism would move Soviet power more than 150 miles to the west. Soviet power would then crouch directly over the rest of Western Europe and would probably suck it up like a giant vacuum sweeper.

There would be no alternative for the United States except to huddle within Fortress America, weakened and alone, and probably make a deal with the Russians to assure survival.

Even if the Western Allies did not have the moral commitment to defend West Berlin's freedom they would need to do everything in their power to prevent its falling to the Communists.

It is not a matter of dying for Berlin as allied officials see the issue. It is not even a matter of saving West Berlin. It is a matter of protecting their own interests.

In any case the Western allies do have a commitment to defend West Berlin's freedom. This is one of a great network of commitments ranging around the world on which the whole Western security system is based.

The vital allied interests involved also are behind the objections of the American, British and French Governments to Communist-sponsored proposals for solving the problem of Germany's division. The two Germanys should confederate, say the Communists. Each should maintain its own political, social and economic systems and Berlin would become the seat of an all-German government. The Communists do not say it this way but the government would have such limited powers that it would hardly be a government at all.

Some Germans are attracted by the proposal, but not those responsible for West German government. Nor do allied policy-makers see any sense in it from the point of view of allied interests.

For whatever the Communists say now, the West German and allied officials are convinced that confederation would quickly be followed by an irresistible demand for the evacuation of foreign armies from Germany. The Russians would then go back a few miles to Poland and the Americans eventually all the way back to the United States.

In short, a military vacuum would be created in the one place—Central Europe—where the United States, Britain and France are convinced that a vacuum must not be allowed to exist.

Until Premier Khrushchev opened the Pandora's box that is Berlin many diplomats in Western Europe believed that the Soviets were happy enough with the *status quo* in Germany, whatever Moscow might say for the public record. Now no one is sure. The Soviets are apparently willing to gamble in the belief that the cards are stacked in their favor.

The West has held rigidly to what, in the circumstances, is admittedly the most unlikely solution for Germany's division: free elections to choose an all-Germans government.

But there are powerful voices, both in West Germany and in allied capitals, that argue that one day what now seems a poor bet may suddenly become a winner.

But neither Dr. Adenauer nor the allied officials who ponder these problems are political simpletons. They know that whatever happens the situation in Berlin and West Germany is never going to be the same again. This leaves the question: What to do now?

The brutal, unpalatable truth is that they do not yet know. If there were a great groundswell for confederation or disengagement within German public opinion, the Chancellor might have to bend. But there is not. The voices that speak out for either represent a minority and the Chancellor can honestly say he is reflecting the majority's opinion when he stubbornly refuses to consider either solution.

Pakistan and India

The new head of Pakistan is following in the footsteps of his predecessors in trying to put the blame of all ills of Pakistan on the shoulders of India. In this respect he is no better, where India is concerned, than the others.

We would like Pakistan to be self-sufficient certainly—but not at the cost of India. This should be firmly intimated to him:

Lahore, Dec. 12.—General Ayub Khan, alleging that India was trying to isolate Pakistan, said that it was not for him to say whether the Indian people should follow Pakistan's example.

It is for them, and they are intelligent enough to realize, that conditions in India are no better than those in Pakistan before October 8, he added.

He further alleged that the "Indian campaign" against Pakistan sought to make the latter friendless and to eliminate American influence from this region.

President Ayub denied the allegation that there was a naked dictatorship in Pakistan and that as such Pakistan has no right to be a member of the Commonwealth.

Continuing he said the objective of these allegations was to deprive this country of military aid from America.

The people of Pakistan, he said, could alone give the best answer to the question whether there was a naked dictatorship in Pakistan or not. The people of this country, he said, regard this change (the October 8 revolution) as something that has saved them from utter ruination.

General Ayub also denied the allegation of massive military build-up in Pakistan. On the other hand, he said, Indian military strength was three times that of Pakistan's despite American aid to this country. India, he said, continued building up its armed strength by utilizing its vast resources at the cost of national development.

He charged the Indian Government of a day and night propaganda against Pakistan not only from Delhi but also from its embassies abroad.

He advised India to stop border incidents forthwith, which, he said, were doing good to neither country.

He told newspaper reporters: "If border incidents go on occurring don't think we have not got an answer to it."

He said the existing pattern of education needed complete over-hauling as it was laid

down by Britons to make nationals of the sub-continent perfect slaves.

India and Pakistan

Pandit Nehru's survey of foreign affairs, as is given in the following news report, was as usual vague with regard to Pakistan and somewhat stereotyped in general:

New Delhi, Dec. 15.—While initiating the debate on foreign affairs in the Rajya Sabha today, Mr. Nehru took the opportunity of firmly repudiating two charges that the President of Pakistan, General Ayub, was reported to have levelled against India last week.

He said it was wrong, as had been alleged, that India was encouraging conflict on its border with East Pakistan. On the basis of his "objective study" of the incidents he expressed the belief that facts were to the contrary and that local Pakistan officials and residents had often acted aggressively.

The Pakistani President's second allegation that India was trying to "isolate" his country, Mr. Nehru said, was the outcome of the "wrong line of thought" that Pakistan had followed all along. India's opposition to the Baghdad Pact had apparently been wrongly interpreted as an attempt to isolate Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru's review of the world situation was comprehensive but, as was natural on initiating the debate, he spoke of most issues in somewhat general terms. He said he would deal with them more specifically after he had heard the members' views.

He referred with obvious satisfaction to the emergence of the "African personality" and the fact that after centuries of suffering the African nations were "finding their soul." In the South African policy, however, he visualized potentialities of a "mighty conflict" between the African personality and the forces embodying racial hatred.

Law and Politics

The Report made by Mr. Justice Sankaran into the police-firing at Chandanathope has touched upon some vital issues of present-day political agitations with labour, organised or unorganised, as the medium.

It has become the practice to take the law into the hands of agitators, without any regard for the right of others, with disastrous results

on industries and trades. The officers who are in charge of the administration of labour laws have failed miserably to impress upon the law-breakers, the disastrous consequences on society, of which they are a part, of such reckless and irresponsible action.

We append below the news report:

Trivandrum, Dec. 15.—Mr. Justice K. Sankaran, who conducted an inquiry into the police-firing at Chandanathope, has warned against the “dangerous possibility” of the “favoured” treatment given in the settlement of labour disputes to persons involved in acts of violence and the “liberal manner” in which pardons and remissions were granted.

He expressed himself in favour of withdrawing powers from State Governments, which enabled them to grant pardons and remissions.

In his report Mr. Sankaran has “fully justified” the police-firing in Chandanathope on July 26, in which two persons were killed and six injured. The text of the report was published today.

Mr. Sankaran said that withdrawal of cases arising out of acts of violence against persons and property and the failure to take cases for such offences had become a common feature in the settlement of labour disputes.

Treatment of this kind was bound to have a dangerous effect on those who have committed such offences.

He also said that the liberal manner in which pardons and remissions were granted in favour of convicts was also bound to destroy the deterrent effect of convictions and sentences by courts of law.

“It will be extremely dangerous to bring about a situation which would enable the followers of a political party to entertain a feeling that those among them who happened to be convicted and sentenced for criminal offences can easily get pardons and remissions when their party comes into power,” he said.

He wanted that such a dangerous possibility was fully realized by all political parties “and a joint effort made by all of them to induce Parliament to make suitable amendments to the Constitution and the Code of Criminal Procedure Code” to delete the provisions which

empowered State Governments to grant pardons and remissions.

The power conferred by Article 72 of the Constitution on the President of the Republic to grant pardons, reprieves, remissions would still be there to be exercised in very deserving and exceptional cases.

Mr. Sankaran also said in his report that “a spirit of defiance against law and authority” had become a common feature of the present-day agitations by the working classes in general. This, he said, had to be “effectively checked.”

Mr. Sankaran said: “It is time that the workers are made to realize that they are not entitled in the name of picketing to commit all sorts of penal offences against others. If this position is clearly understood, the chances of labour agitations taking a violent turn, could be minimized to a very large extent.”

University Professors

Pandit Nehru made an extremely timely and cogent comment, as given in the news report below. The vast majority of our professors have taken up other distractions, thereby abandoning the pursuit of knowledge and research. This is reflected in the quality of the students they teach—or rather fail to inspire:

December 20.—Mr. Nehru said here today that university professors in India were not playing their part in the development of the country. “The output of books from our universities,” he said, “is pitifully low.”

It was not enough for professors, he said, to write text-books. They must produce books which were the result of real thinking. He thought that the lack of such output from professors, not merely on economics but on all subjects, was not because our professors lacked the calibre to produce them, but because they became involved in all kinds of petty disputes and could not devote themselves to the creation of the academic atmosphere that should prevail in any university.

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the second all-India conference of Planning Forums. Planning Forums are “discussion cells” in universities for spreading Plan consciousness among the students and teachers.

Kashmir Map in the UN

It is really strange how the UN map could show Kashmir as part of Pakistan. The whole episode has been sought to be explained away as an unintentional cartographic error. One wonders however how the UN cartographer could conjure up Kashmir as a Pakistani territory disregarding history and political realities. The Kashmir issue has been before the eyes of the world for more than eleven years and a UN man could hardly miss its location. The whole affair emits a bad odour.

The *Hitavada* writes:

"India has every reason to object to the United Nations showing Kashmir, not as a part of India but of Pakistan. The U. N. Day folder as well as the U. N. Year Book failed to show Kashmir as part of India and a large map of the world recently displayed in the main lobby of the U.N. Secretariat showed Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan. The explanation of the U. N. Secretariat, which has expressed regret at the error, that this was due to 'hasty and inefficient draftsmanship by the artist who painted the map' is hardly convincing. There is perhaps some force in the allegation that the 'U. N. started fiddling with the map of India' after the appointment of Mr. A. S. Bokhari of Pakistan as Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., when we remember that all maps showing Jammu and Kashmir as part of India are banned in Pakistan. It is true that a map cannot change a historical or political fact but it can do great harm to a nation's cause by prejudicing other member nations. The matter was discussed recently in the Lok Sabha and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will take all steps necessary to keep the world correctly informed about the position of Kashmir as part of the Indian Union."

Kalidas Memorial

India recently celebrated Kalidas Jayanti. On this occasion Dr. Kailasnath Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, laid the foundation stone of a Kalidas Memorial Building in Ujjain on November 25. The building would cost nearly two lakhs of rupees and would have a spacious hall for dramatic performances and also house a bureau for research into the works of poet Kalidas. The sponsors of the scheme envisage establishing a library to col-

lect 'all literature written by or on Kalidas. The research bureau would arrange for the publication of translations of the works of Kalidas in the Hindi and other regional languages.

Speaking before a celebration meeting in Bhopal Prof. S. B. Varnekar, the noted Sanskrit scholar, dwelt upon the genius of the great poet and sought to expose the fallacy of the general belief that the genius of Kalidas consisted only in versifying mundane aspects of love and that the ruling sentiment of the manifestation of his poetic genius was "Shringar". The learned speaker characterised such an attitude to Kalidas as gross misrepresentation of all that and his classics stood for. Kalidas was a poet whose life and works were motivated by the highest ideals that a man ever cherished. He was undoubtedly a master of the 'Shringar' sentiment but he was verily a master, and wielded it with such great skill as to sublimate it to the very height of divinity. He was a poet of religion and his works provided a philosophy of life. The doctrine of 'Karma' as expounded in the Holy Gita found lucid and moving expression through Kalidas's divine quill. He sang the song of India's glory as reflected in her Nature and her people and their philosophy. He was the master poet who portrayed with equal ease and charm the subtlest poetic nuances. Kalidas's all-embracing universality, oceanic depth of his expressions and the cosmic comprehension of the creation made him a poet much superior even to Valmiki and Vyas, and made him a supreme poet of all ages and lands.

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MANAGER, *The Modern Review*

INDIA'S TEEMING MILLIONS AND FUTURE FOOD SUPPLY

By Dr. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

INDIA'S food problem which seemed to have decade, but after fifty years and that also not been solved, by the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, is again in the head lines. Just two good monsoons and a little of concerted planned effort had practically done away with the necessity of imports both during 1954 and 1955. A continued rise in food prices has, however, placed at naught the assuring statements of the Food Minister in the House of the People. The blame is placed by some on hoarding and inflationary tendencies; others attribute this malady to the increasing pressure of some 11,000 babies that are said to be born every day and lag in food production. The future of food and population relation is again being painted dark, necessitating a correct and scientific analysis of the whole problem.

Our food shortage has actually been traced by no less an authority than the Census Chief in his report for 1951, from the year 1920—the Great Divide as he calls it. The increase in food production according to him fell behind that of population from that year. These readings into future population pressure make one feel nervous. There is, in fact, no lack of such enthusiasts who have been playing the Malthus. Sir William Crooks, during the course of his Presidential address to the British Association at Bristol in 1891 while speaking on the Wheat Problem quoted one leading Indian Economist. Writing in the *Daily Englishman* of Calcutta, dated the 16th April, 1891, the Economist said:

“People do not realise the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption, and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs I believe that comparatively speaking, India will in a few years cease to export wheat, and soon thereafter become an importing country.”

India did import wheat for about a problem. For centuries the peasant re-

Similarly, Dr. Naoroji in his *Poverty of India* showed as early as 1870 from a review of figures which he had collated, that the masses of Indian population were existing in a condition verging on starvation. Prof. Brij Narain in the twenties and Dr. Thomas in the thirties, however, reached conclusions which were opposed to those reached by Dr. Naoroji.

It is difficult to be dogmatic in expressing an opinion on prospects of food supply. The great economist Schumpeter who was a believer in technological progress said:

“It is one of the safest predictions that in the calculable future we shall live in a profusion of both foodstuffs and raw material.”

And it has been possible to produce synthetic rice which is claimed to be much cheaper as well as more nutritious than natural rice. It is quite probable that harnessing of solar energy and peaceful uses of atomic energy may bring a revolution in the field of agricultural production. With the help of atomic energy, Italian scientists have already succeeded not only in increasing the yield of wheat by 45 per cent but also shortening the period of maturity to 64 days, whereas under normal conditions it takes about 200 days. It is, however, not intended in this paper to examine the long-term effects of technology on food position.

FOOD POTENTIAL

Lest all this should appear too theoretical, it is necessary to examine the existing ills of our agriculture, how they may be removed and what the effect of their removal will be food supply?

Land in India has actually been nobody's

mained a "social boycott." Datt was thus right when he said that "India is a veritable graveyard of agriculture." Even today when our land policies are yet half way through, when more than 90 per cent of our water resources have not yet been utilised, agriculture has followed only orthodox methods and when technological as well as scientific improvements have not yet been introduced, a visible sort of dynamism has already been introduced in the ever static nature of agriculture.

With regard to land policy, Zamindaris as is well known are being abolished. The example of Saurashtra, where agricultural production has increased considerably after Zamindaris were done away deserves study. An issue of the *Egyptian Bulletin*, published by the Egyptian Embassy at New Delhi, describes the effect of land redistribution on food production. It points out, on the basis of figures obtained from trustworthy sources, that wheat production increased from 20 to 30 per cent as compared with the average production, before the agricultural reform law actually came into force in Egypt.

Again, nearly 96 per cent of our fishable marine area remain untapped. With our coast line of about 4000 miles and continental shelf more than one lakh square miles, an endless harvest is waiting for us, just for the mere gathering. The earth, sea and the air are the vast reservoirs containing the constituents of our food, simply to be synthesised into palatable dishes. Then the water-power alone—yet to be harnessed—is assessed at 27 million h.p. and is nearly equal to 28 million h.p. of U.S.A.

In the light of these findings, it would be wholly incorrect to say that agriculture in India obeys the law of diminishing returns. It would in this connection be appropriate to quote Colin Clark, who says:

"The law of diminishing returns does not in the least mean what many people believe it to be. It certainly does not mean that the returns from agriculture diminish from year to year. The law has no reference to any supposed diminution in time. All that it does say is that if, on a limited

area of land, you place an increasing number of men, who go on farming by the same methods as their predecessors (this is the important point), then returns per man will go on increasing. For the whole law breaks down if they do not use the same methods; or if they use more capital per man."

Following a detailed study of India's Food potential, it may be noted that the various factors responsible for increasing the food or agricultural production in a country can be divided into two broad categories—extensive and intensive cultivation.

EXTENSIVE CULTIVATION

Extensive cultivation is possible where there is sufficient new land that can be brought under the plough. Early writers expressed serious doubts about the possibilities of extensive cultivation in India. Even during the first phase of the Grow More Food Campaign nothing could possibly be achieved in this direction. The availability of 300 tractors of the USA and other Allies after the War changed the whole of this orthodox outlook. The 50,000 acres of malaria-ridden tarai jungles of Nainital now bubbling with activity and a total of more than 3 million acres of the reclaimed area are a sufficient proof of our potentialities in this direction. A cursory glance at our Land Utilisation Statistics would show that out of a total land area of 811 million acres, hardly 315 million acres are being cropped now. There are as many as 69.2 million acres of fallow land and another 60 million acres termed as culturable waste.

Although it may not be an easy task even if we are able to yoke only 100 to 75 million acres out of this vast treasure-house, hardly 50 per cent of the total land area would come under cultivation. As against this in Europe, apart from mountainous countries like Greece, Switzerland and Rumania all the other countries show an average of only ten per cent of the area classed as unculturable. A country like Finland also shows 82 per cent of its total area as fit for cultivation.

With this conservative estimate of an addition of some 75 to 100 million acres to the

existing cropped area in the country, it should be quite within our reach to get some 16 to 17 million tons of foodgrains. It is on the assumption that about two-thirds of the additional area will be devoted for foodgrains production and the cropping pattern and acre-yields remain unaltered.

INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

The scope for intensive cultivation in India would be apparent from a study of crop-yields in India and other neighbouring countries. Italy produces as much as 4,050 lbs., of rice per acre, Japan 3,281 lbs., and Egypt 3,155 lbs. as against only 739 lbs. in India. Similarly against 2,964 lbs. per acre yield of wheat in Denmark and 2,286 lbs. in New Zealand, India is getting about 600 lbs. The position is not much different with regard to other foodgrains like maize, barley and millets, in which case our yields are not more than one-third of those in many other countries of the world. A comparative picture of rice and wheat (latest available) for important countries is given in Table I at the end.

Not only this, there are vast differences in the yields in India from State to State. While Coorg produces over a thousand lbs. of rice per acre and Madras as much as 913 lbs., the average yield for Vindhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh is less than half of this. Similarly while wheat-yields in the Punjab and PEPSU are in the neighbourhood of 800 lbs., those of Madhya Pradesh and Bombay do not exceed 350 lbs., per acre.

Besides this heterogeneous pattern of crop production in the various States, we have the example of our 'Krishi Pandits' who with a judicious use of the available resources have already set up new records. The yield of prize crop of paddy has been as high as 11,100 lbs., of jowar 7200 lbs., of wheat 5904 lbs., and potato 60,000 lbs. per acre. It may not be easy to get the same yields all over the country by an average cultivator with average means, yet these achievements break the old notions and set one thinking about our future potentialities.

WATER

The main limiting factors in the matter of intensive cultivation are water and manures. We have already under execution some 135 irrigation projects which, when completed, will provide irrigation facilities for an additional 12.9 million acres of land and release some 2 million k.w., of additional power. The total additional area that will be brought under irrigation when the remaining 122 projects on which work has not yet begun are also completed is of the order of 42 million acres. No wonder then, if we reach an humble target of 100 million acres free from the vagaries of nature. Even at present there is nearly 40 million acres of area under rice and other coarse grains where rainfall is above 50 inches. Although rain is not well-distributed throughout the year, with the help of the existing irrigation facilities and those being provided under the Second Five-Year Plan, it would be quite possible to resort to intensive cultivation taking two or three crops one each acre on this irrigated area. If another 15 million acres is thus added to the existing area fit for intensive cultivation, we can easily have about 90 million acres for foodgrains where intensive cultivation would not only be possible, but imperative.

MANURES

As for the manurial potential, India is quite fortunate both in the matter of organic as well as inorganic manures. The main deficiency in the Indian soils is that of nitrogen, although recent experiments have shown that the use of phosphorus and potash will also go a long way in building up the quality of our lands so as to be in a position to leave behind better lands for the posterity.

What is normally considered as a great liability, the cattle population in India is a great asset and a blessing in disguise. On the basis of livestock population, of 307 million in India, according to the latest estimates, she has more than one livestock per cultivated area and with a human population of 361 million according to 1951 census, a little more than

one person per acre. Table II at the end gives an idea of the manurial potential of India. If this animal and human waste along with the other waste materials lying about in the countryside could be fully utilised, it alone should be more than sufficient to provide enough of nutrients required for intensive cultivation. The recent Indian delegation, which visited China, has come back with rich experiences in this regard and accordingly schemes for the better utilization of local manurial resources have been initiated in all the States. Raw materials for the manufacture of chemical fertilizers are also more than sufficient so that many more Sindries can be set up and the precious foreign exchange saved for the development of other sectors of the economy.

The pity is that some 40 per cent of the animal waste is said to be burnt and another 20 per cent wasted on the farm. As for the human waste, there has been a long prejudice against its use. A remarkable change is, however, visible on the Indian horizon. Community Projects and National Extension Schemes spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and the Panchayat Acts passed by the various State Governments are doing their utmost to familiarise the cultivator with the improved methods of compost-making. Increasing efforts are being made to bring the laboratory and the field closer. All these endeavours may thus be able to save for our direct use, if not more, at least some 25 per cent out of the 60 per cent of cattle dung that is now being wasted. Animal and other waste has been estimated to place at our disposal some 3.16 million tons of nitrogen, 1.37 million tons of potash and 0.92 million tons of phosphoric acid.

HUMAN WASTE

Coming to human waste, China and Japan are the two countries, from whom a lot can be learnt. It is reported that in these two countries some 67 per cent of the nitrogen supplied to the crops is from human waste. It has been estimated that one person voids out something like 11 lbs. of nitrogen in one year. In Rural India is already using the fields

as open-air latrines and if properly composted at least 50 per cent of the manurial constituents can be supplied to the lands round about the 5 lakh and odd villages. Legislations have also been passed compelling all Corporations, Municipalities and Small Town Committees to launch upon schemes of urban compost, the total potentiality of which has been worked out at 5½ lakh tons.

Animal and human resources alone will thus be able to give us huge quantities of nitrogen of the order of 4 million tons and potash as well as phosphoric acid of one million tons each. Besides this there are other materials like green manure proper and innumerable waste products which when fully utilized will add to the manurial potential of India.

The cultivator is also getting convinced of use of fertilizers and our experience in the recent past has shown that the demand for them is increasing every day. Fears of those who held that Sindri fertilizer will go abegging have already been belied and three new plants are proposed to be set up under the Second Five-Year Plan to cope with the increasing demand.

All this should be sufficient to show that nothing should stand in our way of intensively cultivating the 90 million acres of the area where water-supply is assured.

THE POTENTIAL

Dividing the cereal grains into three parts—rice, wheat and coarse grains—we find that rice alone, which accounts for about 40 per cent of the foodgrains supply of the country, has the maximum potentialities.

JAPANESE METHOD

The first trial of this method having shown the way in 1952-53 at the Agricultural Research Station, Karjat and Government Agricultural School, Kosbad, the total area placed under the new method in 1953-54 was 2.8 lakh acres; the method was also used partially in three million acres. Since then the area under the Japanese method of paddy cultivation has been increasing continuously every year. In 1955-56 it has been reported to be about 20

lakh acres. Though it is not significant in comparison with the total area of 75 million acres under the country, it is not a small achievement in a brief span of only 3 years. During the Second Plan period all the States have ambitious programmes of bringing larger areas under Japanese method of paddy cultivation. The table given below summarises the results obtained in some of the States:

State	Area under J.P.C. (in acres)	Average yield per acre by local method	Average yield per acre by J.P.C.	Additional production per acre by adoption of J.P.C.	Percentage of col. 5 to col. 6
1	2	3	4	5	6
		(In terms of Rice)			
		Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	
Bombay	1,28,000	15.6	25.0	9.4	60.26
Orissa	13,808	14.0	31.3	17.3	123.57
Travancore-Cochin	24,989	8.0	28.0	20.0	250.00
Madhya Pradesh	25,798	10.0	26.7	16.7	167.00
Bihar	86,727	12.4	30.7	19.3	147.58
Jammu and Kashmir	415	13.0	17.0	4.0	30.77
Hyderabad	1,44,674	9.6	37.4	27.8	289.58

Even if it is assumed that 3 million acres under the partial method is equivalent to 2 million acres under the full Japanese system, a total of 2.3 million acres under this method along with 2.4 million acres of additional area under rice has resulted in raising our rice production in 1953-54 to 27.1 million tons as against 22.5 million tons in the previous year. Thus the additional production is 4.6 million tons. Out of this 0.6 million tons are attributed to favourable seasonal conditions and another one million tons calculated at the standard yield of 902 lbs. per acre may be taken as the production from 2.4 million acres of additional area. The inescapable conclusion is that 2.3 million acres, i.e., 3 per cent of the total area under rice—76.6 million acres—has resulted in a net increase of 3 million tons or more than 11 per cent over the total yield. If only 20.5 million acres out of the existing 23 to 24

million acres of irrigated area under rice are under the new method, the total rice production would increase by 100 per cent. This should not in any way appear to be a very high target for it would be achieved within a reasonable time of 10 to 15 years, considering that 2 million acres have already been covered under the full Japanese method.

This gives in nutshell the potentiality in respect of rice which is the staple food for some 50 per cent of the people in the country. The position with regard to other cereals is in no way very different. Experiments already conducted under the auspices of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research provide a solid proof of the fact that on a very conservative estimate, the total production of wheat and millets can also be increased at least by 50 per cent. The results are not different if we take into consideration the effect of manures and water in the experiments that have been conducted on the field of the cultivator himself and those under the dry farming methods. This view is held by the FAO also. According to the special FAO Committee which was responsible for the report on World Food Survey, wheat production in India can be increased by 30 per cent in only 10 years. Additional measures after this period can swell the increase to 50 per cent.

Calculating on this basis, nothing should stand in our way to obtain a minimum increase of 100 per cent in our food production.

It would be interesting to note in this connection the progress made by China which has registered an increase of the order of 90 per cent in food production and even 100 per cent in other cash crops just in a period of one year. This is explained in Table III at the end. As compared with the experience of China, the above calculations for India would seem to be quite insignificant.

DYNAMISM OF INDIA ECONOMY

Objections may be raised as to how increases are possible now, if nothing could be done during the past century or so. Nobody would deny the fact that India had more or less a static economy for over a century. Our

experience with the First Five-Year Plan shows that India has emerged into a stage of dynamism. The rate of capital formation in the field of agriculture alone is estimated to have gone up by 100 per cent just within the first 3 years of the Plan from Rs. 166 crores in 1951. Real per capita income in the same period has gone up by about 17 per cent, the highest so far achieved anywhere in the world. All this should be sufficient to set at nought any of the criticism that may be levelled against our estimates.

POPULATION GROWTH

Now a word about the other side of the picture—the population. This is not the first time when ‘Malthusian Scarecrows’ have been raised. Fairfield Osborne, Dr. Chandra-shekhar, Dr. Gyan Chand, Mr. Wattal, Prof. Kingslay Davis as well as Mr. J. Russell Smith have painted equally dismal pictures. Furnas went so far as to say that the population of India has reached its “saturation points.” A close study of the Census Report will, however, reveal that there is no need for excessive alarm. First, we do not possess adequate data. Secondly, the Report’s method of calculation is not scientific. And thirdly, it has assumed static conditions of society and the social order, which may not continue to exist.

Let us see the extent to which a reconsideration of the whole problem is called for on the basis of the issues raised above. As regards our statistics, the less said the better. As and when any question of national importance crops up, we simply fumble due to the lack of necessary data. In the words of Mr. Gopalaswami himself, “Of all the countries in the world, Great Britain has perhaps the largest assemblage of the most reliable population data extending in a systematic time series over the longest period in the past. Yet the Royal Commission on population found ~~that~~ data insufficient in material particulars.” He adds, “We do not possess population data which can be compared even remotely with that available to the Royal Commission.” With such misgivings about our basic tools,

there is every possibility that we may be far away from the reality. If our population could remain stationary at 238 million during the period 1891 to 1901, could decrease from 252 to 251 million during 1911 to 1921 and show a little increase of only 277 million during the next decade, one wonders if we would be justified in calculating our future growth on the basis of the last 10-year period—1941 to 1951, when the increase was 445 lakhs.

The combined annual rate of growth for India and Pakistan even during the last decade works out to 1.2 per cent as against 1.4 per cent during 1931 and 1941. Because of unprecedented large movement of refugees on both sides of the border, it is very difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of the population in 1941 for the territory which now constitutes India; hence the likelihood of greater error. If we pay due consideration to the Hindu and Muslim social customs, the greater possibility is a lesser growth in India as compared with Pakistan. This would mean that the real annual rate of growth in India may be even 1 per cent, i.e., the same as for 1921 to 1931. Clearly it would be wrong to form pessimistic opinions about the trends in population on the basis of such faulty data.

KUCZYNSKI'S THEORY

Even if we want to have some rough estimate of population, we should work, not on the basis of obsolete theories or rough and ready methods, but those internationally accepted and adopted by others already much ahead of us. For fixing the lower and upper limits of projected population, the Census Chief has worked on (a) the average of three decades 1921-50 and (b) the rate of growth during the latest of the three decades (when the growth was the highest). This way the lower and upper limits of 52 and 53 millions respectively have been fixed. This, on the very face of it, would seem to be a very crude method. The correct procedure would be the one based on the net reproductive rate. The conceptions of fertility and reproductive capacity were made familiar by the work of Dublin and Lotka

and particularly of Kuosynski whose findings were accepted by experts like Gini and Carr-Saunders. Dr. Enid Charlis in this connection rightly pointed out, "Of late years the treatment of population growth has been revolutionised by the introduction of a very simple and direct index of population growth in a series of important memoirs by R. Kuczynski." The excess of births over death is of little significance. What matters is whether a generation in its life time, until it dies out, produces more, less or equal number of children than their own number. The relation between the original and the excess represents the net reproductive rate. The gross reproduction rate, as measured by the formula:

$$\frac{\text{TOTAL FERTILITY RATE} \times \text{FEMALE BIRTHS}}{\text{TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS}}$$

and net reproduction rate is obtained by adjusting the mortality figures reached. This, in simple words, is found by the number of female births from the newly-born girls during the course of their lives. If the mortality and natality relations are such that 1000 newly-born girls give birth to only 1000 girls during their life time, the population will be static.

For the calculation of this rate, we need now the child-bearing span of life in the case of females. This is universally accepted by all to be 15 to 45 for India. The next problem is to find out the number of girls who survive during this period of their life and the number of female births given by them. Working on the basis of previous census reports, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee found that out of every 1000 males born 483 reach the age of 15 and only 18 the age of 45. The corresponding figures noted by him for the various countries were: England 798 and 683; Japan 745 and 550; and Sweden 867 and 708 respectively. A margin is either required to be made for the widows to number as much as 12.8 per cent according to the present Report. The net reproductive rate (as shown below) thus worked by Kuczynski seems to be quite favourable for India as compared with other countries.

Name of the country	Year	Net reproductive rate
Russia	1928	1.70
Japan	1925	1.496
India	1931	1.454
England	1921	1.087
Italy	1921-22	1.40
Ukraine	1929	1.40

According to Colin Clark, even today "The important point is that India now has a rate of population growth less than the world average and considerably less than that of many of the industrialised Western countries."

A study of our population increase during the period 1870 and 1910 would also reveal that the real increase in India—18.9 per cent—was the lowest when compared with 58.2 per cent in England and Wales, 73.9 per cent in Russia, 62 per cent in Netherlands, 59 per cent in Germany and 45.5 per cent for the whole of Europe. As would be seen from the table below, the actual increase was, however, much more. This was, in fact, due to the wider coverage and improvements in methods after every decade, which is unfortunately neglected by many of the demographers.

(See Table on next page)

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Finally, even if it is accepted that we have got complete data at our command and our method of calculation is correct, there is hardly any justification to presume that social conditions would remain static. The greatest defect of neo-Malthusians according to De-Castro is to take population growth as an independent variable, isolated from other social phenomena. The real position, however, is that such increases are to a very large extent dependent on political and economic factors. The natural law of this growth was challenged by Marx who pointed out that the rate of increase and decrease changes from period to period in accordance with changing social organisations. Impre Perenczi, the well-known demographer thus proved after an exhaustive study that the Central doctrine of Malthus stood completely contradicted by historical evolution.

Growth of India's Population in Million

Year	Source	Population	Increase due to inclusion of new area	Improvements in methods	Real increase	Per cent increase
1872	First partial census	206.2	—	—		
1881	Regular and rather complete census	253.9	33	12	3	1.5
1891	Third and complete decennial census	287.3	6	3	24	9.6
1901	Census	294.3	3	—	4	1.4
1911	Census	315.2	2	—	19	6.4

Eva M. Hubback in his *Population Facts and Policies* gives a detailed account of the various social and economic factors responsible for the startling reduction in the birth-rate since 1875 not only in the United Kingdom but also the whole of Europe. The most important from among them are changes in individual and social attitude, desire for the limitation of children, economic factors, changes in social life and the position of women, changes in family habits and diminution in religious belief. A detailed description of these factors and their applicability to the present conditions in India can form the subject-matter of a complete essay in itself. It would, however, be sufficient for the purpose of our present study to state here that all these factors are amply visible in the present-day India and can very well be presumed to have similar effect on our future population. With the improvement in the standard of living, and a shift from agricultural to industrial economy, there is no reason to believe that the present high birth-rate will continue.

Objections may, however, be raised on the basis of European experience that the immediate effect of industrialisation and other factors responsible for raising the standard of living is not only to increase the birth-rate but also to reduce the mortality rate. It is only after a time-lag of some 50 to 100 years, when the standard of living of the people has increased, that the fertility rate falls. The tendency towards falling death rates in Europe manifested itself at the close of the Eighteenth Century with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, but the fall in birth-rates came several decades later. It, therefore, took a long time for the 'demographic revolution'—shift from high to low demographic equilibrium—to take place there. It has been contended that in the initial stages India, too, will have to reap her harvest of plentiful children, before a fall in the birth-rate takes place.

It must, however, be understood that the position in Europe on the eve of the Industrial Revolution was quite different from what obtains in India today. Medical science progressed in Europe 'only' after industrial advancement. In India, however, we are at a much advanced stage in the public health measures. Even otherwise "1954 medical technique can be introduced briskly in a medieval economy." "Two centuries of groping" in the words of Sauvy, can thus be "spared at the population of underdeveloped countries which enter without difficulty the age of the tractor and the atom."

Again, economic development and expansion of production here have been stifled and artificially stunted, in the past. In the matter of contraceptives, while there was an opposition from the church as well as the society in the West, various enquiries made in India reveal that public opinion is favourably inclined to their adoption. While the *American Statute Book* even today contains a law—the Comstock Law of 1873—which prohibits the propagation, sale or even practice of contraceptive and there is a strict ban on birth-control clinics in the two States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, the Government of India is openly encouraging birth-control. The matter was further studied by Staley with regard to

INDIA'S TEEMING MILLIONS AND FUTURE FOOD SUPPLY

under-developed countries. His conclusion was that Europe's experience is not bound to be repeated in these countries. Same is the view held by Bowen.

Besides these reasons, there have been cases of a heavy fall in the birth-rate in many countries during comparatively shorter period. While France took more than seventy years to experience a drop in her birth-rate from 30 to 20, Switzerland and Sweden took about 40 years and in England and Denmark the period was about 30 years. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the birth-rate has fallen from 26 to 17, during the period 1924 to 1936. Again, while the birth-rate in Central and Southern Europe in 1922 was still as high as in Western and Northern Europe in 1881-85, it had dropped by 1935-36 to the level held by Western and Northern Europe in 1911. Similarly Poland and Czechoslovakia, achieved in 12 years before the Second World War a fall in birth-rate that France could achieve in 70 years. Thus the intermediate stage of reduced mortality and continuous high fertility which results in unprecedented growth in population, may be skipped in India.

Most of our economic theories are true only in a stationary state when shut up in a *ceteris paribus*—other things are taken to be equal. These assumed economic constants may, however, never remain so in this dynamic world, particularly in a case like that of future population. All our calculations based on static conditions may thus go wrong.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the pessimistic picture painted by some of our demographers will turn into an optimistic one, if the latent powers of the multitude of our unprofitable children could be harnessed. There are serious objections to the calculations made by the Census Chief, but even if his findings are accepted, India's population by 1981 will not exceed 530 million. This would mean a little less than one and a half times the existing level. The achieve-

ments of India's Krishi Pandits on the other hand represent nearly ten times the existing yields. Food production in the coming 10 to 15 years, as stated already, can be increased by 100 per cent. This should be more than sufficient to provide for the increasing numbers, even if the increase turns out to be as large as is feared in some quarters.

Arnold Lupton prophesied some time ago that "this great people, with its enormous well-ordered population, sufficient for all work it has to do, could if wisely guided, support double its number in health, plenty and power." Guided properly it would not be surprising if India regains, in the very near future, its lost status as the granary of the East.

TABLE I

Yield of Important Crops in Some Countries
(Yield in lbs. per acre)

Country	Paddy	Wheat	Sugar-cane	Cotton (lint)
The Netherlands	—	3505	—	—
Japan	4291	—	—	—
Belgium	—	3309	—	—
Germany (West)	—	2396	—	—
U. K.	—	2787	—	—
France	3693	1897	—	—
Italy	4549	1631	—	—
U.S.A.	3060	1106	48439	391
Hawaii	—	—	177515	—
Egypt	4638	1889	78341	366
India	1173	940	29113	79
China	4689	1336	—	544

Source: *Fertiliser News*, October, 1958

TABLE II
Manurial Potential of India

(Source)	No. in (millions)	Quantity (green) per cattle per day	Total annual quantity (million tons)	Percentage consti- tuents			Total constituents per year 1000 tons		
				N	P ₂ O ₅	K ₂ O	N	P ₂ O ₅	K ₂ O
Dung:									
Cattle—adult	113.9	40	742	0.3	1.5	0.2	2226	11130	148
—young stock	45.0	20	147	0.3	1.5	0.2	441	2205	29
Buffaloes—adult	28.6	50	233	0.3	1.5	0.2	699	3495	46
—young stock	16.2	20	53	0.3	1.5	0.2	159	795	10
<i>Total</i> (cattle and buffaloes)	203.7		1175	0.3	1.5	0.2	3525	17625	235
Sheep and goat	95.3	15	233	0.8	0.6	0.3	1864	1398	69
Horses and ponies	1.5	40	10	0.5	0.4	0.3	50	40	30
Other live stock	6.6	25	27	0.6	0.5	0.5	162	135	13
<i>Total</i> live stock	307.1		1445				5601	18208	321
Poultry	97.4	5	0.8	1.6	1.5	0.9	13	12	7
Livestock urine	307.1	15 ¹	750	0.8	0.01	1.4	6000	75	10500
Cattle bones	30 ⁴	30 ³	0.401	3.0	23.5	—	12	942	—
Human excreta & urine	400	4 ²	261	0.7	0.3	0.2	1827	783	52
<i>Total</i>							13453	24020	14243

1. Quantity of urine per cattle per day

2. Quantity of human excreta and urine per man per day.

3. Quantity of bone per cattle.

4. This has been calculated at 15 per cent cattle mortality.

TABLE III
Production of Main Crops in China
(In thousand metric tons)

Crops	1949	1952	1957	1958*	Soyabeans	5086	9519	10700	1272
Food crops—					Cotton	444	1304	1600	356
					Jute & kenaf	37	305	700	n.a.
					Cured tobacco	43	222	290	116
					Sugarcane	2642	7116	88000	n.a.
					Sugarbeet	191	479	1180	n.a.
					Peanuts	1268	2316	2900	500
					Rapeseed	734	932	1800	n.a.
					Tea	n.a.	n.a.	113	14
Other grains	35799	51519	56000	65164					
	108095	154393	185000	356364					

* Estimated.

n.a. Not available.



THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN HERITAGE IN THE MODERN CRISIS

By DR. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.*

I. IN THE THROES OF A PERPETUAL CRISIS

"Our generation is doomed to live in a state of perpetual crisis"—these words penned by me in May, 1952, for the Preface to my book, *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (New York, Scribners, 1953), assume critical significance every time mankind teeters on the brink of war. And there have been occasions plenty fraught with danger to world peace, ever since the end of shooting hostilities of World War II.

The Soviet Government's unwillingness to carry out its part of the agreements arrived at in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam is the root cause of the continuing crisis mankind has been passing through in the post-war era. Second, the rise of Chinese communists to power with the aid of the Soviet Russian Government and the unwillingness of the Red Chinese regime to abide by the standards of civilized governments create another major source of uncertainty and disturbance. Third, the reliance of the United States Government and its free world allies on a policy of expediency rather than on the policy of principle, until recently, has compounded worldwide uncertainty. Fourth, the possession of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, and the ICBM has led the leaders to frighten the world by the rattling of thermonuclear weapons.

* Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, an American citizen since 1947, widely known author and lecturer, Professor of Sociology and Social Work at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, a friend and biographer of the late Mahatma Gandhi, and is personally acquainted with most of the leaders of Asian nations. In the summer of 1957, Dr. Mazumdar undertook a round-the-world flying trip as "a pilgrimage of goodwill," "a one-man mission of goodwill from America to the newly-freed nations of Asia and Africa," and visited heads of States in most of the nations of Asia. In 1956, he ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from the Second District of Iowa. His book, *The United Nations and the World*, first published in 1942 in New York City, anticipated the United Nations Organization by three years. At present Dr. Mazumdar is engaged in putting finishing

In this uneasy context, the constructive work of co-operation among the scientists of the world during the IGY (International Geophysical Year) has been all but forgotten. And yet, the way to world peace lies through such co-operation rather than through bomb-rattling or bomb-testing.

II. AMERICA'S EMERGENCE AS A WORLD

POWER

Against this background of world conditions, a statement of the principles inherent in the great American heritage is in order, precisely because what the American people and government believe and do has profound influence on the destiny of our generation and of succeeding generations as well.

It is obvious to every objective student of the American scene that America sought neither power nor leadership; that the American people were happiest when they were engaged in developing their own resources. But in the process of developing resources, the American people generated power. This power turned the tide of war in Europe during World War I. Also during World War I, for the first time, as an expression of the newly-developed power America ceased to be a debtor nation and became a creditor nation. Since World War I the money-market moved from Lombard Street, London, to Wall Street, New York. In the inter-war period, the American people faintly began to realize that their tremendous power carried with it tremendous responsibility for leadership. World War II scotched for good all the notion of isolationism and implanted in the hearts of the American people a due sense of responsibility for world leadership.

III. THE AMERICAN CREDO

In the period following the end of World War II, America as a nation has made mistakes every now and then in the discharge of its responsibility as a leader of the free world; there is no need to deny several glaring mistakes committed by the American government.

He touches on two of his major works: (1) *The Epic of India* and (2) *The Grammar of Sociology*, an introductory sociology text-book.

That some of the actions of the American government and people have been misunderstood and misinterpreted abroad is evident to all of us. What is not evident to the world at large is that the motives impelling Americans to action have been pure and calculated to serve the best interests of mankind.

The inner core of the American credo must be fully understood and appreciated by the world at large, if meaningful co-operation is to be achieved for the good of mankind as a whole. The inner core of the American credo harmonizes the highest interests of the American nation with the highest interests of mankind; indeed, in this One World of ours ushered in by the airplane and by atomic energy, I would go a step farther and say that our highest and noblest interests as a nation—as the American nation—are best served when we focus our attention upon serving the highest and noblest interests of mankind.

The logic of this sort of thinking alone explains American programs of emergency aid, development loan funds, and outright gifts without any strings tied to them.

The lessons of the last war seem to have been forgotten by some of the irresponsible policy-makers of the world. World War II demonstrated the changed nature of war: In total war the civilian is deliberately sought out as a target in preference to the military personnel. World War II also demonstrated that in total war there are no victors. To be sure, in a military sense, American and Allied arms and armies did triumph over the arms and armies of the Axis Powers.

But what kind of triumph was it? At the end of that global holocaust, we, the citizens of America, a victor nation, were impelled from within, by our own conscience, to give millions and billions of dollars to the so-called "enemy" nations in order to help them rebuild their economy and their "world." In the past, victors used to help themselves to the riches of the vanquished nations, and, unfortunately, our gallant ally, the Soviet Union, followed this policy at the end of World War II. For our part, we began to sense the oneness of the world humanity, and we have been

engaged in the task of promoting peace and goodwill through sharing.

It is no exaggeration to say that the American record of helping the needy peoples of the world, either friend or foe, has no parallel in human history. In humility the American people stand before God and thank the Almighty that through His grace we have been enabled to share of our substance with our fellow-citizens of the world. In this adventure of sharing with others, to the tune of several billions of dollars, we have no doubt made mistakes, as pointed out, among others, by the present writer in the Hearings before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Hearings on S. 3318, 1958). But that our sharing has helped other nations in rebuilding their economies cannot be denied even by the most dull-witted.

IV. THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The orientation of American foreign policy is derived from the Founding Fathers. The famous Northwest Ordinance of July 13, 1787, laid down two fundamental political principles: (1) exclusion of slavery from the "North-west Territory," and (2) inclusion of the Territory—rather of Territorial units—as equal members of the emerging American Nation State on a par with the original Thirteen States, as soon as the Territorial units fulfilled certain requirements including population strength. This second principle threw overboard the old-world practice of subjecting and exploiting territories for the benefit of the "mother" country.

Outside of certain territories in the Southwest and on the Pacific Coast, ceded by Mexico in 1848, after the Mexican-American War, no part of the United States was acquired by the American people through war. The original Thirteen Colonies were acquired through colonization; with the overthrow of British (alien) sovereignty in 1776-1783, the new nation was born—the United States of America made up of Thirteen States. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 from France carried the U.S. writ westward as far as the Rocky Mountains. The purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819 made the entire Atlantic seaboard American and national. The British recognition of the U.S.

claim to the Oregon Territory in 1846 firmly fixed the shape of the United States. And the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 added an increment of one-fifth of its entire area to the American nation.

The Spanish-American War of 1898, precipitated by the desire of the American people to help Cuba in its struggle for freedom from Spanish overlordship, resulted in the incidental acquisition of certain outlying territories by the United States: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and Hawaii. It is worthy of note that the Senate Resolution authorizing U.S. intervention in behalf of Cuba explicitly disclaimed any intention on the part of the U.S. "to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control" over Cuba, once it was freed from Spanish rule.

It may be recalled that the Republic of Hawaii voluntarily requested annexation by the United States; the Hawaiian islands were annexed to the United States on July 7, 1898, and incorporated as an integral territory of the U.S. in 1900. The Republic of Texas, likewise, had previously (1845) come into the Union of its own volition. Puerto Rico today vividly dramatizes the significance of the American policy of non-imperialistic association with other lands: In the face of the standing invitation from the U.S. Government that Puerto Rico is at liberty to be entirely independent, to enjoy Purna Swaraj, the people of Puerto Rico have of their own volition decided to remain an integral part of the United States.

The absence of imperialistic expansion at the point of the bayonet is a most important ingredient of the American heritage. From the North-west Ordinance of 1783 to acquisition of Hawaii and Puerto Rico as Territories in 1898, the unfolding story reveals absence of designs on other people's territory, on the part of the American people, by brute force methods. The Philippine Islands, not made an integral territory of the American nation, were promised and given freedom within less than half a century, whereas it took Great Britain two hundred years to grant freedom to India.

In pursuance of the logic of this non-imperialistic, neighborly policy toward other nations, America opened Japan to intercourse with the West in 1853, without imposition of

any imperialistic yoke upon a weak, feudal Japan. Likewise, it was in pursuit of the logic of neighborliness, rather than imperialism, that the American Government, through Secretary of State, John Hay's doctrine of the "Open Door" policy (1899), prevented the Chinese melon from being sliced among imperialistic powers—Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan—and preserved the independence and territorial integrity of China.

V. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

In discussing the evolution of American foreign policy, I have presented an analysis of the reactions of the American people to the outside world. (The foreign policy of every nation is and must of necessity be carried out by its government. The point to note, however, is that foreign policy may be an expression either of the will of the people in terms of the logic of their ideals or of the will of the government in terms of its notions of "practical politics," in terms of its notions of correct behavior, in terms of its notions of proper expedients to suit the exigencies of the situation.)

Yes, I maintain that even in a democracy, there may sometimes be a contradiction between the people and their ideals on the one hand and their government and its policies on the other. Such contradiction is glaringly insistent in a society with a totalitarian governmental set-up, whether of the right or of the left, whether of the fascist or of the communist variety. While the contradiction is minimized in a genuinely democratic society, such as American society, the presence of the contradiction must be reckoned with. It is only on the basis of this contradiction between the people and the government that we can properly understand the other side of the coin, the less lovely aspect of American foreign policy.

In the course of its short-range as well as long-range policy decisions and actions, every government tends to develop its characteristic frame of reference, theoretically rooted in the will of the people, at least in a democracy, but often far removed from popular opinion and thus negating the central core of the people's social heritage.

This process can be advantageously analyzed in the evolution of American foreign

policy. The Founding Fathers of this nation had counselled the American people to keep away from "entangling alliances" (Washington) with European nations engaged in "perennial" quarrels (Jefferson). We should be friends with all but we should have entangling alliances with none—this sound prescription, embodied in American foreign policy, was rooted in the evolving ethos of the new nation. Hence, there was no contradiction between the people and the government. But the new-born nation had to be involved in a war with England, the War of 1812, because England refused to recognize and respect the freedom of the seas for American merchantmen. A sacred principle had been challenged, and both the American Government and the American people reacted similarly; here, again, there was no contradiction between the people and the government.

But the century following the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815-1914) was destined to create a gulf between the American people's wishes and aspirations and their Government's actions in the field of foreign policy. During this hundred-year period *Pax Britannica* reigned supreme, enforcing peace in the world, keeping sea lanes open to the commerce of the world, safeguarding proper observance of rules and expectations in the relations among nations. Thus England appeared to the American Government as a symbol of stability in the world, not as the arch-usurper of other people's territories and resources.

A wedge was driven between the people and the government. The American people would fain lend a helping hand to all subject-peoples struggling for freedom; but the American Government, by tying its foreign policy to the apron-strings of England, France and other empire-nations of Europe, helped imperialist powers in the enjoyment of their ill-gotten possessions. The many eloquent pleas for the freedom of subject-peoples by eminent American citizens during that period attest to the contradiction between the American people and the American Government.

Indeed, during that period the American Government, relying upon logic thoroughly respectable in *Weltpolitik* but thoroughly repugnant to the conscience of the American people,

utilized to full advantage its attachment to the apron-strings of England. When England, for instance, fought the two Opium Wars with China (1839-1842, 1856-1860) and secured special advantages from the Chinese Government, the American Government promptly sought and secured the same advantages from the Chinese Government—without war and without bloodshed. A poll of the American people at that time would have overwhelmingly repudiated the securing of those immoral advantages by the American Government, which followed in the footsteps of Great Britain. Perhaps, as a corrective to this immorality, the American Government espoused, toward the end of the last century, the doctrine of the "open door" policy in China; this doctrine, which safeguarded China's integrity as a nation, was a true expression of the will of the American people.

America's participation in World War I could have been avoided if American foreign policy had been independent of the foreign policies of Great Britain and France. The dependence of American foreign policy on British foreign policy inevitably forced this country into the war—much against the will of many American citizens. Then as a sop to the people, the government began to glorify America's participation in the war with such rationalizations as "a war of democracy against autocracy," "a war to make the world safe for democracy," "a war of right against might" and "a war to end war."

America's participation in World War II was the result of the entangling alliances made by the American Government with the empire-nations of Europe. It is an open secret that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had pledged to England, France and the Netherlands the support of the American Navy if the Japanese should attack their colonial possessions in Asia. Had the American people been given an opportunity to express their opinion through a referendum, they would have overwhelmingly repudiated such a commitment by their Government to imperialist powers. Knowing of this commitment by the American Government to the imperialists of Europe, the Japanese militarists, bent upon conquest of South-east Asia,

had no option but to immobilize the American Navy stationed at Pearl Harbor.

There is one characteristic of the American people which had better not be overlooked by those who may dream of challenging America. In peacetime, the American citizen is temperamentally against the government; and if some policy of his government, whether domestic or foreign, happens to irritate him, he will leave no stone unturned in getting that policy revised or reversed. But once the nation is at war—even if it be through the ineptitude of their government—the American people close rank and become united as one man for the prosecution of war.

VI. THE EMERGING HARMONY BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT

The gap between the people and the government was closed, so far as American democracy is concerned, by the present Republican Administration in 1956. Toward the tail-end of the American Presidential election, the British, French and Israeli Governments attacked Egypt—Israel to “end border provocations” perhaps to expand its territory; Britain and France to recover control of the Suez Canal. The precise moment for attack was chosen with foresight by the invaders who thought President Eisenhower would be forced to take a non-committal stand, if not to bless their effort, because of the impending election. But they reckoned without their man. President Eisenhower, in a dramatic radio-TV appearance on October 31, 1956, four days before the Presidential election, served notice on England, France and Israel to get out of Egyptian territories occupied by them, and admonished them to seek redress for wrongs—if wrongs there be—through peaceful methods, through the United Nations.

The Eisenhower Doctrine, for the first time in American history, cut America loose from the apron-strings of England and France. For the first time, the American people's intense feeling against imperialistic ventures by friend or foe found expression in the American Government's foreign policy. In addition to putting a damper on imperialistic ventures by

its friends, the Eisenhower Doctrine made it known to all concerned that any government, threatened by aggression or subversion *from the outside*, could request and receive aid from the American Government.

Both these principles of the Eisenhower Doctrine are thoroughly in accord with the American heritage and with America's role and responsibility as leader of the free world. It was in pursuance of the Eisenhower Doctrine that American troops landed in Lebanon on July 15, 1958, at the urgent request of President Camille Chamoun. Simultaneously British troops landed in Jordan at the invitation of King Hussein and his government. The sole purpose of these two landings was to safeguard Lebanon and Jordan against subversion by outside forces—not against internal revolution by the people themselves.

If tomorrow the people of Lebanon and the people of Jordan wish to have an internal revolution of their own, unaided and unabettled by outside forces, such as the Soviet Union or the United Arab Republic, I for one shall wish them success—and I am sure the American Government would not wish to interfere with the sovereign will of those peoples.

The exemplary behavior of American troops under trying conditions in Lebanon is a tribute to American young manhood and to their officers. The American Government's insistence that the United Nations take a hand in safeguarding Lebanon and Jordan against outside aggression and subversion was a genuine expression of the American people's sentiment and has met with world-wide acclaim. That American troops began to be withdrawn, once the United Nations took a hand in the matter and the Arab nations decided to co-operate among themselves, is proof positive of America's disinterested aid to Lebanon. All American troops were withdrawn from Lebanon by the end of October, 1958. Let no one interested in truth ever accuse the United States Government or the American people of imperialism and imperialistic designs!

VII. AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD THE TWO CHINAS

American foreign policy toward Taiwan - (Formosa) and Red China (the People's Re-

public of China) has baffled many a friend of America. Let me set forth the nature of the problem as seen by the American citizen. The American thesis, accepted both by the government and the people, is that during World War II we as well as the Soviet Union had a treaty of friendship and mutual help with the Nationalist Government of China headed by Chiang Kai-shek; that in contravention of that treaty the leaders of Soviet Russia aided and abetted the Chinese Communists to overthrow the existing government; that the communist revolution of China was not a genuine revolution of the people against the Nationalist Government but subversion from the outside. The American Government, on its part, does not choose to make the treaty into a scrap of paper; and we have chosen to remain, as in principle we are bound to remain, loyal friends of the Nationalist Government of China, operating from Formosa since 1949. Hence the non-recognition of the Chinese Communist Government at Peking.

That Quemoy, Matsu and other islands on the very coast of mainland China, in the hands of the Nationalist Government, constitute a thorn in the side of the Peking Government has been recognized by the American people and their Government. A reasonable solution of the problem could be worked out without either the Communist or the Nationalist Government losing face. At least, that has been the policy of the American Government. But the bombarding of Quemoy and surrounding islands by Red Chinese guns, begun on August 23rd, 1958, has created a crisis and brought mankind to the brink of war.

Regardless of the consequences, the American Government would not let down its ally under armed attack. Under no circumstances would the American Government permit acquisition of the islands by the Chinese communists at the point of the bayonet. A dependable cease-fire is a precondition to proper disposition of the islands, acceptable both to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung.

In the China policy, the American people are divided, some condemning the policy of non-recognition of Red China, others approv-

ing it. But by and large, it would seem that the American Government's policy is in rapport with the dominant sentiment of the American people. Of course, in a democracy, popular opinion can be changed by a critical element in a situation, especially if it can be shown convincingly that the previous stand was unfair and unjust to the other party.

The American contention is that in recognizing Red China we may be doing great injustice and harm to the people of China, the American thesis being that the Red regime has been imposed upon the Chinese people. The American difficulty would vanish overnight if a free and unfettered plebiscite were held on the mainland of China under impartial auspices. If in such a plebiscite the majority voted in favor of the communist regime, the American Government would promptly recognize it. But knowing how allergic communists are to holding their elections under impartial supervision, this alternative is not available to us.

Under the circumstances, the American Government is committed to a short-range policy of non-recognition of Red China and a long-range policy of some day recognizing it. In the meantime, there should be no great difficulty in getting along with two Chinas, one on the mainland, the other on Formosa, just as we have been getting along with two Berlins, two Germanys, two Koreas, two Viet-Nams. In all these cases, the division was forced by the communists; in the case of China, for a change, the division is forced by the Nationalists. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The American people and their Government are willing to let matters rest there.

The Dulles-Chiang pourparler of October 20-23, 1958, and their joint communique enunciated principles which meet with the approval of the American people: (1) reaffirmation of friendly ties between Nationalist China and the U.S.A.; (2) declaration not to yield to force or threat of force by the Chinese Reds; (3) partial demilitarization of the Quemoy-Matsu complex of islands under conditions of dependable cease-fire by the Chinese communists; (4) renunciation of the use of force by



Mr. Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister of Norway, addresses the Members of Parliament in the Central Hall of Parliament in New Delhi. Sri Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar are seated on the dais



Sri A. K. Sen, Union Law Minister and other members of the Indian Lawyers' Delegation which recently visited the Soviet Union and Poland met Mr. N. S. Khrushchev at the Kremlin in Moscow



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad receives *Rajendra Prashasti*, a biography of the President in Sanskrit verse, from Pandit Vishnu Kant Jha at Rashtrapati Bhavan



Mr. John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada in conversation with Prime Minister Nehru when he called on the latter in New Delhi on November 19

the Nationalist Government in its attempt to get back to the mainland, unless an internal revolution in China should invite Nationalist participation.

VIII. FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN NATION

In view of the misgivings abroad concerning American policy and American motivation, let me now spell out within this framework the fundamental objectives of the American Nation.

First, the American people are committed to the right of self-determination for every nation in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas.

We respect the right of every people to choose the form of government under which they shall live. This means that all subject peoples striving for freedom, for *Swaraj*, have our sympathy and, under appropriate conditions, shall have our military support in addition to moral support, regardless of whether they be satellite nations under the iron heel of totalitarian dictatorships or subject nations under the iron heel of colonial imperialism.

The American Nation was born of revolution, and we cherish and respect the right of other nations to achieve their freedom by revolution, either violent or non-violent. If, for instance, the citizens of Iraq were dissatisfied with their monarchical form of government and wished to establish a Republican form of government, they had a perfect right to revolution, so far as we are concerned. Let a caveat, however, be entered: Internal revolution by a people elicits our respect and admiration, but revolution in a self-governing country by underhanded outside pressure becomes a menace to all mankind and therefore a proper subject to be dealt with by the United Nations in the first instance and, failing that, by every free-loving country in the world in the second place, if need be.

Second, just as we respect the right of other peoples to embark upon revolution for freedom, we also respect and highly approve of their right to develop regional co-operation by way of confederation, confederation or federation. The American people value highly the principle of federalism in government and may modestly

claim to have made significant contributions to the art and science of government. In pursuance of the logic of the American heritage, may I say that if all the Arab countries, through the freely expressed wishes of the citizens of each of those countries, desire to enter into a federal union of their own, they have the blessings of the American people. But another caveat is in order: Attempts at forcible imposition of federation upon any of the free countries of the Arab world will meet with stern opposition from the American people and Government.

If the citizens of Lebanon and Jordan and other uncommitted Arab nations, such as Saudi Arabia, can convince us and the United Nations that of their own free will they wish to enter into a federal union with the UAR, we should take prompt measures to help them achieve that objective peacefully and non-violently.

Third, we look upon Israel as one of the nations of the Near East. The destiny of this new nation is bound up with that of her Arab neighbors. We should be happy to offer our good offices in bringing about a reconciliation between Israel and the Arab world. Mankind cannot indefinitely afford the luxury of dividing lines with armies growling at each other—whether in the Near East as between Israel and the Arab world, or in the Middle-East as between India and Pakistan, in Indo-China at the 17th parallel, or in Korea at the 38th parallel.

Fourth, I come to the central point of the American credo. The American people are dedicated to the pursuit of peace as few other people in the world are. Unencumbered by the perennial rivalries and jealousies of European nations, the Founding Fathers counselled their fellow citizens to devote their attention to the development of the resources of their vast country. Whenever the Americans have taken up arms, it has been in obedience to the higher call of principles. Brother fought against brother in the Civil War (1860-1865) in order to get rid of the iniquitous institution of slavery. The American people entered World War I sincerely believing that they were thereby helping promote the cause of democracy—unfortunately, we discovered that Europe became heavily ridden with dictatorships in the

wake of the war to make the world safe for democracy. We entered World War II to scotch the impending tyranny of Nazi totalitarianism. Unfortunately, we have discovered that in the process of liquidating the Nazi dictatorship we have strengthened and reinforced the tyranny of other dictatorships.

We live and learn. Today the American people are beginning to realize the utter futility of war as an instrument of realizing worthwhile objectives. We hope other nations, too, realize the futility of war as an instrument to implement their national and international policies. It is to be hoped that nothing rash is done by the policy-makers of the Near-East, or of the Far-East, or of the Soviet Union.

It is important that the full significance of the American credo be set forth unequivocally: Much as we as a nation hate war and much as we disapprove of war as an instrument, we shall not budge an inch from eternal verities, from God-given principles, from the logic of the American heritage. Peace we shall always cherish and work for, appeasement never.

Fifth, the American people wholeheartedly believe that law should take the place of violence in the settlement of disputes among nations. The present administration, reflecting the will of our people, has wisely insisted upon strengthening the hands of the United Nations in solving the tensions of the Middle-East, and of the whole world.

Sixth, may I say that the first half of the twentieth century will be looked upon by future historians as having been notable for two great accomplishments: (1) the harnessing of atomic energy, and (2) the achievement of *Swaraj* by over a billion people in Asia and Africa. If in the latter half of this century we can achieve a basis for world peace by outlawing war on the one hand and by creating instrumentalities for peaceful change in the direction of justice on the other, future generations will look upon our deliberations and the deliberations of the United Nations as epoch-making landmarks in the history of mankind.

Finally, to the newly-freed, underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa we say: First, we rejoice in your attainment of *Swaraj*; second, as sovereign free nations you are the equal of

older well-established nations, and we respect and salute you as our equals; third, in your understandable desire to raise the standard of living of your people, you may count upon our co-operation in terms of our know-how, technical skills, capital goods, and trained personnel. All this we stand ready to do not with a view to reducing you to the status of satellite nations but with a view to promoting the well-being of all of God's children.

Such, in brief outline, is the logic of the American Heritage.

IX. THE GANDHI GOSPEL AND THE AMERICAN HERITAGE

"Our generation," I said at the beginning of this article, "is doomed to live in a state of perpetual crisis." Let me finish the rest of my thoughts on the relevance of Gandhi's ministry to our day and generation. "You and I are called upon to be on the alert every moment of our lives. Truly, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, but ceaseless effort and continuous vigilance, untempered by inner poise, are apt to lead to nervous prostration. Hence inner serenity in the midst of crisis must be cultivated if we are to safeguard our personal integrity, national freedom, and universal human values.

"In Mahatma Gandhi we have a sure guide to a happy, rich and meaningful life. A self-disciplinarian, he embodied the Hindu concept of the superior man—of the Mahatma, the Great Soul. Any one of us can become a Mahatma if we make a vocation of living the good life—putting principle above expediency, duty above pleasure, service above profit, God above the world, conscience above fleeting rewards."*

If the Gandhi Gospel could be fused with the noble elements of the American heritage the world would witness a spiritual re-birth. At any rate, there is an obligation laid upon the American people no less than upon Gandhi "children" in India to work for a world order which shall banish wars and rumors of wars.

May the minds and hearts of the people of the world be directed toward a just and lasting peace! And may the dream of universal peace be realized in our time!

* Muzumdar: *Mahatma Gandhi: Peace Revolution*, pp. IX-X.

CIVIL SERVICE AND MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN A WELFARE STATE

By PROF. B. B. JENA, M.A.

PARLIAMENTARY form of government is a responsible government. It marks the responsibility of the executive to the Parliament which is a small-scale replica of the nation. The institution of the cabinet supplies the connecting link between the executive and the legislature. Members of the cabinet head particular departments of the executive. "The real reason having ministers at the heads of departments is, however, that this is an effective method of bringing Government under public control."¹ The minister is said to be responsible to the Parliament for all acts of omissions and commissions of his department. Of course, he has under him an army of experienced men of civil service to assist him in due discharge of his ministerial responsibility. The minister is an amateur in the administration. He, therefore, depends upon his civil servants who constitute permanent executive. In that case what is the relationship that should exist between the civil servant and the minister? Sir Warren Fisher, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, while giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Civil Service in 1929 on the principle upon which the Civil Servants act said:

"Determination of policy is the function of ministers; and once a policy is determined, it is unquestioned and unquestionable business of the civil servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same good will whether he agrees with it or not. That is axiomatic, and will never be in dispute."²

It is clear that the final decision lies with the minister; and therefore, he takes the responsibility for that decision. But, in case,

the civil servants who are experts in the field do not place all relevant facts and inferences from such facts before the minister and willfully withhold some vital information which might have enabled the minister to arrive at a decision otherwise, the responsibility cannot be thrown upon the minister concerned. To quote the Royal Commission once again:

"At the same time it is the traditional duty of civil servants, while decisions are formulated, to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal, and to do this without fear or favour, irrespective of whether the advice thus tendered may accord or not with the minister's initial view. The presentation to the minister of relevant facts, the ascertainment and marshalling of which may often call into play the whole organisation of the department, demands of the civil servant the greatest care. The presentation of inferences from the facts equally demands from him all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command."³

In the absence of the faithful compliance of the duty of the civil servant in the matter of determination of policy, it is difficult to hold the minister responsible. It may happen that the minister is kept dark about particular facts. In that case it may lead the minister in coming to an incorrect decision. Jennings goes a step further and says:

"Yet the civil servants' function is to advise and not merely to put relevant facts before the minister. He must, therefore, have opinions of his own."⁴

Here the civil servant's bounden duty is not only to place facts but also to advise with

1. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 94.

2. *Royal Commission on Civil Service (1929)*—Minutes of Evidence, p. 1268.

3. *Ibid*, p. 1268.

4. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, 98.

an opinion of his own. For the opinion so expressed and the advice so tendered to the minister, the civil servant shall be held responsible.

Ordinarily the minister has at his hand the services of the permanent head of his department who "is not (except by accident) a specialist in anything, but rather a general adviser of the minister, with the ultimate responsibility to the minister, for all the activities of the department (and of its officials)."⁵ This permanent head because of his experience and association with facts "is able to put before the minister the possible alternatives, to select the weak points in the specialists' case, and to give his own opinion of rival thesis."⁶ It is, therefore, clear that the permanent head is always responsible for the administration. Since in every department there is a substantial measure of delegation, "questions which come to the minister are usually of some political importance."⁷ The rest is decided and acted upon by the permanent head and his subordinates on their secretarial responsibility as per the Rules of Business of the Government. The minister is not expected to look into the details of administration nor is he equipped to do so if he wishes to do. He is there, as Sir William Harcourt said, "to tell the permanent officials what the public will not stand."⁸ He is experienced in only one thing, that is, in feeling the pulse of the nation and gauging the trend of public opinion. If he takes a decision which irritates public opinion, he is responsible. This is what precisely can be said of the ministerial responsibility. As a precursor of public interest, as a guardian of public liability and as a custodian of public purse, he has to tell his advisers, that is, his officials what the public would not like. If public officials will be allowed to run the administration without having some-body as their political head to tell them of the public mind, the coun-

try, as Sir William Harcourt said, "would be extremely well governed for twelve or eighteen months, and then the public would hang all the heads of the civil service to the nearest light-posts."⁹ Perhaps, the sole responsibility of the minister, in whose name everything is done, was a real safeguard in the days of Sir William Harcourt who is reported to have told the officials of the Home Office when he was Secretary of State that his function was to prevent them from being hanged from lamp-posts in the White Hall.¹⁰

Before the beginning of the social reconstruction which followed the Industrial Revolution, the functions of Government in Britain, were so limited in their range, and (comparatively speaking) so simple in character, that they could be and were effectively conducted or controlled by amateurs.¹¹ The functions of the Central Government in the sphere of administration were, in fact, practically limited to four. The first was the conduct of foreign relations through Ambassadors and control of colonies and dependencies through Governors. The second function was the maintenance of the Navy with its dockyards, and of a very small Army. The third function was the raising of revenue, mainly by means of tariffs, which also served to regulate foreign and imperial trade. The fourth function was the maintenance of a rudimentary post office. The administration of justice was scarcely counted as a separate department; the nomination of judges and the appointment of local magistrates fell to the Lord Chancellor, but the police system and up-keep of gaols were left to the local authorities.¹² But gradually the enlargement and expansion of state functions made it hardly possible for the amateur to look personally into the matter. The volume of increased work made it more and more impossible for the politicians in nominal charge of the departments to exercise effective mastery; moreover, the new functions demanded more

5. *Royal Commission on Civil Service—Minutes of Evidence*, p. 1272.

6. Jennings: *Cabinet Government*, p. 96.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

8. *Life of Sir William Harcourt*, II, p. 857.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 587.

10. *Economist*, "What is the Public Interest," June 19, 1957, p. 951.

11. Ramsay Muir: *How Britain is Governed*, p. 29.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

and more expert knowledge, which the politicians seldom possessed.¹³ Notwithstanding this, the political head of a department is always compelled to accept the responsibility for everything that is done by his subordinates, and speak as if every act of theirs had been due to a deliberate decision made by himself; and the consequence was that excepting when a man of great capacity with a genuine interest in the subject took command of the office, the government was almost wholly under the bureaucratic control, and the responsibility of the minister and the sovereignty of Parliament were alike unreal.

In a majority of cases the minister has no special knowledge of the immense and complex work of the Department over which he is to preside. His permanent officials "bring before him hundreds of knotty problems for his decision; about most of them he knows nothing at all. They put before him their suggestions, supported by what may seem the most convincing arguments and facts. Is it not obvious that unless he is either a self-important ass or a man of quite exceptional grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians), he will, in 99 cases out of 100, simply accept their view, and sign his name on the dotted line?"¹⁴

It is clear how the minister has been reduced to act as a rubber stamp. In a welfare state the state assumes enormous functions which need, as we have seen, expert knowledge. The minister is said to be responsible for all that happens in his department. This is a mechanism to compel the executive to be responsible to the Parliament. But the minister should not be held responsible for all actions in toto. If a civil servant commits an error, either of judgement or of fact, which causes impediment to the society, the minister should not be held responsible unless he has acquiesced in the act by not taking any action against the official when it is brought to his notice. That is where the minister stands in a Welfare State.

In a Welfare State, "every one would agree that the public interest should, where necessary, override the desires of the individuals."¹⁵ But what is public interest and who shall determine it? Ordinarily, it is the members of the civil service who do it. But appeal lies with the minister when some one is aggrieved.

If the department has committed a blunder, the minister shall be held responsible only when he leaves the official scot-free after the matter was put for his active consideration. Since the activities of the civil servants affect individuals not through any action or decision of the ministers, the latter should not be held responsible. The political chief may be ultimately held responsible only if the official concerned is left unpunished.

While discussing the responsibility of the Finance Minister in the Life Insurance Corporation Enquiry Report, Mr. Justice Chagla has said: "It is clear that a Minister must take responsibility for actions done by his subordinates. He cannot take shelter behind them, nor can he disown their actions. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility has two facets. The Minister has complete autonomy within his own sphere of authority. As a necessary corollary he must take full responsibility for the actions of his servants. It is true that this may throw a very great burden on the minister because it is impossible to expect that in a highly complicated system of administration which we have evolved, the minister could possibly know, leave alone give his consent to, every action taken by his subordinates. But it is assumed that once a policy is laid down by the Minister, his subordinates must reflect that policy and must loyally carry out the policy."¹⁶ Here Mr. Chagla has brought the 18th century concept of Ministerial responsibility examined above. It has undergone a rapid change in the light of enlargement and expansion of the governmental functions in a Welfare State. It is the responsibility of the civilians as well

13. *Ibid.* p. 31.

14. *Ibid.* p. 42-43.

15. *Economist*, 'What is Public Interest?' June 19, 1957, p. 951

16. *Chagla Commission Report on L.I.C.* p. 26.

as the ministers to deliver the goods. The members of the civil service are not agents where the minister stands as the Principal so that vicarious responsibility can be enforced. Mr. Justice Chagla is not nearer to correctness when he says that "if any subordinate fails to do so (carry out the policy determined) he may be punished or dismissed, but, however, vicariously the responsibility of his own action must be assumed by the Minister." If a subordinate is punished for any error, there is an end of the matter. There is no necessity to hold somebody else also responsible. The punishment to the wrong-doer is itself the enforcement of the responsibility. If the minister does not punish after the person is proved to be guilty, the minister alone should be held responsible because he acts here on his own judgment.

There is another case where the minister should be held responsible. When the minister takes a decision in his own pecuniary interest or with dishonest intention, he is responsible for that action. In the famous enquiry made by the Government of England in the Chrichel Down Farm case, Sir Adrew Clark, Q.C., who was appointed by the minister to enquire into the transaction¹⁷ regarding the farm and the circumstances in which the decisions were taken, finds that the minister, in reaching his decision, was substantially misled as to the facts and that various other irregularities occurred. He added that "there was no trace . . . of anything in the nature of bribery, corruption or personal dishonesty"¹⁸

17. *Economist*, 'What is Public Interest?' June 19, 1957. p. 950.

18. *Report of Sir Adrew Clark on Chrichel Down Farm case*.

of the minister and as such the minister was not responsible unless the person or persons who misled the minister were left unpunished. In case a minister takes a decision to further his own interest with dishonest intention, the responsibility is his and not of the civil servants. This principle of ministerial responsibility is confirmed by the Bank-rate Enquiry in England.

A minister can be held responsible for the acts of the department if he is allowed to discharge his functions through a "Deputy" selected and appointed by him, who is personally liable to him. Such a 'Deputy' may be drawn from any source he likes, not necessarily from the Parliament. In this case the minister has a man under him who can be relied upon and who will always try to safeguard the minister in all matters. He may be called the conscience-keeper of the minister. Such a provision of having a 'Deputy' chosen and appointed by the minister will ensure enforceability of the ministerial responsibility.

Unless such a provision of appointment is made in the Constitution, the civil servants shall be held responsible for all their advice and opinions tendered to the minister in a Welfare State. The concept of ministerial responsibility of the 18th century *laissez faire* atmosphere must be modified in the light of the revolution that has taken place, the nature and scope of service conditions and the nature of activities of the civil servants in a Welfare State. If the action of a civil servant touches a citizen, the latter has right to demand that anybody doing anything which concerns him should be held responsible either to him or his representative.



WORLD BANK'S REPORT AND THE SECOND PLAN

By PROF. P. K. FADNAVIS, M.A.

THE World Bank's recent report entitled *Current Economic Position and Prospects of India* is a timely document. The report formed the basis of discussion at Washington where the World Bank had arranged recently a meeting of the five principal creditor nations to discuss the question of financial assistance to India to solve her foreign exchange difficulties and thus save her Second Five-Year Plan. The World Bank has made some important suggestions for maintaining and accelerating the course and tempo of economic development in India. The observations contained in the report are based on an on-the-spot study.

While appreciating India's impressive record of holding together the largest multi-lingual Federal State, and raising output to two to three per cent a year with little price inflation, the report observes that we should concentrate on consolidating the present investment before starting large new undertakings. Noting with concern the fact that India has heavily mortgaged her future foreign exchange earnings, the report stated that the Plans for future development must be based on a realistic assessment of the resources and in this light has suggested to cut imports of capital goods and defence equipment. Admitting some absolute increase in the total imports necessary for maintaining our future diversified industrial structure, the two-man expert team of the World Bank correlated the demand for imports in the Third Plan with the progress of agriculture.

The report has called into question the Government's excessive emphasis on welfare measures in the Community Development Programme and warns the Government not to pursue welfare at the expense of efficiency. The report has brought into focus some of the glaring pitfalls in our planning, namely, the conflict in our Plan between consolidation and expansion, the tendency of over-loading industrial costs with social overheads, deficiencies in the organisation of Planning at the Centre and the policy of Central Government to undertake additional economic functions and responsibilities.

• PRESENT ECONOMIC TRENDS

Viewed in the light of present economic trends, the findings of the study team appears to be realistic though not defeatist. In the third year of the Second Plan we are witnessing reduction in export, slowing down of private investment and industrial unemployment. Industrial production has risen in 1957-58 by 3.5 per cent compared to a rate of growth of seven to eight per cent in the previous three years. Capital market has shown signs of a slowing down of the rate of investment in the Private Sector. The strain and stresses of the economy could be seen on the Government's finances on account of increased expenditure and shortfall in resources. This has certainly resulted in a budgetary deficit of the Centre and States together of about Rs. 500 crores and increase in the non-development expenditure, particularly Defence. The higher Plan outlay has resulted in the rise in Government's expenditure to Rs. 861 crores, compared to Rs. 635 crores in 1956-57. The current account deficit of Rs. 451 crores, which is the highest so far, is mainly due to decreased industrial production which is again due to more import cuts and shortages of raw materials.

It is extremely doubtful in view of the low saving potentials in the country, whether we should be able to step up planned investment to Rs. 9,900 crores in the Third Plan. It is high time for our planners to realise that the prospects of our long-term economic development are bleak when the decline in the foreign assets amounted to Rs. 260 crores compared to the decline of Rs. 221 crores in 1956-57, after taking credit from drawings from the I.M.F. The World Bank's report has rightly attributed this depletion to the high rate of deficit financing. Considering non-availability of Sterling Balances upon which to fall back at the beginning of the Third Plan, the removal of existing export restrictions will go a long way in finding foreign exchange.

We have to maintain the process of economic growth during the remainder of the Plan period. Availability of rupee finance will cor-

tainly not solve the difficulty, which mainly stems from more demand for imports of investment goods and defence equipment. The contention that deficit in food supplies of food-grains can be made good through purchases under P.L. 480 is wishful thinking.

PROBLEM OF RESOURCES

Mr. G. L. Nanda's remarks in the Lok Sabha that the difficulties in implementing the Second Plan were more due to accidental circumstances rather than because of any deep-seated 'malady' makes the confusion worse compounded in the context of the World Bank's report. It is wrong to suppose that our imbalance in economic development is mainly due to international developments and bad monsoons. Also it is equally fallacious to presume that the recent Five-Power aid to India would virtually bridge the Rs. 560 crores foreign exchange gap in the Second Plan. Our main concern is how we should be able to find resources for proposed investment to finish projects heavily mortgaging our present and future earnings. Mr. Nanda's emphasis on increasing the rate of saving shows how we are following doctrinaire policies. There will be considerable agreement with the Planning Minister's remarks that 'the level of productivity had to be raised in the context of foreign exchange resources.' This has brought forth the question of promoting exports and granting facilities to export industries. The World Bank's report deserves consideration in this respect as it has drawn pointed attention to some of the policies of the Government which have resulted in conserving supplies of some of the exportable commodities for home consumption and overloading of export industries with social overheads and multiplicity of taxes.

In a country where private export trade is inefficiently organised, Governmental intervention makes a strong case for securing better prices. The need is more urgent in the case of our country, where 'the people' as aptly remarked by the expert team 'have never been traditionally export-minded.' Mr. Nanda's efforts to impress upon the people on the one hand that 'there is no deep-seated malady in

the Second Plan' and his call on the other hand 'for a revolutionary touch in dealing with the problems' rather ignore one basic fact pointed out by the World Bank's experts that there is a conflict in the present Plan between consolidation and expansion.

CONSOLIDATION VERSUS EXPANSION

The reappraisal of the Second Plan resulting in an additional outlay of Rs. 150 crores over the ceiling of Rs. 450 crores for the implementation of the 'core' and 'inescapable' schemes of the Second Plan, shows that we are expanding without consolidating at all levels. There is no scope for augmenting the additional outlay either by way of more taxation or saving. If Government thinks of more deficit financing for raising the additional resources it will drive the country towards complacency of ambitious planning.

It is extremely doubtful whether the State Governments will be able to raise an additional tax revenue of Rs. 60 crores in the coming two financial years. The failure of States so far in raising programmed outlay for the Plan is noteworthy in addition to their uninspiring record of increasing agricultural production. The total expenditure of State Governments has already gone up from Rs. 214 crores to 312 crores. According to the reappraisal of the Plan the overall deficit in internal resources will be Rs. 390 crores. This amount is to be raised by the Central and the State Governments in the next two years. Popular discontent in the States against the present burden of taxation leaves little scope for fresh taxation. The Central Government has already reached their target for raising revenue from fresh taxation. To raise additional resources of the order of Rs. 150 crores over the next two years will be a trial of financial endurance for the States, whose failure in reaching the annual target of small savings of Rs. 100 crores in the last three years is noteworthy. Mr. Nanda seems to have realised this, when he feared that 'the plan would remain at Rs. 4,500 crores unless efforts were made to raise more resources.' The Planning Commission would do well to think over the proposal of the World Bank's expert team.

WORLD BANK'S REPORT AND THE SECOND PLAN

that no commitments should be made for new projects in the Third Plan involving substantial foreign exchange until there is reasonable assurance that the country will be able to afford them. The basic defect of our present planning must be accepted, namely the contradiction between consolidation and expansion as suggested by the study team.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Yet another defect to which the report has drawn the pointed attention of the Government is the present agricultural policy of the Government which makes grim reading, poor harvests, drought and failure of monsoons have reduced the output of foodgrains in 1957-58 by 6.2 millions less than 1956-57. Though we have received 1.8 million tons of foodgrains from abroad and hope to receive more from the U.S. under P.L. 480 the five million people added to the population each year provides no immediate solution to the chronic problem of food shortages. The World Bank's report has stressed that agricultural development should be accorded higher priority without which all plans for raising India's living standards must ultimately fail.

With minimum investment of foreign exchange the agrarian sector can give us increased output. Development programmes for agricultural reconstruction should be pursued from the point of view of export promotion which will expand overseas sales of agricultural products and raw materials. This may reduce the supplies in the home-market but the stepping up of the exports of agricultural products in the short period will certainly enable us to pay for imports of steel and engineering goods to increase the pace of industrial development in the Third Plan. Russia has followed the same policy after introducing the New Economic Policy which gradually prepared a runway for successive five-year plans. Examples are not wanting in the history of industrial development of some countries where agricultural production was increased and diversified to pay for imports necessary for industrialisation.

Agricultural production in India according to the World Bank's report has been slow in terms of potentialities for growth, but is generally responsive to price incentives and specific price supports. But they observed that 'greater demand for chemical fertilisers appear to have been successful but now shortage of fertilisers is holding back production all over India and is probably hampering parallel developments in agriculture.' In view of this the Union Food Minister's announcement in the Lok Sabha that the supply of fertilisers is going to be a limiting factor in the future agricultural production on account of paucity of foreign exchange is a matter of concern. More concerted efforts are needed on the irrigation front by way of phasing the water rates and providing liberal finance to change the present crop pattern. More insistence on co-operatives which cover only 10 per cent of the farming population, is not enough. The failure of co-operatives in the rural sector has much to do with linking of the supply of rural credit on proper lines with the distribution of fertilisers. Adequate credit along with incentives and inducements to ensure stability of agricultural prices would yield better results. Here, according to the World Bank's experts 'single-minded approach might yield better results' as they pointed out in agricultural sector 'the efforts have been dispersed over too wide a field instead of being concentrated on a few key points.'

STATE TRADING AND PRICE POLICY

The World Bank's report has made a strong plea for positive State intervention in the marketing of agricultural produce and formulation of price support policy therein. In this light Government's decision to extend State Trading in the wholesale business of foodgrains to prevent hoarding and speculation supplemented by regulation of consumption and directioning of food production is to be welcomed. The failure of the States in preparing and implementing the schemes of land reforms to provide complete security of tenure to the tiller continues to restrict food produc-

tion. Uncertainty about land reform is no doubt holding up food production and Mr. Jain's plea for some sort of peace on the land reform issue needs careful consideration by the States and all political parties. Equally it is necessary for the Central Government to carry out its policy of State trading to its logical conclusion with regimentation. The fixation of floor and maximum prices before the sowing season is also necessary. It is high time for the Planning Commission to be more responsive to the suggestions of the World Bank to achieve the revised target of an additional increase of 15 million tons of foodgrains as envisaged in the Plan.

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS

The World Bank's willingness to finance India's planned development, if reasonable understanding is given that a programme can

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A TRIUMPH OF ART

By ART CRITIC

In recent months in India there has been controversy about statues but to art critics like myself it appears that the emphasis has been wrong as it has been placed on the political, not the artistic merits of the works under discussion.

Speaking personally, I should support one hundred per cent any movement to do away with what the Prime Minister of India terms "these caricatures"; those monstrosities in stone or other material erected in honour of either Indians or British. To me it is a pity that philanthropists in their desire to erect statues in memory of great men and women, allowed their purses to rule their hearts and so they commissioned, to execute their wishes, men with little claim to renown as sculptors, solely because they made the lowest tender to do the work.

Take, for example, the statues in Madras. Few of the many to be seen all over the city will go down to history as masterpieces, with notable exceptions like the magnificent work depicting Munro on horse-back looking over the Island Grounds towards the sea; the rest should be consigned to oblivion or kept in

arts colleges as horrifying examples to the students of what not to do.

Keeping all this in mind it was with some trepidation that one day last week I went out to Chrompet to see a statue which I was told was to replace that masterpiece of the sculptor's art, Outram's statue, recently removed from its site in Calcutta because I wondered if it would be in any way worthy to replace its predecessor.

On arrival at a small studio I found burly, genial Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury putting the finishing touches to a vast statue of Mahatma Gandhi. There can be few art critics who will deny that Chowdhury is the outstanding sculptor in India today with a worldwide reputation because of the masterpieces he has created and so I was agreeably surprised, after greeting him, to hear him say: "Before you judge this work remember how difficult it is to depict personality in a statue when the sculptor has only photographs to guide him."

Despite this handicap I consider that Chowdhury has once again produced a masterpiece, in this twelve-foot high statue of

the Father of the Nation. Here imprisoned in plaster, as it had not then been cast in bronze, are all the well-known characteristics of Gandhi. His dress and stick are typical though perhaps one misses the spectacles perched on his nose. He is obviously striding along the dusty village roads of India, as Chowdhury has even included a typical thorn bush, intent on either bringing harmony to the different communities or to arouse enthusiasm for the Independence Movement.

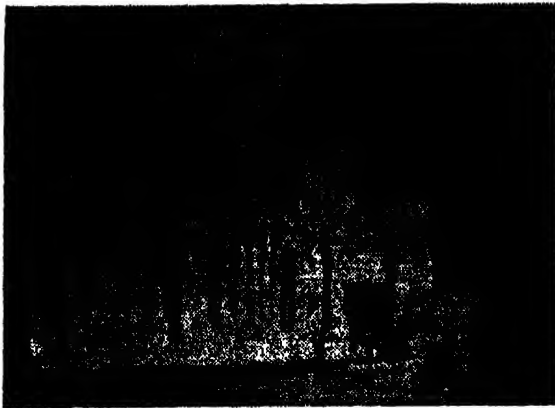
It is no caricature but a life-like master-

piece, as here, once again, created by the skill of Chowdhury's hands is the man whom all the world knew; typically Indian yet with a heart large enough to embrace all mankind. Let us all hope that when it is erected in Calcutta it will prove the needed incentive to encourage India's youth to carry out the Mahatma's wishes of making India into one nation in which the peoples of every community may dwell together in peace and good-will.

LEBANON—LAND OF MILK AND HONEY

By Z. H. KAZMI

The Lebanon, a tiny Arab Republic in West Asia, has been much in the news during the past six months. The sanguinary civil war which rocked the country during this bleak period of its history has now happily ended. This article gives a brief account of the various aspects of life of Lebanon.

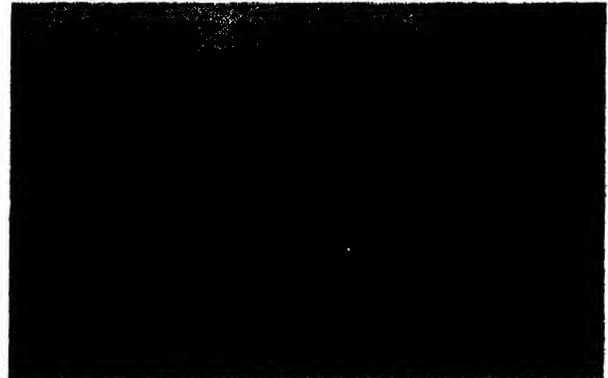


The remains of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek

• • Referred to in the Bible as the "Land of Milk and Honey", modern Lebanon was called Phoenicia in the days of yore.

Emigrating from their original home in South-East Arabia, the Semitic Phoenicians settled in the country's narrow but very fertile seaboard wedged in between the majestic Mt. Lebanon and the Mediterranean. Their new home was, however, too small to sustain them. Naturally, therefore, the ambitious Phoenicians looked seaward. And

the ever-smiling face of the Mediterranean invited them to seek new avenues of fortune. Soon the sea became their empire and the maritime trade their main source of wealth. Many bustling seaports and busy commercial centres sprang up on the Lebanese coast. Prominent among them were Tyre, Sidon,

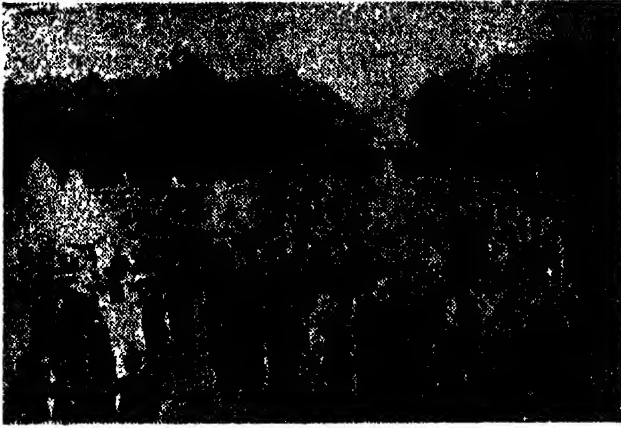


This bronze water-tank, a masterpiece of Phoenician workmanship, was presented to King Solomon of Palestine by King Hiram of Tyre

Byblos and Arvad. Like the Greek city-States they, however, remained isolated kingdoms, and there lay their weakness as is evident from the subsequent events of their chequered history. Bereft of their former glory, these big trading centres of ancient Phoenicia have today dwindled into insignificance.

It was from these broken-down ports that the great sea-faring Phoenicians pushed their

voyages westward about 2000 B. C. to establish colourful colonies along the northern coasts of the "Dark Continent". Carthage, the "Queen of the Mediterranean" and a rival of the imperial Rome, was a colony of these daring Phoenicians whose marine exploits formed a stirring page of romantic history.



Foreign tourists and Lebanese enjoying an evening in a Beirut park

In the mountain-draped Lebanon, smaller than Kerala State, one is seldom beyond the enchanting sound of the church-bells and the inspiring calls of the Moazzins (a moazzin calls the Muslim devotees for prayer from the tower of a mosque), for here live in complete harmony the adherents of both Christianity and Islam.

Although long familiar with the Christian thought, the Lebanese speak the eloquent language of the Koran. A large percentage of the people, however, understand English and French as well.

Of its total population of one and a half million about 51 per cent are Christians and the rest Muslims. They have been living together, through the ages, fully sharing their joys and sorrows. Even the French, during their twenty-seven years of domination (1920-46) failed to sow the seeds of communal hatred among them. Both the religious communities are, however, divided into many sects, some of which are considered heretics. Persecuted by the orthodoxy of their respective religions as and when they sprang up, the followers of these 'heretical sects' took refuge in the mountains of Lebanon. Of these the most notable are the Druzes. Strange as it may seem, the mem-

bers of this sect, an 11th century outgrowth of Islam, believe in the Hindu doctrines of the incarnation of God and the transmigration of the soul.

The tenacious Druzes, known for their bravery, gave the toughest time to French forces of occupation and, were therefore, subjected to utmost brutalities. Many of them fled to the U. S. A. where they have permanently settled in Flint, Danbury and elsewhere. Some one lakh and twenty-four thousand Druzes still live in Mt. Lebanon, their earliest refuge. At home they are farmers, stock-breeders and landlords.

The system of government in Lebanon is parliamentary and democratic. The religious communities are represented in parliament on the basis of population. Executive powers are exercised by the President and the Council of Ministers, responsible to Parliament. Under the Constitution of the Republic, the President must be a Christian and the Prime Minister a Muslim.

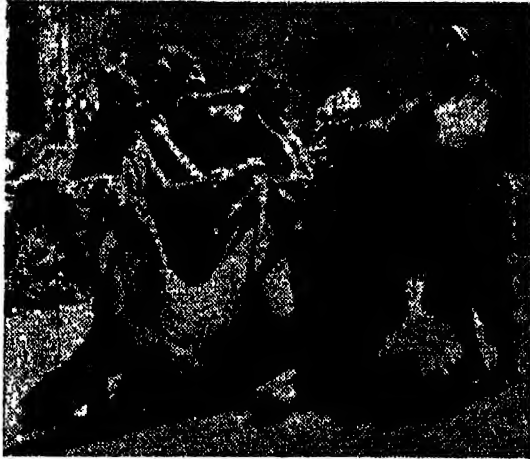
The modern State of Lebanon occupies a strip of land—120 miles long and 30 miles wide—along the east end of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north and east by Syria and on the South by Israel. On the east of the fertile coastal belt lie the mountains—Mt. Lebanon Range—rising to over ten thousand feet. Then comes the Bekka, the Lebanese section of the great rift valley succeeded by the second mountain barrier—the Anti-Lebanon—which forms a natural boundary between Syria and Lebanon.

The seaward slopes of the snow-capped Mt. Lebanon and the sides of the long profound valleys that run down its high crest are covered with wonderfully cultivated terraces which support the surprising number of villages concealed in its recesses. Here the hardy Lebanese farmers are seen repairing their terraces or tending their fruit-laden orchards, their prototypes of the fabled 'Hanging Gardens of Babylon'.

Nature has endowed Lebanon with fascinating scenery and delightful climate. Everywhere its golden, glittering beaches are in close proximity of the towering Mount Lebanon. If, on some fine spring morning, one has warmed up on its sunny seashore,

he may very well ascend the nearby snow-topped mountain within an hour, just to cool down.

A place of rest and recreation, Lebanon is the Switzerland of the sun-baked Middle East and attracts tourists from far and near.



Loading a camel in a Lebanese village

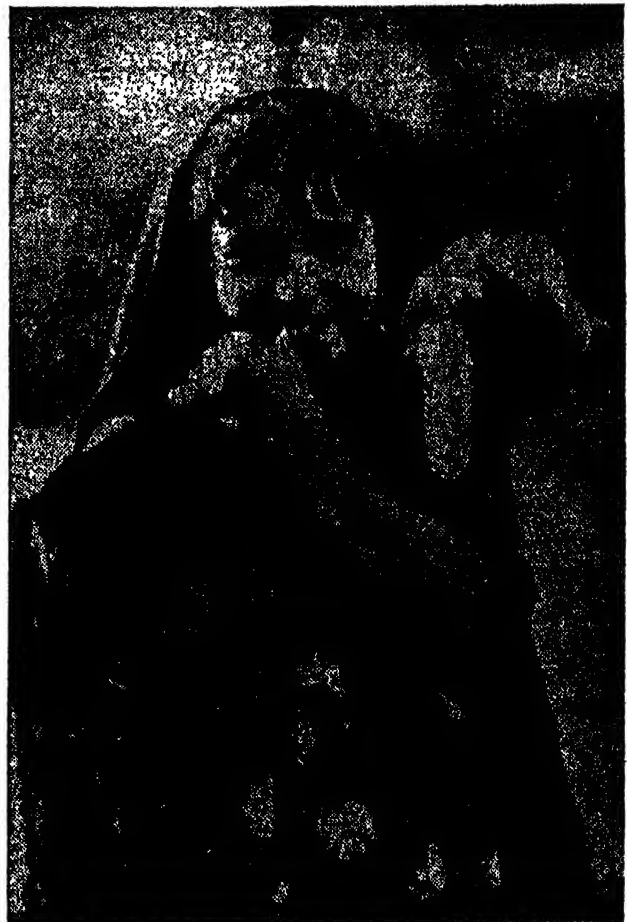
Ahead of all of her sister Arab nations in the modern system of education and hospitality to Western thought and practice, Lebanon boasts of three big universities and a network of up-to-date schools and colleges. The American University established in 1871 at Beirut plays a dominant role in the educational set-up of the country. Equipped with all the faculties of art, science and commerce, it is the largest American educational institution outside the U. S. A. Besides some 2,400 Lebanese it has students from many other countries on its roll.

The economy of Lebanon is today tied up with its agricultural produce, fishery and the booming tourist trade. Most of the Lebanese live in villages where they work hard to eke out a living. Almost all the cultivable land is devoted to farming. The rolling land of the rocky regions and the plains below produce a profusion of luscious fruits and a bountiful crop, a part of which is exported.

Long ago the main wealth of Lebanon was its forests. Mount Lebanon once abounded in the gigantic trees known as cedars. Since the dawn of civilization the cedars have been the most-prized possession of the

country. They provided planks for Phoenician ships which coursed the unknown seas. These monarchs of mountains even travelled a distance of 1,000 miles across the 'Fertile Crescent' to support the huge roofs of the Iranian King's great palace at Persepolis. And it was from these eternal cedars that the mighty Pharaohs of Egypt obtained wood for their 'solar boats' and 'royal coffins'; while later King Solomon the Wise, used them for his magnificent temple and palace in Jerusalem.

Their indiscriminate felling and continual export over a period of 4,000 years has, however, turned the cedar-clad hills of Lebanon into naked rocks. Some 75 miles north-west of Beirut at an altitude of 6,300 ft.



A pretty Lebanese shepherdess with a lamb

the remenants of the majestic cedars—a snowy bouquet of four hundred trees—are now concentrated in a grove called the "Cedars of the Lord"

Today the cedar finds a place of pride

on the national flag of the country and adorns the hats of its civil and military officers.

Beirut, the lovely Capital of the Republic, has for a variety of reasons more attraction for the Western tourist than any other town of the Middle-East. Its busy streets—lined with shops and stores overflowing with Western goods, filled with cars and buses, mostly of American make, and crowded with shoppers of diverse races and nationalities—present a cosmopolitan spectacle. Here the Occident rubs shoulders with the Orient. Beirut is perhaps out to repudiate the Kipling maxim, "East is east and West is west and the twain shall never meet."

The metropolis of Lebanon boasts of luxurious hotels, art and sporting clubs, beautiful beaches and air-conditioned theatres. No less attractive are its fabulous National Museum—which houses archaeological finds dating back to 3000 B. C.—Grand Mosque, amazing "Pigeon Rocks" grotto, and colourful oriental bazars.

Hardly five miles from Beirut's orange groves and vineyards Lebanon's 5000-year-old history is carved on the rocky walls of Nahr-el-Kulb (Dog River) whence the drinking water is pumped down to the Capital. On its matchless cleft the conquerors since Rameses of Egypt have set up tablets commemorating their passing.

A motor trip from Beirut along the picturesque, coastal road northward to Tripoli and southward to Tyre comprises what might well be described as "seeing ancient Phoenicia in six hours." On the way to Tripoli this bustling highway crosses the river Adonis, whose water runs red during the winter rains. Though the geologists say the iron-ore colours its flooded water, the local folk still believe in the Greek legend that it is Adonis's blood, spilled by the wounded boar and mourned by Venus. At Byblos, not far from this legendary river, stand the musty relics of an almost forgotten past. Thousands of years before Christ, the Lebanese cedars were shipped to Egypt from Byblos, whose Greek name meaning "book" is perpetuated in the much-too-familiar word "Bible". Jewellery, arms and sarcophagi unearthed in this great commercial and religious centre of the ancient world, and now preserved in the National Museum at Beirut, throw light on its past

grandeur. The monuments pertaining to the Amonite, Hyksos, Egyptian, Phoenician, Greco-Roman and medieval periods are still seen in this 6,000 year-old city.

Situated on the edge of the forests of olive and mulberry trees and orchards laden with the multicoloured fruits, Tripoli—the nerve-centre of the Lebanese politics—carries on the Phoenician's trading tradition.



Girl students of an English Mission School at Beirut

As in the Phoenician times, silk, fruits and olive oil worth millions of rupees are still exported from its busy harbour. Here the giant pipelines bring tons of petroleum from the oil-rich deserts of Arabia for shipment to the oil-thirsty Western World.

About fifty-six miles south of Beirut lies the fallen city of Tyre. Tyre was the Bombay of bygone days. During the reign of the celebrated King Hiram (1000 B. C.), it was at its zenith. The splendid structures, built of granite brought from Egypt, lined its humming harbour. Their owners monopolized the sea-trade of their time.

Unfortunately, the Tyrians believed that the famous or infamous god Moloch governed their destinies. His worship demanded children's sacrifice. And so hundreds of ill-fated children were, as a matter of routine, sacrificially committed to the flames perpetually rising in his temple. This horrific ritual at last provoked the indignation of Prophet Ezekiel of ancient Israel and the proud Tyre is said to have crumbled under his curse. The present-day Tyre actually looks like a victim of the Heavenly wrath.

Midway on the Tyre-Beirut road is Sidon, which has somehow preserved some of its attractive features. The fishing boats huddled up in its broken-down harbour and its small ship-building yards denote that Phoenicia's spirit of navigation still lives in her descendants. On its acropolis stands the remains of the crusader castle recalling to 'memory history' some of the bloodiest battles fought between the European Christians and the Arab Muslims over the possession of the Holyland. Incidentally, Sidon was also the farthest point north of Palestine where Jesus Christ went and preached.

Winding its way through the fertile Bekaa valley, as the spectacular Beirut-Damascus railway climbs up the Anti Lebanon mountain, one comes in full view of the fantastic temple city of Baalbek. Nestled in a green grove, it is a curious mixture of

ancient ruins and modern habitation. Baalbek was found by the Phoenicians for the worship of Baal, their "god of light." Among its historic remains are the Roman temples of Jupiter and Bacchus whose gigantic columns create at once a feeling of awe and admiration; a strong subterranean passage and enclosure wall, presumably of the amphitheatre; and the 12th century citadel and great mosque.

As I bade good-bye to Husain-al-Azam, my young Lebanese friend at the Baalbek railway station, he told me proudly that nowhere else the old and the new blended better than in his country.

A land of legend and history, Lebanon is, indeed, the Gate way of the East, the bridge between East and West and the Central pivot of one of the world's most strategic and coveted areas.

"INDIA 1958" EXHIBITION

A Glimpse of Progress

BY PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

SEEING is believing. Otherwise, it is hard even to guess that such a show as now on display in Delhi—"India 1958" Exhibition could be produced in India. According to a press report some foreign dignitaries while seeing the exhibition with Prime Minister Nehru, are understood to have stated, "The exhibition would take us more time to see than it actually took you to build it." Although the Indian Industries Fair in 1955 organised in Delhi on the same site can be stated to be the fore-runner of the present display, there is a fundamental difference between these two. While the former was mainly an International Industrial Fair organised by the Government of India in which India was one of the participating countries, the present exhibition is claimed to be a purely Indian show in the strictest sense of the term.

It is eleven years ago that we achieved our independence. During this period we have crossed the first Five Year Plan, are in the middle of the Second, and talking about the Third Five Year Plan.

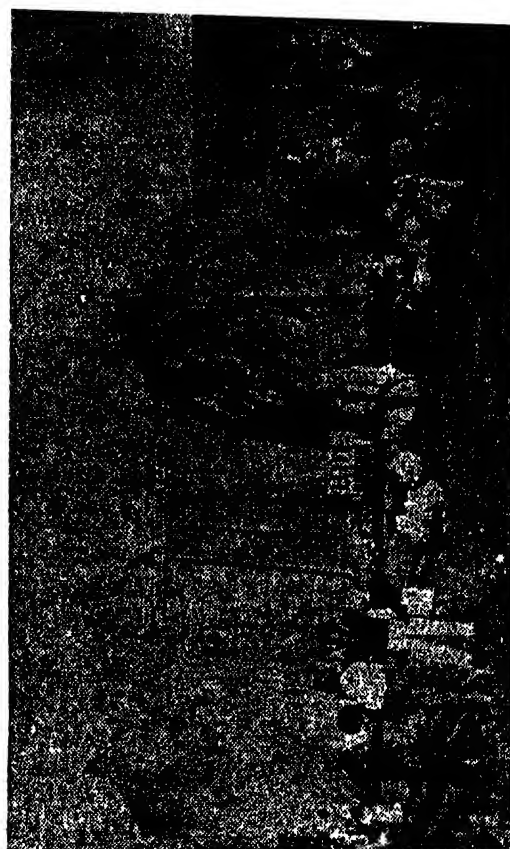
Further, conflicting claims of progress and retrogression are being heard from various quarters. Under such a confusing state of opinions the general mass of the people are bound to be confounded which is likely to make them apathetic towards efforts to further the interest of the country as a whole.

Viewed in this context, the arrangement of the "India 1958" Exhibition has been timely and proper. For the same reason the scope and layout of the display has naturally to be wide and representative. The result is that the exhibition covers an area of about 110 acres of land compelling you to walk some twenty three miles when you have come out after seeing every stall or pavilion. It has the look of a city within the city of Delhi except that trams, buses and taxis are not plying.

One can see today's India in her various moods of Science, Technology, Commerce and Industry, both public and private sector, Defence and Security, Food and Agriculture, Transport and Communication, Information



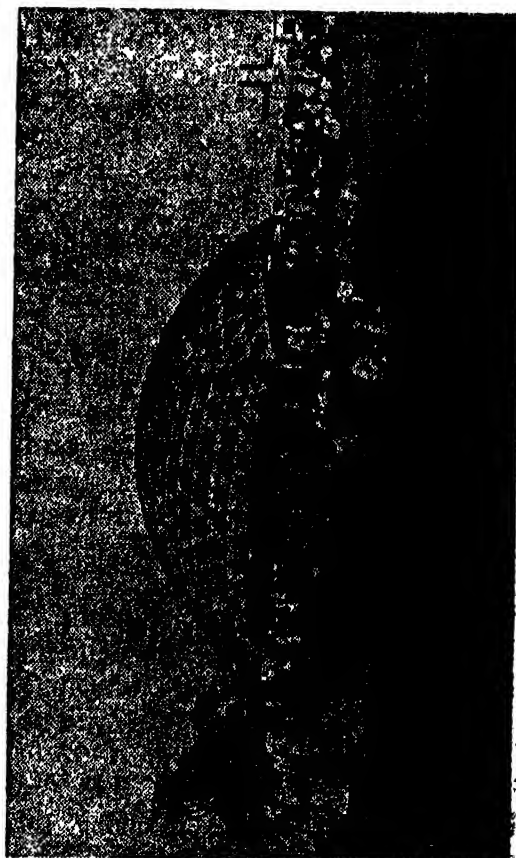
Greeting Bulls—Food and Agriculture



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A General View



Calico Dome

and Broadcasting, Health and Works and Housing, Natural Wealth, Education, Culture and Universities, Aviation, Shipping, Ports, Exploitation of Atoms, different states of India with their special features and problems, and several other features which though minor are all the same important in the making of our country. The whole affair has therefore been so big and extensive that one may spend weeks together with profit. But few have such spare time at their disposal. A hurried walk round the exhibition is bound to leave an impression of conviction, even to the uninitiated, that India can do her bit in her own way.

As progress in any country is inalienably linked up with its scientific advancement, it is but natural that "Science and Technology Pavilion" will dominate the public mind. Some sixty different Institutions such as National Laboratories and CSIR Units, Research and Technological Institutions, Surveys and Government Departments, National Research Development Corporation, and twenty-one different Universities of India have participated in the display. Authorities regret to say that accommodations for all those to whom invitations were extended for participation could not be afforded and that every thing that should have been displayed could not be arranged for obvious reasons. But, even this selective show definitely proves that of the three important M's—'men', 'material' and 'money'—India is not certainly lacking in the first two, and will surely be able to overcome the third if she can master the three L's—'labour', 'loyalty', and 'leadership'.

Exhibits displayed in the Science Pavilion represent both basic and applied research. For obvious reasons it is not possible to mention all of them; only a few of common interest are being mentioned here.

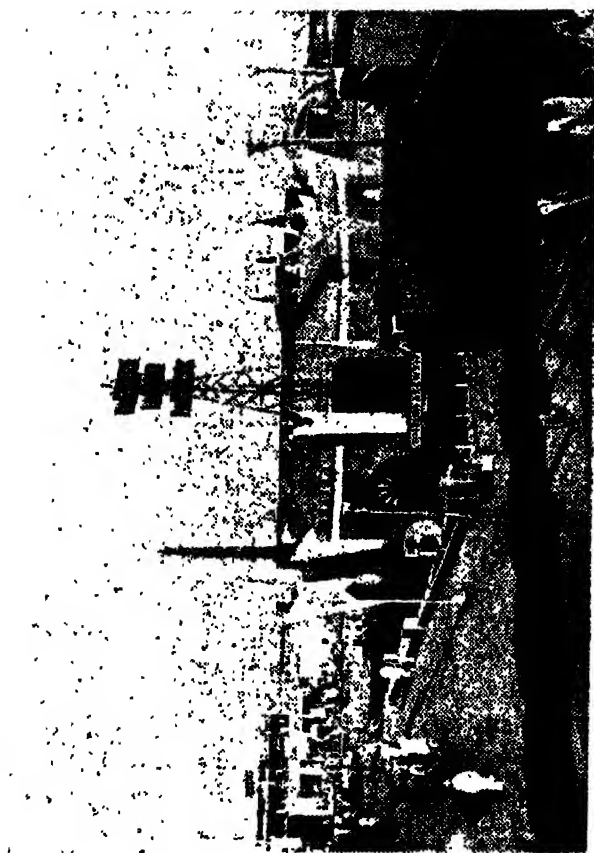
Glasses required for the manufacture of Optical Instruments are cent per cent imported. A lump of crystal-clear optical glass made for the first time in India by the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta (CGCRI) and certified by Technical Development Establishment (Instruments), a Research and Development Organisation under the Ministry of Defence, is a ray of high hopes towards self-sufficiency.

In the year 1953 when on a visit to Kodarma, a centre of Mica mines in Bihar, I was wondering at the pile of Mica Waste lying unused. Today it gratified me a lot to see the Mica bricks on view in the same pavilion processed out of waste Mica which are invaluable for conserving heat in high temperature furnaces.

Expensive selenium metal used as a colorant in the bangle industry is an imported item. The CGCRI has offered an alternative process which in view of the great demand for bangles will mean something in the process of saving foreign exchange. In the case of red signal glasses used for railway and traffic signals this process is being utilised for their commercial production.

Various plant models of coal utilisation, cement, and synthetic Vitamin C, various processes of drugs, medicines, multipurpose and infant foods should not be missed by any visitor. Apart from many instruments and appliances exhibited in this pavilion, maps, charts and paintings will attract the attention of both scientists and laymen. Further, it is gratifying to note that relative importance of scientific documentation has not been lost sight of. Activities of the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre (INSDOC) set up in 1952 by the Government of India with technical assistance from the UNESCO functioning under the CSIR having administrative control of the NPL, India, have been fully laid out. Justification for its existence can be well appreciated when it is mentioned that thousands of scientific books and papers are being published throughout the world to-day. Unless therefore the latest knowledge is acquired by persons or institutions engaged in a particular branch of research they are likely to spend wasteful labour on problems which are already known and solved. The INSDOC is making efforts to provide information on request at nominal price.

With due stress on Science and Technology it is expected that our foreign exchange commitments on account of Defence Equipments will be gradually minimised if not eliminated altogether and a visit to the Defence Pavilion will give us a hopeful impression in this direction. While Instruments like, Binoculars, Telescopes Photo-Enlargers, Still



Streamlined constructions



Science and Technology



Wealth of Andaman Waters •

Projectors, Microscopes of certain types and similar other things are already on the production list, there are many more items required by the army for which heavy amounts are paid to foreign countries. An astronomical telescope, an electronic gun for shooting practice without bullets and a dummy parachute landing device will easily catch the attention of the general public. Medical appliances required by the army will also impress many.

From the industrial progress-point of view 'Steel, Mines, and Fuel' are some of the most important factors; and the pavilion, put up by the Ministry concerned, definitely brings home to all visitors the world of rich resources that are being carefully preserved by the mother earth for our benefit. Gigantic efforts for the exploitation of natural resources have been successfully brought out by means of huge models, charts and pictures. One can see a bottle of earth-mixed oil, recently drilled at Cambay under the pavilion of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

On the Transport and Communication side, the Railways have occupied a very large area. The coaches on view may bring hope to hundreds of people who are suffering untold miseries daily. The progress has however to be viewed against the problem of satisfying the need of three hundred and sixty million people. The Indian Railways constitute Asia's largest and the world's fourth largest system. There are some 7000 trains running daily covering an aggregate distance of approximately 562,000 miles which are equivalent to 25 journeys round the earth at the equator.

Coming round to Health and Works and Housing Ministries pavillions three dimensional models of the CPWD are quite interesting. The Health Ministry has brought out the health problems—Malaria, Tuberculosis, insanitation, increase in population and lack of medical care. They have also depicted the five National Health Programmes —Malaria eradication, Tuberculosis control, Water-supply and Sanitation, Family planning, and Establishment of primary health centres. According to figures, Malaria has been reduced by 74 per cent, 185 T. B. clinics have been established, the number of T. B. beds have been increased by 16,000 and

.111 million people have been vaccinated with B. C. G.

The Housing Division depicts schemes which include subsidised Industrial Housing, Low Income Group Housing scheme, Slum Clearance, and Village Housing Project schemes. Designs of small houses to suit the hot, arid and humid climates of India are quite interesting.

The Indian Panorama Pavilion has successfully shown the different parts of India, her people and her culture in an impressive manner. The respective ministry of Small Scale Industry, Irrigation and Power, and Food and Agriculture has made their respective Pavilion well-laid and informative. In the entrance to the Food and Agriculture Pavilion two bullocks of plaster, life-size and life-like, greet all visitors. They seem to be in a asking mood, "At man's command I stir, ... I am his stern messenger, does he do his duty well, as I do mine?" Considering the invaluable service rendered by the animals, I think, they have every right to ask this question, and it is for us to answer it in a befitting manner.

The little corner from the Andamans drives away from the minds of the people the dread of the place and brings home to us our inseparable tie of human as well as economic relations between the people of the island and those of the rest of India.

As regards the Private Sector, the grand show produced by the Tata with a live Locomotive Engine in front will raise high hopes of India's prosperity and self-sufficiency. The orange-and-white Waterproof Cloth geodesic dome of the Calico Mills is a distinguishing feature of the exhibition. The dome is some 40 ft. high, 100 ft. in diameter—covering a floor area of about 7000 sq. ft.

What have been described above are by no means representative. For such an exposition a full-sized, thick volume is necessary, and the scope of this article does not permit the writer to do so. But it would be improper to conclude this sketchy note without a mention of its amusement, parks, restaurants and cafeteria, sanitation arrangements, aesthetic surroundings and a dreamland appearance at sundown.

Considering its popularity and the huge expenses involved in establishing the show, the decision to extend it beyond 30th of

November, understood to be originally scheduled to close, will be welcome from all quarters. Further, however popular it may be, it is physically impossible for even a minority of the people of our vast

land to see and benefit by it. It is, therefore a matter for consideration whether different regions of India should not be chosen for sites alternately for future shows.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT : THE MAN

THEODORE Roosevelt, 26th President of the United States, the centennial of whose birth is being celebrated this year, is remembered as a vivid, dynamic personality who, overcoming tremendous personal handicaps, transformed weakness into notable strength.

This trait of indomitable resolution was revealed in his development from a frail, sickly lad unable to play with boys of his own age to the most athletic man who has ever reached the White House as the nation's Chief Executive.



Acting as mediary, President Theodore Roosevelt is seen in this photograph with the representatives of the two nations at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the peace treaty which ended the Russo-Japanese War was signed

Roosevelt's characteristic ability to surmount difficulties and handicaps by leaping over obstacles or battering them aside with persistent determination was a quality that made him a reformer and public servant who fought furiously for what he considered the rights of the people.

In the international field, he was an executive with lofty sights—an idealist who worked vigorously to bring about practical realities. Outstanding among his achievements are his role in furthering construction of the Panama Canal to expand world trade and his mediation to end the Russo-Japanese War.

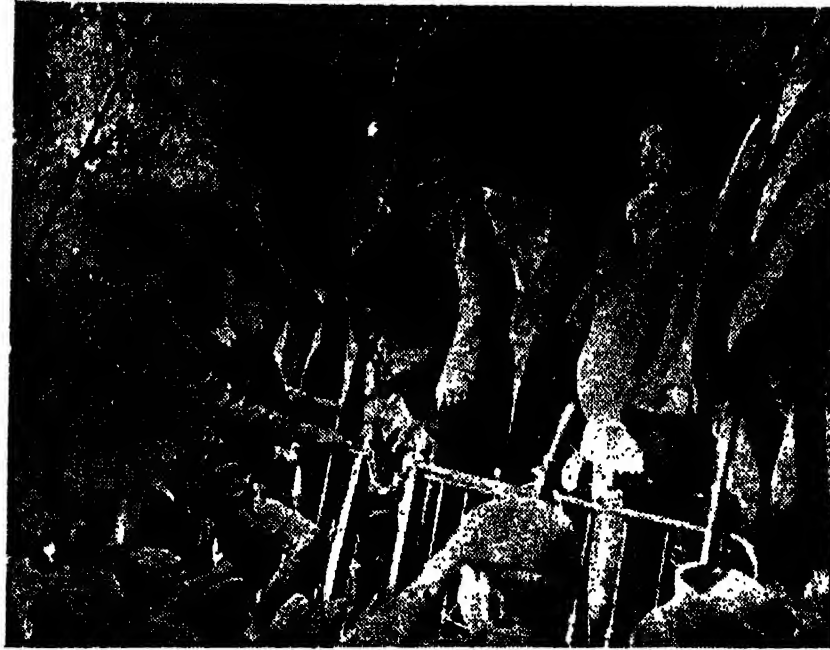
Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 27, in a comfortable brownstone house which is now a museum memorializing the statesman he became. The weak-sighted baby was so wracked with asthma that he was often bundled late at night into the family carriage for hurried visits to the neighbourhood physician.

Young "Teddy's" future seemed dismal as he faced the life of a semi invalid unable to develop fully the keen intellectual potentialities apparent early in the precocious child.

However, he was challenged one day by a statement that changed the course of his life. Theodore Roosevelt, Senior, a strong, understanding father, advised him: "You have the mind but....you must make your body. It is hard, drudgery, but I know you will do it."

Teddy became indefatigable in his determination to build a strong, rugged physique. He exercised regularly in a small gymnasium that he set up in his own home, participated in group athletics, and hiked for days through the New England woods.

The programme was so successful that years later when he was a young man he rode the ranges in western United States as a cowboy, remaining in the saddle for many



During his campaign for election as President Roosevelt was seen speaking to a gathering from a car platform

hours at a time. As the nation's Chief Executive in the White House from 1901 to 1909, visitors and government aides struggled to keep pace with him in sporting matches and in vigorous walks through Washington parks.

Roosevelt's versatility, another of his outstanding qualities, was also developed during his boyhood years. His parents encouraged him in his study of nature and his love for books.

As a result, in later life he read poetry while exploring the hazardous "River of Doubt" in Brazil. He wrote a biography of a Missouri statesman while operating a cattle ranch in North Dakota. He identified 64 different bird-calls in an English forest while strolling with a British Foreign Secretary before World War I.

Roosevelt, the man, was so versatile in his interests that the contrasts in his personality sometimes astonished even his family and closest friends. He was a man of vigorous action yet his reflective nature is revealed in the fact that he nearly had a book in hand or nearby. He was considered one of the best-ad man of his time.

Roosevelt was an able and prolific writer on a variety of subjects. His published works included history, biography, diaries, monographs, nature studies, and political exhortations. Among his compositions, which were marked by a clear and swiftly-moving style, were a large number of letters.

As a soldier Roosevelt was an energetic extrovert who headed the colorful cavalrymen known as the "Rough Riders" during the Spanish-American War. He was a leader to whom his men were loyal and deeply devoted. They followed Roosevelt through waist-high undergrowth in a widely publicized charge against Spanish defences outside Santiago in Cuba—a feat that captured the admiration of the American populace.

When Roosevelt returned home after the war as a hero of great renown, his fairness and generosity with the Cuban government were revealed in his stand as a government leader. As President he reiterated and stood firmly behind his nation's previous promise that Cuban independence from Spanish rule would be supported and that the small republic's right to determine its own destiny would be upheld.

Roosevelt was recognized by scientists as a good naturalist and a particularly trustworthy observer of wild-life. Also noted as a hunter of big game, he sailed for Africa in 1909 on a scientific expedition under auspices of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.



Roosevelt was a vivid speaker who emphasized many of his statements with strong gestures

In 1913 Roosevelt went to South America to address numerous scientific groups and to obtain jungle specimens in Brazil for the Museum of Natural History in New York City. At the request of the Brazilian Govern-

ment, he set out with a Brazilian exploring party to determine the course of an unknown waterway shown vaguely on maps as the "River of Doubt".

In the course of the perilous journey through 900 miles (1,450 kilometers) of wilderness, Roosevelt became seriously ill with fever. Loss of supplies added to the party's hardships. When they returned from this exploit, the Brazilian Government named the river in honour of Roosevelt.

Though he enjoyed travelling in other countries, Roosevelt was also devoted to his family and home. He always found time to give fond attention and advice to his children and many of his letters to them are displayed this year in exhibits presenting this side of Roosevelt's character.

After serving his country in many levels of government, Roosevelt volunteered for overseas service in World War I, but because of his age and physical disabilities caused by accident and tropical infections, his offer was not accepted. However, his four sons served overseas. One son died in aerial combat. Death came quietly to Roosevelt at his home in 1919.

In the anniversary observance this year his life is cited as an excellent example of "Responsible Citizenship." This was the celebration theme chosen by the centennial commission authorized by the U. S. Congress to direct the year-long observance. And remembered also in the numerous events and tributes is Roosevelt the man, versatile in tastes and talents, with an insatiable curiosity about life and a warm and endearing friendliness.—*USIS*



GLIMPSES OF A GREAT SOUL

BY DR. RÔMA CHAUDHURI,

Principal, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta

SELDOM it is that the world is fortunate enough to witness the advent of a great soul, who is really great not only in one respect, but also so in many others. A hundred years ago, our beloved Mother India produced such a great son in the exquisitely sweet and lovable person of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, whose Birth-Centenary is being celebrated all throughout the country with due reverence and affection. It would manifestly be wrong to characterise him only as a great Scientist. To our mind, he was more, much more, than that, for, he was an Artist, and a Poet, and above all, a Philosopher, in the truest sense of the terms.

We were very fortunate, indeed, to get opportunities to come into a close contact with this Great Soul for many years. He was our father's maternal uncle, our grand-mother Swarnaprabha being his eldest sister. Swarnaprabha married Ananda Mohan Bose, the great scholar and patriot, and a close friend of Jagadish Chandra. His second sister Subarnaprabha married Mohini Mohan, brother of Ananda Mohan, and their youngest son Dr. Debendra Mohan Bose is the present Director of the Bose Research Institute. His other two sisters Labanyaprabha and Hemaprabha were, respectively, a celebrated writer and a Professor of Botany. Thus, Jagadish Chandra hailed from a highly cultured family which, in those days, became a foremost torch-bearer of Learning and Culture.

My childhood memories go back to Jagadish Chandra's beautiful residential house where we lived for many years with him, and the adjoining serene gardens of the Bose Institute which always enchanted us as a Fairy-land and a garden of Eden. My eldest sister Uma was born in that house, and was a special pet of Jagadish Chandra. He himself was childless, but his paternal love poured in ceaseless effusion over all his grand-nephews and nieces. We called him *Dadamasaya* (maternal grand-father) and not *Thakurda* (paternal grand-father), according to the usual custom. Many, indeed, are our sweet

memories regarding our beloved *Dadu*, full of sweet jokes and lovely pranks, which made our childhood days so flowing with joy and excitement.

But there was also another side of his nature which we all learnt to love and respect from our childhood days. That was his almost passionate love for his own work. Here, he brooked no interference, no break of any kind whatsoever, and we also, under his benign influence, learnt to restrain our childish glee and giggling when we found him at work, submerged in his researches, oblivious of everything else.

Science, it is a common saying, is a jealous mistress. But Jagadish Chandra's devotion to his work has to be seen to be believed. It was not an ordinary research, but a sublime *Tapasya* as found in the case of *Muni-Risi*. He inculcated this spirit of devotion to all around, and in his moments of relaxation, delighted us with simple anecdotes of great scientific discoveries and the morals thereof.

Jagadish Chandra's supreme strength of character manifested itself in another way, no less, *viz.*, in his indomitable courage, infinite self-confidence and undying optimism. He not only *accepted* but also *lived* the great maxim of Gita, "Work out your own salvation by your own Self,—never make the self depressed—for self is your greatest friend, again, self is your most dangerous enemy." Acharyadeva found in his own self his greatest friend, and that is why, in the midst of all his early struggles and frustrations, he remained absolutely firm in his path and finally succeeded in reaching the great goal.

Our great Sanskrit Poet Bhavabhuti has very aptly and beautifully described the hearts of Great Men as "harder than thunder-bolt, but softer than flower." This is really an all-time maxim, for, no one can be great unless one possesses, on the one hand, tenacity of purpose, and on the other, love for Humanity. In Jagadish Chandra these two combined to make him a Great Philosopher, in the lang-

age of Indian Philosophy, a *Drasta*, a Seer, has exhorted all to love the Universe, and who sees "God in everything and everything in God" (Isa-Upanishad). What did he see in God, what did he see in everything? He saw nothing but *Prana*, nothing but Life, nothing but Love. He was, indeed, one of the greatest brains of the century, but he unlocked the doors of the Mysterious Universe, not through Reasoning, but through Feeling, through that sweetest, most sublime, most serene Feeling *viz.*, Love. In one of his beautiful articles he

has exhorted all to love the Universe, and then alone, he asserts with firm faith, can we understand its language, unravel its secrets and feel its pulses within our own.

Such was our beloved *Dadamasaya*—a living symbol of Love and Sweetness, who spread Honey and Nectar all around through his every gait and gesture, word and action. May his message of Universal Love and Fraternity inspire the war-mad world to a new Path of Peace and Bliss.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

By DR. VISHWANATHI PRASAD VARMA, M.A. (Patna), M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Chicago)

Professor of Politics, Patna University

FIERY orator, keen and intrepid patriot, inspired educationalist, journalist and writer Sri Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) was the prophet of a strong, bold, self-reliant, vigorous nationalism in India. He flourished at a time when Bengal had been undergoing the ferment of an intellectual and moral renaissance. He had personally experienced the exhilaration of the intellectual emancipation initiated by the Brahmo Samaj although later on he subscribed to the traditional creed, philosophy and theology of Hinduism. He was one of the supreme exponents of a vigorous, reawakened national spirit. He first attended the Congress session in 1887 in Madras. He also visited England and the United States and returned home in 1900. The partition of Bengal roused his deeply sensitive soul and through the spoken and written word he began to preach the Gospel of a pure and self-assertive nationalism. He stood for autonomy and absolute freedom from British control. In 1907 he was arrested and imprisoned when he refused to testify against Sri Aurobindo Ghosh when the latter was charged with a sedition case. He toured throughout the country and eloquently preached the sacred and powerful *mantra* of *swarajya* and *swadeshi*. He did not live to complete the *Members* of his life, only one volume for which could be published in 1932. His extant books—*Indian Nationalism* and *Nationality and Empire*

are marked by great theoretical insight. Valentine Chirol has paid tribute to the "great intellectual force and high character of Bipin Chandra Pal."

As a political philosopher Pal accepted divine determinism in history. History to him was not a discontinuous purposeless medley of discreet events. History was the manifestation of a divine teleology. There was an immanent meaning and supreme purpose in history. The history of India was also the revelation of a supreme meaning. It was the quest for autonomy and for the enshrinement of the good. The inner significance and deep import of all the historical movements and transformations in Indian history—from the days of the Aryan settlers to the days of the Moslem conquerors, and the political activities of the Palas, the Senas, Pratapaditya, the Mahratta confederacy, and the imperialistic rule of Great Britain—had been the realisation of our divinely appointed destiny as a people. Against Darwinian evolutionism, Spencerian agnosticism and Humean scepticism Pal stood up as the prophet of the Vedic and Puranic doctrine that history is the field of habitation (*Isavasyam*) or the playground (*Lila*) of the divine being. Like Bosanquet Pal says that social and civic institutions are instruments and vehicles for the "progressive revelation and realisation of God in and through man." Servitude is alien to the human

spirit. "God made man in his own image, essentially and potentially free and pure; shall man keep him in eternal bondage and sin?" Hence, for the sake of civic and national emancipation it was essential to conquer the *Maya* or the illusion of British suzerainty by methods of passive resistance. He repudiated the medieval tendency to abstract the ideal from the real, the spiritual from the material and the individual from his environment. As a political thinker Pal criticized Leo Tolstoy in an article entitled "Civic Freedom and Individual Perfection" dated the 22nd April, 1905. He spoke against the individualistic ideas of Tolstoy in so far as the latter regarded the individual as ethically independent of the social and civic institutions of his country. He reverted to the old social and political philosophy of India according to which the individual obtained fulfilment not through the negation of social and civic obligations but through voluntary and joyous fulfilment of his duties to the society.

Pal accepted the organic theory of the nation. The nation is not a mechanical contract. It is not the agglomeration of separate individuals. It is an organism and is informed with an all-pervasive intelligent and moral bond. The nation is the magnified and extended self of men. Hence, Pal accepted the necessity of sacrifice for the sake of the greater body. The nation is an abiding continuity of persistent historical memories and future purposes. Hence Pal declared in an article entitled *Bande-mataram* on July 6, 1906:

"In a nation, the individuals composing it stand in an organic relation to one another and to the whole of which they are limbs and organs. A crowd is a collection of individuals; a nation is an organism, the individuals are its organs. Organs find the fulfilment of their ends not in themselves but in the collective life of the organism to which they belong. Kill the organism—the organs cease to be and to act. Paralyse the organs, the organism also ceases to live and work. An organism is logically prior to the organs. Organs evolve, organs change, but the organism remains itself all the

same. Individuals are born, individuals die, —but the Nation liveth for ever."

Pal was the champion of a revitalized resurrected New India, and in his paper *New India* he had written in expounding his concept of Composite Patriotism: "This New India is neither Hindu,—though the Hindu unquestionably forms the original stock and staple of it,—nor Mahomedan,—though they have made very material contributions to it,—nor even British,—though they are politically the masters of the country now,—but is made up of the varied and valuable materials supplied in successive stages of its evolution, by the three great world-civilisations, which the three great sections of the present Indian community represent." Pal preached a vigorous new patriotic spirit during the *Swadeshi* days. He condemned the outlandish rootless education system present in the country in those days and stood for national education. He founded the paper *Bande Mataram* and through its columns preached the *mantra* or the Logos or divine-idea of *Swarajya*. Pal repudiated the cult of mendicancy and said: "There can be no reform, social, economic or political, that can be got from outside. You must gradually enquire your right." He stood for the triumph of the Indian spirit. He wanted to impart a comprehensive political connotation to the concept of boycott and did not favour it as a mere economic technique. On the meaning to be imparted to boycott, Pal and Madan Mohan Malviya differed at the historic Calcutta Congress of 1906. Pal emphatically declared: "It is impossible to work out a divorce between politics and economic, politics and industrial advancement in India. Swadeshism must associate itself with politics; and when Swadeshism associates itself with politics it becomes Boycott; and this Boycott is a movement of Passive Resistance." Along with Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, Pal was the prophet of renascent Bengal. Pal and Aurobindo belonged to the Extremist party of New Nationalism. In his famous Uttarpara speech Sri Aurobindo said with reference to Pal: "When I came I was not alone; one of the mightiest prophets of nationalism sat by my side. It was he (Pal) who

then came out of the seclusion to which God had sent him, so that in the silence and solitude of his cell he might hear the word that he had to say."

Pal stood up as the champion of spiritual nationalism. He would not subscribe to the doctrine of mere political acquisition of rights. He felt that the country was witnessing a spiritual enlightenment or risorgimento and "to regard it as either a mere economic or political movement is to misunderstand it altogether." But the spiritual interpretation of the movement of national emancipation did not mean any philosophic absorption in idealism and contemplation. Pal was a realist and he compared politics to a game of chess. He refused hence to offer any cut and dried formula and openly stated that the programme of the nationalists would be determined by the ways and tactics of the British bureaucracy. By stressing the religious character of the new nationalism in India Pal wanted to bring home to the people two essential ideas. First, religion means the attitude of judging things from the standpoint of life itself. "It judges economics, politics, art, morals, all—from the standpoint of the whole." Hence the religious character of nationalism implied the full and comprehensive outflowing of the Indian national consciousness so that it could make its effective contribution to the universal life of humanity. Secondly, it emphasized the cultivation of moral virtues. Nationalism could not be served according to Pal without *san-yama* or discipline.

In 1918 Pal accompanied Lokamanya Tilak to England as a member of the Home Rule League Deputation. At Amritsar in 1919 he had not wholeheartedly favored Tilak's slogan of "Responsive Co-operation." He opposed the Non-Co-operation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi and in 1922 he definitely asserted that India should take to the positive policy of "Responsive Co-operation" sponsored by Tilak and not to the negative creed of Gandhian Non-Co-operation.

During the First World War Pal sponsored the concept of "Imperial Federation" which would be composed of Great Britain, Ireland, Egypt, India and the dominions each absolutely autonomous internally but combined for the

purpose of progress and protection. This scheme of Pal is a remarkable testimony to the foresight of the great leader.

Pal gave us the inspired concept of "Divine Democracy". He said:

"The ideal of *Swaraj* that has revealed itself to us is the ideal of Divine Democracy. It is the ideal of democracy higher than the fighting, the pushing, the materialistic, I was going to say, the cruel democracies of Europe and America. There is a higher message still. Men are Gods; and the equality of the Indian democracy is the equality of the divine nature, the divine possibilities and the divine destiny of every individual being, be he Hindu or Mahomedan, Buddhist or Christian. It is on account of this general training of the Indian people in the past, whether they be Hindu or Mahomedan, it is on account of this spiritual emphasis of the Hindu character and the generality also of the Indian character that we have had the supreme privilege of seeing before us the revelation of a democratic ideal, superior to that which has as yet been revealed to the general consciousness of European humanity."

This theory of divine democracy has its roots in the Vedantic concept of the unity of existence. According to the *Bhagavadgita* all beings have the divine spirit in them and hence are equally entitled to reverence, dignity and rights. This concept of "Divine Democracy" can strengthen the mechanical formula of 'one man one vote' with a spiritual content which can find a ready response in the hearts of the people of this country.

According to Bipin Chandra Pal patriotism was sacred but it was not enough. It has to find its fulfilment in Humanity which is the eternal revelation of God to men. The political message of Pal, the great leader and prophet, is contained in his inspired utterance:

"Blessed is the perfected life of the individual. Blessed is that larger and diviner life of the nation wherein the individual finds his highest fulfilment; and blessed, thrice blessed, is that Universal Life of Humanity wherein is the fulfilment and fruition of all national life and aspirations."

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA COLLECTIVE DEFENCE TREATY

BY PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A., W.B.E.S.

GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

IN the mid-twentieth century world-wide balance of power the area widely known as South-East Asia plays and can play for a considerable period a significant role in world politics. Yet nobody knows exactly what is South-East Asia. For no accepted law, national or international, ever attempted to define accurately the geographical limits of this area. "South-East Asia," says Dr. B. R. Chatterji, Reader in South-East Asian History and Institutions at the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, "comprises from East to West, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Burma and towards the South, Malaya and the Indonesian Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea." According to him, "During and after World War II 'South-East' Asia has come to be recognised as a distinct geographical region just as, on the other side of the continent, 'Middle-East' (West Asia) has come to denote a certain definite area".¹

This definition of South-East Asia, admittedly, a new concept, is not, however, universally accepted. Indeed, it has not been accepted by those who framed the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty in 1954. This Treaty, signed in Manila on September 8, 1954, and effective since February 19, 1955, refers to the treaty area as "the general area of South-East Asia including also the entire territories of the Asian parties," viz., the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan, and "the general area of the South-West Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes North Latitude".² South-East Asia is under

this Treaty inseparably linked with what is vaguely known as the South-West Pacific and may thus be even supposed to include the latter. Here it is important that the Treaty authorises the eight States, viz., the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, which are the parties to the Treaty, to amend by unanimous agreement the definition of the treaty area so as to include within it the territory of any State acceding to the Treaty, and even to change the treaty area "otherwise," i.e., even if there be no such accession. The whole machinery of the Treaty could also be set in motion in any area outside the treaty area by a simple procedure of "designating" that area by unanimous agreement among the parties to the Treaty,—the designated area then getting all kinds of economic, political and military aid subject to the condition that an invitation from, or consent of, the Government concerned will be necessary for any action within its territory.³

Thus the area of South-East Asia, which is evidently vague, has been made vaguer still by the elastic provisions of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. Professor Brian Harrison in his book, *South-East Asia: A Short History*, first published in February, 1954, marks a map of the area by a rectangular figure with a small hunch at the north-western corner.⁴ This figure covers parts of both the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, and includes now the whole territories of such states as Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam (both North and South), the Philippines, the British possessions like

1. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (A Journal of International Affairs, published by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi), October-December, 1956, p. 388.

2. Article VIII of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 1954. The text of the Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *Asia and Africa in the Modern World*, edited by S. L. Poplai and published under the auspices of the Asian Relations Organization by Asia Publishing House, Calcutta. A copy of the text is

also there in *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957, p. 412. There are some minor discrepancies between the two texts here referred to.

3. Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Protocol attached to the Treaty.

4. *South-East Asia: A Short History* by Brian Harrison, 1957, Front endpapers and Rear endpapers.

Hong Kong, North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei and Singapore, and the Portuguese possessions like Macao and Timor, and only parts of the territories of the States like Pakistan, India and China. It only touches Australia, barely misses Formosa (Taiwan), and has nothing to do with New Zealand.

Obviously the framers of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty had a very peculiar idea as to what is South-East Asia. In the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization the only States which may be truly called, partly or fully, South-East Asian are Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. Australia and New Zealand are not in South-East Asia proper and might well be excluded from a treaty intended for the protection of this limited region. The U.K. joined the Treaty in view of her possessions in the area, among which Malaya since August 31, 1957 has been an independent Dominion, though subject to an agreement between the Malayan and the British Government entrusting to the latter the military control of the former for a limited number of years. Malaya became an independent member of the United Nations, on September 17, 1957, though still under the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization's sphere of operation. If and when the U.K., consistently with her policy and the Declaration regarding Non-self-governing territories in Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter, renounces her colonial control over the remaining territories in South-East Asia, she also will have no *locus standi* in any collective defence treaty for South-East Asia.

Following negotiations after the Geneva Agreements of July 21, 1954, France also, it is believed, has given up her colonial empire in the Associated States of Indo-China comprising Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. By 1949 the Governments now in control of Southern Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia had already gained different degrees of independence with the status of Associated States within the French Union according to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic of France. Soon after, they also applied for independent membership of the United Nations. The Communist Government in North Vietnam

under Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh had applied for separate membership of the United Nations even earlier on November 22, 1948, though that application was not circulated as a Security Council document until September 17, 1952.⁵ As these applications for membership of the United Nations were treated as separate weights in the scales of the world-wide balance of power under the lead of the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., on opposite sides, the different organs of the United Nations did not consider them on their merits or justice. Not until December 15, 1955 were Laos and Cambodia admitted to the United Nations as members. The applications of South Vietnam and North Vietnam, like those of South Korea and North Korea, are still pending before the United Nations. If and when Vietnam, either partitioned into two States as it is today, or united with a single national ideal as it may well be in near future gets full independence, France, like the U.K., should have no *locus standi* in any collective defence treaty for South-East Asia.

It is of the greatest significance in this context that the U.S.A. joined the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, in fact sponsored it, though she has no possessions in the "fairly well-defined"⁶ area known as South-East Asia. Evidently the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty represented a major change in the foreign policy of the U.S.A. For by taking leadership in the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, the Government of the U.S.A. was in fact accepting a commitment extending to the mainland of South-East Asia.—a commitment which the U.S. Government had hitherto been unwilling to extend beyond the "island chain". In the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty the U.S.A. went beyond a suggestion made by General MacArthur in his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 29, 1950, when he had described the chain of islands extending.

5. Everyman's *United Nations* (1945-55), Fifth Edition, published by the United Nations, Department of Public Information, p. 76.

6. *South-East Asia: A Short History* by Brian Harrison, 1957, p. ix.

from the Aleutians to the Marianas as a "natural" defence line in the Pacific. "From this island chain", said General MacArthur, "we can dominate every power over the Asiatic ports from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific". Should Formosa fall,—it had been under the protection of the 7th Fleet under orders from the U.S. President since June 27, 1950,—the General declared, it "would constitute an enemy salient in the very centre of this defensive perimeter".⁷

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TREATY

The new shift in the foreign policy of the U.S.A. was dictated by historical circumstances following the Korean war which began on June 25, 1950. It was a great war, localised of course in Korea, but having within it all the possibilities of a world war, with South Korea on the one side having active political and military support from sixteen members of the United Nations, including the U.S.A., the U.K. and France, and North Korea on the other with similar but covert support from Communist China and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. was immediately driven to the aim of reducing the Pacific Ocean into a Western American lake for her naval forces by gathering allies in the East in the same way as she had reduced the Atlantic Ocean on the other side of America virtually into an Eastern American lake for the same purpose with her Western allies under the North Atlantic Treaty of April, 1949 and the Treaties of *Rio de Janeiro and Bogota* during 1947 and 1948.

On August 30, 1951 the U.S.A. signed with the Philippines a treaty by which the signatory nations served notice on any potential aggressor in the Pacific area that they would stand together in the face of any armed attack from outside. In September, 1951 in spite of opposition from the U.S.S.R. and India, the U.S.A. along with 48 other States signed with Japan a peace treaty. Japan signed imme-

diately, indeed simultaneously, a mutual security treaty with the U.S.A. Under the Japanese Peace Treaty of September, 1951, until the U.S. Government seek and obtain trusteeship over "Nansei Shoto, south of 29° north latitude (including Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto, south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island", "the United States will have the right to exercise all and any power of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters".⁸ Although all occupation forces of the Allied Powers were to be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the Peace Treaty, and in any case not later than 90 days thereafter, "nothing in this provision shall prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other".⁹

Under the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty of September, 1951, "Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts the right, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside Power or

7. Quoted from *Foreign Affairs Reports*, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1954, published by the Indian Council of World Affairs in co-operation with the Asian Relations Organization, New Delhi, p. 29.

8. Article 3 of the *Treaty of Peace with Japan*, 1951. A text of Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, was issued by the United States Information Service of the American Embassy and the Consulates General in India.

9. Article 6 of the *Treaty of Peace with Japan*, 1951.

Powers".¹⁰ While the U.S. thus accepts responsibility for the defence of Japan, without, of course, committing herself to defend Japan in all cases, and even promises the use of American troops for the suppression of a Communist rising, Japan promises not to grant any bases to a third power.¹¹

In September, 1951 the U.S.A. also concluded a security treaty with Australia and New Zealand which in substance and form was closely modelled on the North Atlantic Treaty. Under it, "each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and security and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes".¹² This ANZUS Treaty—this is the brief name of this treaty—further defines an armed attack as including "an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the Parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessel or aircraft in the Pacific".¹³

Meanwhile the localised war in Korea continued side by side with negotiations for peace until July 27, 1953 when a Truce Agreement was signed. This was quickly followed by the signing of a Mutual Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and South Korea on August 8, 1953. The international situation towards the South of China now tended to become worse. Already on February 2, 1953 President Eisenhower had announced that he had decided to deneutralise Formosa. Necessary orders were issued to the 7th Fleet, for he believed, "There is no longer any logic or sense in a condition

that required the U.S. Navy to assume defensive responsibility on behalf of the Chinese Communists".¹⁴ The Armistice in Korea enabled the Chinese to divert greatly increased supplies of equipment to the Vietnamese Communist forces under Dr. Ho-chi-Minh. This in turn enabled these forces to increase their pressure on the French Union forces in Indo-China, so that France in desperation appealed for help to her Western colleagues. Fearing the new and unknown forces of Nationalism plus Communism in the East, the Western Powers hesitated to act. Dien Bien Phu fell on May 7, 1954 making the whole Western position in the area rather precarious.

Under such critical conditions the U.S.A. gave more serious thought to Eisenhower's suggestion announced earlier on April 6, 1953 that there should be a collective arrangement for assuring the security of South-East Asia. On January 13, 1954 Mr. Dulles announced that the Eisenhower Administration had decided to develop massive retaliatory military power to deter aggression. At the Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the U.K., the U.S.A., and France from January 25, 1954 to February 18, 1954 the deadlock on Austria, Germany and European security continued, but these Foreign Ministers announced that they had agreed on a Korean Conference to be held at Geneva, that the problem of peace in Indo-China would also be discussed at the Conference, and that the U.S.S.R., the U.K., the U.S.A. and France and other interested Powers would be invited. On April 13, 1954 after a two-day Conference in London, Anthony Eden and John Foster Dulles announced that the U.K., and the U.S.A. were ready with other interested countries to examine collective defence arrangements for South-East Asia and the Western Pacific. The Geneva Conference was held according to schedule from April 26, 1954 to July 21, 1954. Convened primarily to settle difficulties arising out of the implementation of the Korean Truce Agreement of July 27, 1953, it was ultimately hailed for having settled only the question of Indo-China.

10. Article 1 of the Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and Japan, 1951. A text of this Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957.

11. Article 2 of the Security Treaty between the U.S.A. and Japan, 1951.

12. Article 4 of the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A. A text of the Treaty is printed as an Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann, Third Edition, 1957.

• 13. Article 5 of the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A.

14. Quoted from *Foreign Affairs Reports*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 30.

through the Agreements of July 21, 1954. But the precarious nature of the Geneva Agreements is evident from the fact that neither the U.S.A. nor the State of South Vietnam concurred in the Final Declaration.

The U.S.A. was thus out to give shape to her policy of massive retaliation on a world-wide scale "to depend primarily upon the great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our choosing".¹⁵ It was during 1953 and 1954 that South Korea, Spain, Iraq, Pakistan, Lybia, Nationalist China, etc., entered into military agreements with the U.S.A. It was in this race for gathering allies against World Communism that the U.S.A. persuaded her friends in South-East Asia to sign the Manila Treaty on September 8, 1954. Only about a month earlier the Balkan Military Pact based on the Balkan Friendship Treaty of February, 1953 was signed on August 9, 1954 by Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia evidently under inspiration from the U.S.A. It was as if only to give provocation to Communist China that the U.S.A. in December, 1954 signed a Mutual Security Treaty with Nationalist China in Formosa.

In his State of the Union Message on January 6, 1956 President Eisenhower proudly proclaimed: "We have now Security Pacts with more than forty other nations". A significant link in this chain of alliances round Communist China and Russia was the Baghdad Defence Treaty signed on February 24, 1955 between Iraq and Turkey, and joined later by the U.K., on April 5, 1955. Pakistan on September 23, 1955 and Iran on November 3, 1955. The U.S.A. who inspired all these military pacts, could not long remain outside the Baghdad Pact. Accordingly she joined in 1956 the Economic and Anti-subversion Committees of the Baghdad Pact and in 1957 even its Military Committee probably for full implementation of the new Eisenhower Doctrine of the same year for active economic and military assistance to the general area of the Middle East.

TELEOLOGY OF THE TREATY

In the light of this genetic study it is difficult to believe that the real purposes of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty have been sufficiently stated in its different provisions. Its Preamble and its Articles are all full of very high-sounding phrases. The Parties to this Treaty recognise the sovereign equality of all of them, and reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the U.N. Charter and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments. They uphold the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. They declare that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities. They desire to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the Treaty area. They declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the parties stand together in the area. They desire to co-ordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

To give shape to all these objectives, "the parties undertake," as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, "to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".¹⁶ "In order to achieve more effectively the objectives of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their

15. The statement of John Foster Dulles on January 13, 1954.

16. South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty Article I.

territorial integrity and political stability".¹⁷ "The parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to co-operate with one another in furthering the development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further individual and collective efforts of governments towards these ends".¹⁸

"Each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the Treaty area against any of the parties or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes".¹⁹ To the Treaty was added a Protocol, coming into force simultaneously with the Treaty and stating that for the purposes of assistance against armed aggression or other economic measures under the Treaty, the parties unanimously designated the States of Cambodia and Laos and "the Free Territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam." Measures to meet the common danger of armed attack "shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations".²⁰

"If, in the opinion of any of the parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the Treaty area" or any other State or territory which the parties may by unanimous agreement hereafter designate, "is threatened in any way other than by an armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence".²¹ "It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement" or "on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation

or with the consent of the Government concerned".²²

The parties to the Treaty established a Council, on which each of them is represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of the Treaty.²³ This Council is authorised to provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the Treaty area may from time to time require. The Council is so organized as to be able to meet at any time. It consists of the Foreign Ministers of the member countries and directs the activities of the organization through the Council of Representatives which maintains constant contact with the various committees, viz., military advisers' committee, committee of economic experts, etc. These committees, in turn, have a number of special sub-committees, the committee of military advisers having as many as eight sub-committees. Provision has been made for the post of a Secretary-General of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, and he was authorised on March 11, 1958 by the Ministerial Council of the Organization to contact the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for exchange of information.

REAL PURPOSES OF THE TREATY

From a realistic point of view the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, certainly not a "mere paper structure"²⁴ as some take it to be, was the only possible response, though a bit belated one, to the French SOS during the fall of Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954. It was visualised that "the power which politically controls Indo-China has Thailand at its mercy, can exercise great pressure on Burma, and ultimately isolate the Malayan Peninsula".²⁵ President Eisenhower once compared the situation aptly with "a row of dominoes, where the fall of one brings the whole lot down".²⁶ As a leading participant in the worldwide balance of power of the mid-twentieth century, the U.S.A. thought that it had no other

17. *Ibid.*, Article II.

18. *Ibid.*, Article III.

19. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

20. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

21. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

22. *Ibid.*, Article IV.

23. *Ibid.*, Article V.

24. Friedmann, *An Introduction to World Politics*, Third Edition, 1957, p. 209.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

alternative but to act as quickly as possible to save whatever is possible from the combined forces of Communism and Nationalism in South-East Asia, though she had no possession of her own in the region. She was guided by the idea that the colonial frontier had disappeared with the consummation of colonial expansion by the beginning of the 20th century and that "the periphery of the balance of power now coincides with the confines of the earth".²⁷ For the U.S.A. the immediate purposes in organizing the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization was to guarantee South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos against Communist aggression through violation of the Geneva Agreements, and her ultimate purpose was to develop a massive retaliatory military power against Communist forces headed by the U.S.S.R. and China. Thus it is American hatred of Communism anywhere in the world which brought the U.S.A. to South-East Asia. To make this clear, the U.S.A. added to the Treaty, though somewhat inconsistently with its original provisions, an "understanding" that her recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and her agreement to meet the common danger in accordance with her constitutional processes apply only to Communist aggression, though she affirmed that in the event of other aggression or armed attack she would consult other members immediately according to the relevant provisions of the Treaty.

Like the U.S.A., all other parties to the Treaty were more or less afraid of World Communism. But for the U.K., the importance of the Treaty lay in this that it committed the U.S.A. in those parts of the globe where hitherto the U.K. had had to maintain peace alone. Face to face with a victorious and confident enemy, France saw in the Treaty the only possible guarantee of maintaining the political independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam under some form of French supervision. Thailand as a small power on the borders of Indo-China had the greatest fear of Communism. On May

29, 1954 the Government of Thailand had even appealed to the U.N. Security Council for U.N. observation of the situation along the Indo-Chinese border. When on June 18, 1954 a resolution for the purpose was put to vote, it was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines in joining the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty were mainly interested, without saying so in so many words, in developing strength against the probable revival of Japanese or any other Asian power anywhere in the Pacific.

As for Pakistan, she imagined that by joining the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization she would get support from the Western Powers to have a position of strength in solving her disputes with India, especially the problem of Kashmir.²⁸

The Asian neutrals like India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia oppose the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization, and some see in it "not a Pacific Security system but an organization of Imperialist Powers for the protection of their interests".²⁹ In a debate in the Indian Rajya Sabha on August 27, 1954, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon described the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization as the "modern version of a protectorate" to defend an area being defended against its will. On September 9, 1954, just one day after the Treaty was signed, Mr. Nehru referred to it as an instance of double talking and double thinking over peace, i.e., professing peace and uniting against aggression while simultaneously adopting language and means which led inevitably to opposite results. Alliances of this type were also characterised by Mr. Nehru as "interlocking of politics" and as having an unfortunate effect on colonial policies, for colonial people as a result had to deal, not with one Power but with a combination of Powers.

28. *The Dawn*, December 1, 1955. Quoted in Kashmir: A Factual Survey, published by the Information Service of India in December, 1956, p. 61.

29. *Hindustan Times* quoted in Far East Survey, Oct. 8, 1952. The present quotation is from *Dynamics of International Relations* by Ernst B. Haas and Allen S. Whiting, 1956, p. 505.

27. Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 1954, p. 334.

Even American scholars admit that in the U.S.A., interest groups "concerned with historical Christian missionary activity in the Far East, with investments and trade in the Pacific, and with undoing the Communist Victory in China all insist on the importance of SEATO",³⁰ i.e., the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization. Indeed, if the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, essentially a political organ for Western Civilization, became a protecting cover to the colonial domains of the powers concerned and extended its scope even to Goa in India, it is reasonable to wonder where the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization will extend to, starting as it does at the very doorstep of India.

It is ominous in this respect that the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty "shall remain in force indefinitely", though "any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the Philippines".³¹ (1) If France, the U.K., and the U.S.A. want to retain the validity of the Treaty "indefinitely" in spite of their occasional promises to relinquish their colonial and imperial ambitions and in spite of a possible denunciation of the Treaty by all the other members in it, (2) if the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia joined the Treaty, even though they are not strictly in South-East Asia, (3) if of the eight Powers in the Treaty, only three, viz., the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand are really Asian, (4) if arrangements are made for the "defence" of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, and possibly of other territories in the East in future, by the Western Powers simply by a procedure of "designation", (5) if, indeed, the Treaty itself would have entered into force in spite of any opposition from the Asian members, for its entry into force required ratifications of only a majority of the signatories³² and (6) if, moreover, the Treaty is so drafted that with the obedient support of only three Asian nations in it, the white members in it

could easily stuff it with all the nations of Europe and America when it suited their purpose to do so, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Manila Treaty is looking dangerously in the direction of sphere of influence to be exercised by the whole West over the East. Perhaps, the influential members in the Treaty have already been thinking of smuggling into it the Netherlands and Portugal who have some, though not any legitimate, territorial interests in the Treaty area. Treaty only provides that "any other State in a position to further the objectives of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the area may, by unanimous agreement of the parties, be invited to accede to this Treaty".³³ "Any State so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines".

LEGAL VALIDITY OF THE TREATY

It is difficult to imagine that with such imperialistic elements in it, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty could be called a regional treaty under the terms of the U.N. Charter, such as (1) the Pact of the League of Arab States, 1945, (2) the Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 1947, (3) the North Atlantic Treaty, 1949, (4) the ANZUS Pact, 1951, (5) the Balkan Pact, 1954, (6) the Warsaw Pact, 1955, (7) the Jedda Pact, 1956, etc., were intended to be. Aiming at imperialism and colonialism in those regions of the East wherefrom Western Powers were driven out during and after the World War II, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, like the Baghdad Pact, 1955, hits a basic purpose of the United Nations, viz., "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".³⁴

The legal validity of this Treaty, along with most other regional treaties, may be doubted from various other points of view also. While founding the United Nations, the peoples of the United Nations determined (a) "to unite" their "strength to maintain international peace and security," (b) "to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of

30. *Dynamics of International Relations* by Haas and Whiting, p. 527.

31. South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, Article X.

32. *Ibid.*, Article IX.

33. *Ibid.*, Article VII.

34. U.N. Charter, Article 1.

methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest," (c) "to take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace," and (d) to make the United Nations "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends."³⁵ Through the regional pacts the Members of the United Nations have virtually decided (a) to disunite their strength against the cause of peace, (b) to use the armed forces of one region against another, (c) to issue threats and counter-threats against one another on a regional basis, and (d) to make the United Nations a centre for serious disharmony. None of these collective arrangements had been sanctioned by the Security Council, the most central organ of the United Nations in the cause of peace and, therefore, they conformed to the "pre-United Nations era of colonial alliances," old world procedure which the United Nations tried to do away with.³⁶

They talk of self-defence recognized in Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. But the right of self-defence arises only *if, i.e., after* an armed attack occurs. These "offensive and defensive arrangements," offensive according to one party but defensive according to its rival, were being made under the old system of a balance of power, and this is what the U.N. Charter wanted to overcome. "Our contention is that they do not come under Article 51, because there is no armed attack to warrant defensive agreements."³⁷ If these so-called defensive arrangements were utilised to give protection to the ex-enemy States like Japan, Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary or Rumania, when attacked by any other U.N. Member in accordance with Article 107 which provides that against an ex-enemy State armed attack may be legitimate in certain cases, it would be going against the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of

force under Article 2(4),—an obligation evidently not restricted in the case of ex-enemy States by Article 51. Besides, when a regional body takes enforcement action in the name of self-defence without being authorised by the Security Council for the purpose, it will directly hit Article 53 which expressly provides that no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council except in case of aggression by the ex-enemy States.³⁸

The Charter of the U.N. in its Article 24 gave primary responsibility for international peace and security to the Security Council, so that there might be prompt and effective action by the United Nations. But all these so-called self-defence treaties work on the hypothesis that prompt and effective action of the United Nations must be taken, not through the Security Council, but through the self-defence organizations. The Councils under the North Atlantic Treaty, the ANZUS Treaty, the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, etc., are required to meet "at any time"³⁹ for what has been called self-defence action. But the Security Council is also "so organized as to be able to function continuously," and for this purpose each member of the Security Council is "represented at all times at the seat of the Organization."⁴⁰ The Security Council is thus confronted by rival councils for identical purposes. Under these circumstances it will certainly be impossible for the United Nations to fulfil its role as "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the attainment of peace and security of the world.

Neither the members of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, nor those of the

35. Preamble and Article I of U.N. Charter.

36. V. K. Krishna Menon's speech in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the U.N. on December 9, 1955.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Some of the arguments noted here were also stated by me in my paper "Revision of the U.N. Charter" read at the 17th session of the Indian Political Science Conference and published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XV, No. 4, October-December, 1954.

39. Articles IX, VII and V of the respective Treaties. All of them are printed in the Appendix to *An Introduction to World Politics* by W. Friedmann.

40. Article 28 of U.N. Charter.

Bagdad Pact constitute separate well-defined geographical regions. As such, these Treaties cannot be justified under Chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter relating to "regional arrangements." Moreover, the arms and armaments of all these collective bodies are closely guarded secrets, though the U.N. Charter under Article 54 requires that "The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security." Finally, if the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the U.N. Charter are legally inconsistent with each other, the former may also be deemed illegal as having hit certain provisions of the Geneva Agreements of July, 1954. For these Agreements required that there should be no foreign bases in any of the Associated States of Indo-China and that there should not be for these States any military alliance which threatens the cease-fire or is incompatible with the U.N. Charter.

The U.S.S.R. was a leading opponent of regional self-defence treaties for a long time. But on March 31, 1954, Molotov handed to the three Ambassadors in Russia a Note expressing the Soviet Government's readiness to consider with the interested governments the question of the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the North Atlantic Treaty. "Pending the unification of Germany," the Note said, "the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic could be parties to the Treaty." The Western reply delivered on May 7, 1954, rejected the proposal of Soviet membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and challenged the U.S.S.R. to give concrete proof of goodwill by working with the West on (1) Austrian Treaty, (2) Union of Germany, (3) Control of Atomic Energy and Disarmament, (4) Peace in the Far East and (5) Conformity with the U.N. Charter. The Peace in the Far East came through the Geneva Agreements of July, 1954, and the Austrian Treaty was approved by the Big Four on May 14, 1955. But before there could be further reduction of tension among nations, on May 14, 1955, the U.S.S.R. herself also signed the Warsaw Pact for self-defence among the Communist States of

Eastern Europe. Apparently, the U.S.S.R. realised that in the world-wide struggle for power scrupulous respect for law is not for the present a paying proposition or that the legal arguments against the collective defence treaties were not really very strong.⁴¹

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE TREATY

This, however, does not weaken the case against the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty from the points of view of economics, politics and culture of the whole human race. An offshoot of the policy of massive retaliation on the part of Western barbarism masquerading under the garb of Western civilisation, this Treaty is based essentially on the primary enemies of the whole mankind: Hatred, Violence, Greed, Falsehood, Pride and Disunity, and is thus opposed to the great integrating ideals of Love, Non-violence, Sacrifice, Truth, Service and Unity. Politically, it has been responsible for a trend towards autocracy in all its members. It has also brought back to the East the old colonialism and imperialism of the West now led by the U.S.A., one of the most violent nations in the world today,—indeed, a new Eve throwing us all into a most deadly hell by dropping, first among nations and most brutally against the law and conscience of mankind, atom bombs on Japan when she was about to surrender on August, 1945. Since then under the mechanics of the world-wide balance of power uncontrolled by any respect for the great truth about the One World or the Balance of

41. Professor Hans Kelsen in his *Recent Trends in the Law of the United Nations*, published in 1951 maintained that viewed retrospectively regional treaties, among others, may be considered "unconstitutional," but directing his view towards the future, he saw them as "the first step in the development of a new law of the United Nations," constituting as they do "one of those cases of which we may say *ex injuria jus oritur*." Oppenheim, however, does not believe that law can originate in an illegal act. According to him, "*Ex injuria jus non oritur* is an inescapable principle of law." Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations*, published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs by Stevens & Sons, Ltd., in 1951, p. 912. Oppenheim, *International Law*, Vol. 2, edited by H. Lauterpacht (7th edition, 1952), p. 218.

Truth, this Eve has been competing with the U.S.S.R. in developing still more violent weapons capable of rendering the planet sterile for centuries, and thus bringing, jointly with the U.S.S.R., the whole humanity to a most terrible "brink of war" where, in Churchill's famous phrase, safety is "the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation."⁴²

It is outright falsehood when the Manila Pact declares that its parties undertook military commitments for "defence" purposes and for combating "subversive activities directed from without against the territorial integrity and political stability." As one commentator has said, "In the vocabulary of the Western Powers the term 'political stability' means the maintenance and consolidation of the colonial system, while 'subversive activity' is the tag attached to the national-liberation movement."⁴³ According to the same commentator, "The SEATO military bloc, whipped together . . . by Washington, with the help of London and Paris is a manifestation of the concept of a world ringed by a system of aggressive blocs to carry out insane U.S. plans for gaining world domination."⁴⁴

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

With such blatantly colonial and imperialistic aims, it was simply impossible for the South-East Asia Collective Defence Organization to do anything for the economic prosperity of the treaty area or the world as a whole. The conferences of its economic experts are fewer than those of its military experts, and even these, as is evident from their communiqués, examined economic problems mainly in the light of war preparation programmes. As

42. Sir Winston Churchill's declaration on March 1, 1955. Other similar views have been referred to in my paper, "The Problem of Disarmament in the World Today," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, in April, 1957.

43. *International Affairs* (A monthly journal of political analysis, No. 3, March, 1957, published in Moscow), p. 88. This journal gives various details regarding the economic consequences of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Professor W. Macmahon Ball of the Melbourne University observed: "Recent years have seen a marked trend in the United States to end or reduce economic aid to Asia that does not directly serve military purposes."⁴⁵ Washington, moreover, usually grants military aid only if the receiving country undertakes to make big appropriations for military purposes from its own budgets. In Thailand, direct military expenses exceed 48 per cent of the whole budget, while only 1 per cent is spent on public health. At the end of 1956, a Thai journal, *Siamrat Weekly Review*, pointed out that Thailand lost 3,000 million baht in 6 years because of the embargo on trade in strategic goods,—an embargo imposed by the United Nations against Communist China since May 19, 1951, at the suggestion of the U.S.A. American aid to Thailand during the same period amounted only to 2,000 million baht. The South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty inspired the Army in Thailand to dominate the country in all its policies. No wonder that in Thailand a military dictatorship as well as martial law has been imposed since October 20, 1958. Obviously, it would be better for Thailand to dissociate herself from the foreign policy of the U.S.A. and follow in respect to Communist China and other States a policy of peaceful co-existence.

Similar is the case with Pakistan where direct military expenditure has swallowed up 40-50 per cent of the entire budget in recent years, and where since October 7, 1958, a military dictatorship has been imposed, abrogating Pakistan's Constitution, dismissing the Central and State Governments, dissolving the National Parliament and State Assemblies, abolishing all political parties and placing the whole country under martial law. The House of Representatives of the Philippine Legislature in a resolution adopted on April 13, 1956, demanded a revision of the American-Philippine economic and military agreements. This strikingly revealed the growing desire of the Philippines to pursue its own foreign policy free from American diktat.

IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY

The worst effect of the South-East Asia

45. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Collective Defence Treaty and similar other treaties is that with their narrow ideals they prevent the normal growth of the United Nations towards a universal ideal which recognises the cultural, political and economic unity of the world as a whole, a world which in the 20th century has been reduced by modern science to the dimensions of a small city of ancient times. The South-East Asia Collective Defence and other similar Treaties lessen the pace of the human race towards its inevitable destiny—a Democratic, Socialist and Federal World State, which looks like an L.C.M. of the ideals pursued in the different States of the world today.⁴⁶

More than four centuries ago during the period from September, 1519 to September, 1522, the first voyage round the world was completed by sailors led by Magellan, Del Cano etc. The geographical unity of the world was thus discovered for the first time in history. But the economic, political and cultural unity of the world has yet to be discovered. The task might well be taken up by the leaders of thought in South-East Asia, where all the religions and civilizations have met. It may not be "without significance that no part of South-East Asia finds a place in Toynbee's list of 21 major civilizations."⁴⁷ Here in the course of centuries all fertilizing cultures of the different parts of the world have met, perhaps to build in our times a civilization which is truly human. In building this human civilization, South-East

Asia will have done a great service to the whole humanity by exercising in our times what may be called a casting vote in the most significant tie among lesser civilizations in the whole history of mankind.

But for this it is not enough that there be only an Asian Conference in Delhi in 1947, or an Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955. There must be, supplementing all, also, a series of world-wide people's conferences for understanding not only the Nehru-Chou Principles of Panch Sheela for international conduct, first announced in April, 1954, but also the Buddha's Panch Sheela for "inter-individual" conduct announced more than 25 centuries ago and since confirmed by all sages in all countries. The problem for three or four centuries has been Western supremacy over many parts of the world, not always through moral superiority, but often through hatred, violence, greed, falsehood, pride and disunity armed with the devilish powers of modern science in the sphere of technology, economics and military affairs. But with the independence of Asian and African countries during and after the World War II and with the rapid disappearance of the technological, economic and military differential between the white man of Europe and America and the coloured man of Africa and Asia, the problem may well be of the East meeting the West on terms of equality and, finally of One World. In this respect we are, perhaps, assisting at one of the final rounds in the great relay race of history lasting for more than fifty centuries.*

46. My paper on "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October, 1949.

47. *India Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, April-June, 1957, p. 106.

* A paper accepted for discussion at the 21st session of the Indian Political Science Conference Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, from December 27 to 1958, under the auspices of the Vikram University.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

TRAVELS IN AND DIARIES OF INDIA AND BURMA: By I. P. Minayeff. Published by Eastern Trading Co., 64A, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta. 1958. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 14.

In the middle seventies and the eighties of the last century three successive journeys were made to India and neighbouring lands by the foremost Russian Orientalist of his generation, Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff. While the records of the first and the longest journey (1871-75) were published by this scholar in his well-written work, *Sketches of Ceylon and India: From the Travel Notes of a Russian* (St. Petersburg, 1878), those of his second and third journeys (1880 and 1885-86) lay buried for a long time in manuscript in the archives of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. The edition of these precious manuscripts was seriously taken in hand by the Russian scholar A. P. Barannikoff in 1950 on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of the birth and 60th anniversary of the death of Minayeff. Interrupted by the premature death of Barannikoff they have since been published with the addition of explanatory notes and a few illustrations (including those prepared by the great Russian painter V. Vereshchagin) by the labours of Barannikoffs colleagues at the Institute. The present translation made directly from the original Russian by a band of three Bengali scholars (Hirendranath Sanyal, Sunil Bhattacharya, and Sailesh Chandra Sen Gupta) does credit to their command of both the languages, while it is remarkably free from printing mistakes.

The diaries reveal an extraordinary range of interest of the great Russian traveller. It was but natural that he should take keen and intelligent interest in the architectural monuments of Ancient and Medieval India (including above all the wonderful cave-structures of

Western India and the Mughal palaces of Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri) and still more in the manuscript-libraries of India and Burma. It was equally to be expected that he should contact the schools, colleges and universities and other learned institutions as well as the leading Sanskrit scholars in India and Pali scholars in Burma. Equally welcome are his informative notes on the lives of the students with minute sketches of their residences, their studies and their monthly expenses and so forth, as well as his impressions of Brahmanical religious *kirtans* and Jaina religious sermons, the Holi festival and marriage processions which came within his experience. We have likewise very interesting stories of his discourses with a large number of high British officials, with a few ruling princes and their ministers and with the middle-class intelligentsia. In these are reflected the supercilious pride and arrogance of the ruling-class towards the indigenous population, the senseless imitation of English manners by high and low alike and the widespread though as yet ineffective discontent of the people due to causes like the recent costly Afghan War, the heavy burden of taxation on the peasantry, the tax on salt and the iniquitous press-laws.

The author's criticism of the trend of British policy in India as well as in Burma is trenchant but not undeserved. Speaking of the training at the Princes' College at Ajmer he says, "Captains and Majors, Residents and Agents, people for the most part not blessed with brilliant education and not infrequently even completely indifferent to education take upon themselves the task of education of the young rulers. . . . The teachers engraft unbelief in the minds of their wards and corrupt them so that they look upon their motherland with contempt. They take pride in their skill for training the young prince-apes" (p. 91). Referring to the so-called civilizing effects of British rule upon the people he writes, "For

whom are all those fancies of Western Civilization in the East necessary? The answer is quite clear: all this is necessary for the ruling foreigner" (p. 106). Writing in a more eloquent vein about the probable effects of British conquest of Upper Burma he observes, "The friends of humanity will of course be glad that this will open up a new and wide field of activities for the Western Civilization. . . . But those same friends of humanity should ask themselves: Would this progress in which they are rejoicing really accomplish their object? . . . All this shall not make the conquered better and happier and shall not rouse in them intellectual productivity. . . . And ultimately all the innovations will prove to be of advantage to the minority of the incoming rulers" (114-115). Equally severe and almost as well-merited is the author's criticism of the shallow patriotism of the contemporary Indian political reformers. "In India," he says (p. 106), "there is actually a weak minority trained in British political ideas, who have learnt to repeat aphorisms taken from English books word for word, but it is doubtful whether this same minority would support legislative measures calculated to change any religious or social customs." By contrast a certain falling-off in the author's unusually high standard of justice between peoples is noticeable in the following assessment of Russian expansion of Central Asia. "They (the British) can explain and understand this only as a threat to India. They cannot understand that this overflow of Russian might into the sands of barren steppes is an evidence of sincere service to the cause of humanity" (p. 112).

We cannot conclude this review without wishing the present work a wide circulation among the reading public in our country.

U. N. GHOSHAL

KASHMIR PRINCESS: By A. S. Karnik. Jaico Publishing House. Price not mentioned.

On the 11th April 1955, the *Kashmir Princess* of the Air India International crashed into the South China Sea near Sarawak. It is not, according to India's Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon, an ordinary plane disaster but an international crime, deliberately planned and executed. She was due to carry Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai and a Chinese Delegation to the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations to work out ways and means for peace and progress. Mr. Chou En-lai happily was not one of the passengers. On the 13th April, *Reuter* foisted on the

Ground Engineer, the author of the book under review and one of the three survivors the responsibility of saying that the plane crashed because of fire in the hydraulic system in the port. Mr. Karnik stoutly denied having said this at any time. American papers like *Time*, and *American News Agency Report* sought to pass it over as a common accident and no sabotage. After a long, painstaking enquiry the British Colonial Office reported in January, '56 that a Hongkong Airport employee sabotaged the plane and escaped to Formosa and the Kuomintang authorities refused to hand him over for trials.

The author gives us a moving description of the eight agonising hours they were in the water escaping—providentially unaware of—the clutches of sharks and barracudas with which the South China Sea abounds. He writes a racy, vigorous style and it keeps the mind absorbed and at times sends a shiver down the spine.

JOGES C. BOSE

THE NEW ECONOMY OF CHINA: *Factual Account, Analysis and Interpretation.* By Gyan Chand. Vora & Co. Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay-2. April 1958. Pp. xiv, 429. Price Rs. 16.

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF CHINA: By Dr. A. N. Agarwala M.A., D.Litt. Kitab Mahal. 1958. Pp. viii, 118. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Gyan Chand's work provides the first coherent and objective description of the leading aspects of the new economy of China and would be welcomed by all students of Chinese affairs. Dr. Gyan Chand's wide background of academic and administrative experience combined with a sane outlook on the process of economic development in general, and Chinese developments in particular, lends the book a rare depth. It would easily remain the standard work of reference on the Chinese economy of the period between 1949 and 1955. The only criticism about the book is that there is no bibliography (a fact accounted for perhaps by the fact that the material for the book was collected by the author mostly from direct observation and contact during his six months' stay in China), the index is an indifferent one and there is occasional looseness in describing the official position of Chinese leaders (Liu Shao-chi is Chairman of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress and not a Vice-Chairman of the Government as has been stated on p. 75). The use, in part, of paper of inferior quality in such

costly book does not speak very highly of the publishers.

Dr. Agarwala's book hardly bears any comparison with Dr. Gyan Chand's either in volume, content and quality. This is the pedestrian sort of work on China (written mostly by avowed "friends" of China) which reads one neither here nor there and is so tiresome. It really passes beyond one's comprehension why anybody, who has the temerity to write in 1958, that "China has not expropriated national bourgeoisie" when there is perhaps not even a single bourgeoisie left to be expropriated, should attempt writing on Chinese Government and politics—even if he be a leading university professor. It is questionable how far this book is going to promote Indian understanding of China; there is, however, little doubt that it would show the author, who is one of the leading authorities on economics, in a very poor light.

SUBASH CHANDRA SARKER

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

BHASA [*Indian Men of Letters Series*]: A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. Published by Ramaswamy Sastri & Sons, 292, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Road, Madras-1. 1957. Price Rs. 5/- or 7sh.

We are glad that a 'second, revised and enlarged edition' has been issued on Ayyar's interesting work on the great old Sanskrit dramatist Bhasa. "There has been", we are told by the learned author, "a persistent call for a second edition from friends in India and abroad, and especially from the rising dramatists of the Indian Republic from all the four national languages of the Union." This is encouraging not only to the writer of the book but to all Indologists who have to murmur against the apathetic attitude of the general reader who takes little interest in old Indian culture and literature. There is no indication of the nature and extent of revision undertaken for the second edition. No notice appears to have been taken of the points raised by us in our review of the first edition in these pages (January 1943). Of course new materials have been added here and there. A long extract, for example, has been reproduced from Justice Ramannar's article on ancient Indian stage in the chapter on Bhasa's stage which is based on the above-mentioned article and really gives an account of the stage as described by Bharata. Its date and relation to Bhasa are not definitely known.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

* KESHAB CHANDRA SEN: *By Joges Chandra Bagal, Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1/- Pages 128.*

This is the 97th publication of the Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad giving in short the life and work of one of the noblest sons of Bengal, nay India. Keshab Chandra Sen, (1838-1884) was a born genius and his contributions for the uplift of his countrymen were immense. Very early in life he came in contact with Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore father of poet Rabindra Nath, who loved him as his son and placed him in important position in the Brahmo Samaj of which Maharshi was the head. Keshab had to part with Maharshi's company afterwards for fundamental differences with him but Maharshi had always a soft corner of his heart for him in spite of disagreement. Keshab Chandra travelled all over India—North and South for several times for preaching religion and Indian unity. In this respect he was a forerunner of Surendra Nath Banerjee, Father of Indian Nationalism. He was a powerful speaker and his speeches inspired the youth into action. He was a journalist and a powerful writer. He introduced once-pice newspaper (*Sulav-Samachar*) for the first time. He was a great social reformer. He went to England in 1870 and his lectures there roused the interest of Englishmen at home on Indian questions. It was in England that he got acquainted with great men like Prof. Max-Muller, John Stuart Mill and Gladstone. Queen Victoria received him very kindly and enquired about conditions in India. Keshab Chandra was no less an educationist. The Victoria Institution for women stands as a monument of his educational activities. Above all he was an architect and builder of Indian nationality. He never thought in terms of a province or part of the country—to him India was one and indivisible. This he practised and preached and most of the leaders of the later nineteenth century of Bengal and India got inspiration from him.

Several biographies have been written on the life of Keshab Chandra Sen, but the present one is very nicely written by one who has made a special study of the history of the nineteenth century Bengal. Against the background of contemporary history, the life of Keshab Chandra has been depicted in broad relief to draw the attention of the present generation one hundred years back, when our country was

struggling ahead to come to its own. It will be a national misfortune if the sacrifices, struggles and contributions for freedom and emancipation of our predecessors are ignored and forgotten. The life of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen deserves a very wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

THAKKARBAPA: By Kantilal Shah. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xv + 455. Price Rs. 5/-.

Dr. Rajendra Prosad in his introduction tells us that Thakkarbapa with rare exceptions always travelled third even in his advanced old age. An engineer in lucrative post he threw up the job to join the Servants of India Society. His was thus the life of a poor man by choice for the service of the poor. He worked among the Bheels. That seminal work of his led others in other parts of India to take up Adivasi-Seva. Amritlal Thakkar lovingly called Bapa was, however, best known as a Harijan-Sevak. The author depicts the life-story of such a true servant of the poor and the despised. He could exclude much to make

room for much else for which as the publishers say room could not be found.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

GUJARATI

AMBAR CHARKHA: Edited by Vishnu-das Maganlal Kothari. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14. 1957. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 1-8.

A collection of papers, written by various specialists, constitutes the present volume. We begin with an article on 'Khadi and Village Industries and Their Political Importance,' 'Why Decentralization of Industries?' 'From Hind Swaraj to Ambar,' 'Mills versus Ambar,' etc. Then it proceeds to technicalities—the plans and criticisms of different committees, the names and meanings of different parts of Ambar Charkha, the schemes of improvement, the measurements and prices of different parts, the mathematical side of it, connected problems and their solutions. There are certain appendices to complete the work—training for workers, sheds for Ambar Charkha, etc., etc.

A valuable handbook for those who are practically interested in Ambar Charkha in particular and cottage or rural industries in general.

P. R. SEN

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Indian Periodicals

Our Cultural Crisis

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. Sita Ram Jayaswal observes :

Someone has defined culture very simply : "Culture is what is left over after you have forgotten all you definitely set out to learn." Culture is the essence of our learning and education. It is no use discussing the many definitions. But I should like to state one more definition of culture, that which appeals to me most. According to this definition, culture is the style of social living. In every society, a style of social life is developed which is cherished by the people and regarded as "a significant human achievement, the core of which is the goal values which people seek to attain as defined in their religion and arts, and which have been translated into symbols and institutions, rituals, relationships, tools and techniques and their social order."

✓ In other words, broadly stated, there are two major aspects of culture. One is material and the other is abstract. Some students of culture state that one aspect of culture is related to techniques and the other pertains to values. Inter-action between techniques and values leads to the development or degeneration of culture, as the case may be. If either of the two dominates, equilibrium is lost and cultural crisis results.

Our cultural crisis today is indicative of the dominance of techniques over values. While we have advanced in the realm of techniques of production, our values of life have not been strong enough to maintain the cultural homeostasis. What do we see around us ? In the world we find a great paradox. Atomic and hydrogen bombs devised by man are threatening our very existence. It is feared that there will be nothing left. For the first time in world history, we have discovered means to wipe out poverty, sickness and ignorance. We produce so much that no part of the world need remain hungry. We have the means to control diseases. We have the required techniques and tools to banish ignorance. And yet these enemies of humanity are still thriving ! Why ? Because

we do not rise to the occasion, because our values of life are not in tune with times. The signs of the times indicate a cultural crisis. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that a daily paper (*The Pioneer*), published from Lucknow, has a permanent column named "Signs of the Times." In this column are published facts which bring out how deep cultural crisis is.

This cultural crisis exists on all levels. The individual is a victim of fear and has lost his faith in himself. He doubts too much and has no ability to resolve his problems. Science suggests its own method of solving the problems of life. But this scientific method is more useful in matters which are static than in those which change from moment to moment. Human expressions are too dynamic to be examined by the scientific method. The reliance on the machine in the search for Truth is indicative of the depth of our cultural crisis. Man has lost faith in man and see what man has made of man !

On the family level the crisis is seen in the lack of harmony between members of the family. The institution of the joint family is disintegrating. It is not suggested that the joint family is perfect in all ways. Nothing is perfect except perfection, from one point of view. But what is important to remember is that industrialized countries, especially in the West, where the institution of the joint family does not exist, have brought about utter loneliness. The psychological support which is given in a joint family in times of stress and sorrow is missing in a single-family unit. If there is a conflict between husband and wife, there are no mediators at hand, with the result that life becomes unbearable for them and for their children, if any. It is gradually being realized that the individual in the group has better chances for sanity than when he is all alone. The development of group therapy and the psycho-drama is based on this hypothesis.

Our cultural crisis appears in all aspects of human relations. There is a crisis of character, in the words of Shri Patanjali Shastri.

The standards of education are falling. There is little reverence for elders. There is lack of all those qualities which are considered good for life. Some time ago, Prime Minister Nehru referred to this problem. He is deeply concerned with the general lowering of our cultural life. The Five-Year Plan, though good in its own way, suffers from lack of the proper personnel to work it. We have excellent schemes, but where are the people to carry them out? Even the economists are realizing the importance of what they call the "human factor" in economic development. "Investment in Man" is a new economic expression freely used now. It is high time that we got out of the cultural crisis, for, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said in his Convocation Address at the Allahabad University on November 13th, 1934, it is "so stupid and yet so serious in its consequences that civilization itself may be ruined. Mankind must be dragged out of this rut."

Economic Bond Uniting the Commonwealth

F. Cassell writes in *The Indian Review*:

The Commonwealth is not primarily an economic association but economic bonds play an important part in its cohesion. Those bonds are mostly loose and informal and the strongest of them are not the result of deliberate policy but have evolved quite naturally as the Commonwealth has developed.

The economic strength of the Commonwealth is not to be sought in preferential tariffs—though those are still important—or in foreign exchange controls. It lies rather in the resources, skill and initiative of members and the trading, financial and personal relationships to which these have given rise.

A Commonwealth whose frontiers stretch from the northernmost tip of Canada to Antarctica, and from Hong Kong and Sydney to Vancouver and the Falkland Isles embraces almost all geographic and climatic conditions.

This variety has made the Commonwealth the major source of many of the world's most important primary commodities. It supplies more than half the free world's wool, jute, sisal, cocoa, tea, pepper, barley, asbestos, manganese, platinum and gold, and more than a third of its tin, chrome, rice, groundnuts, copra and natural rubber.

It is also an important producer of aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, silver, wheat, sugar, diamonds, wood pulp and vegetable oils. Even more important, the Commonwealth is particularly richly endowed with the new minerals such as uranium, zirconium and titanium which will be consumed in increasing quantities as the nuclear and electronic age develops. If the Paley Commission's forecasts of the United States' growing dependence on imported raw materials prove correct, the Commonwealth should become, in the future, an even more important source of the world's raw materials.

This natural wealth, however, is no more than the foundation of the Commonwealth's prosperity. Capital and enterprise are needed if that wealth is to be exploited.

It is here, perhaps, that the Commonwealth partnership—and the imperial relations before it—has made its greatest contribution. The Commonwealth has meant stable government, and the confidence this inspired encouraged the free flow of capital and labour between members, and, in recent years, attracted much capital from outside countries.

The United Kingdom remains the commercial and financial hub of the Commonwealth and the pattern of trade is still very broad.

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the exchange of United Kingdom manufactures against the primary products of other members.

This pattern is gradually changing as more and more Commonwealth countries build up their industries and the process is causing some difficulties, as for instance in the Lancashire cotton industry, because the United Kingdom puts no tariff or other obstacles in the way of Commonwealth imports. But the general complementary nature of Commonwealth trade remains.

The "sterling" Commonwealth—that is virtually the entire Commonwealth except Canada—provides one vast market of some 640,000,000 consumers in which there are no currency barriers to trade.

But the Commonwealth is not a closed system: rather more than half its trade is done with outside countries.

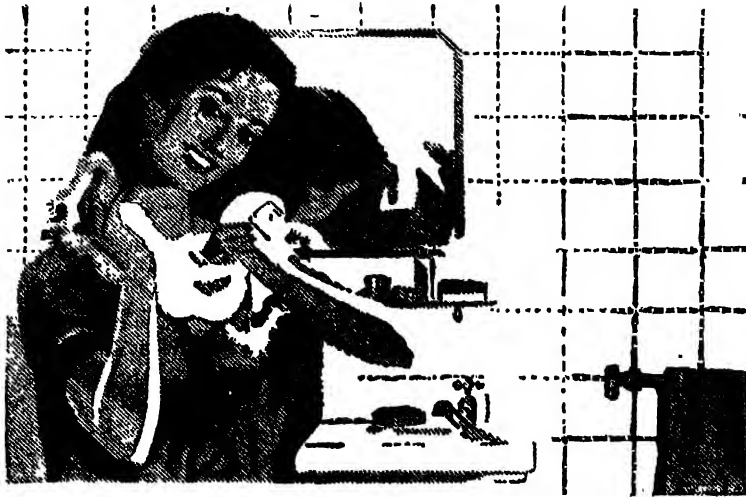
The strength of the Commonwealth, however, is something greater than the mere addition of its resources and trade. The partnership itself contributes to that strength notably by sterling members pooling their hard currency earnings and by oversea sterling members holding most of their reserve in the form

balances in London, to be run up or down according to their balance of payments needs.

In the days of soaring commodity prices which followed the outbreak of the Korean war, oversea sterling countries allowed much of their increased earnings to accumulate in London and thus considerably eased the pressure which Britain's higher import bill might otherwise have put upon the pound.

In the past year, when commodity prices have been falling, these countries have been able partially to offset the reduction in their export earning by drawing on their balances in London, and their drawings have in effect been financed by the bigger balance of payments surplus which lower import prices have given Britain.

This complex system of Commonwealth trade and payments has grown up unplanned and unco-ordinated by any central body. The system is not perfect; at times, since World War II, it has shown serious signs of strain, but it still affords members an important element of stability which, with prudent administration, should enable them to avoid the extremities of inflation and deflation.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Impressions of the Russian Orthodox Church

In course of an article in *the International Review of Missions*, October, 1958, Mathew Shaw writes :

Early this summer, I was a member of a party of Anglican Religious who spent a fortnight in Russia as the guests of the Patriarchate. We were looked after with every imaginable courtesy and were everywhere impressed by the freedom with which our hosts conversed with us. There was none of the sense of constraint that we had feared.

We visited monasteries and convents and theological seminaries in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and Leningrad. We also saw many parish churches and took part in several of their services. In Moscow we called on the President of the Baptist Union.

Our primary purpose was to learn what we could of the revival of the monastic life for men and women. One monk told us that about half the monks who had left Russia in the early days of the Communist Revolution had since returned.

We learned that there are now, in all, five thousand monks and nuns in the Orthodox Church. There are about seventy monasteries and convents. This growth in numbers is the more important to the Russian Church in view of the Orthodox rule that bishops must always be monks.

Everyone who comes back from Russia says that the churches are crowded and that the congregations mostly consist of old women. We have been asked if we agree with these reports. There is no doubt that the former is correct. On weekdays as well as Sundays, in the early mornings as well as in the evenings, services that we attended in parish churches were crowded. But the proportions of young to old and of women to men are not so disparate as is commonly said. Young men and women are certainly to be seen in reasonable numbers ; and since most women wear headscarves in church, they tend to look older than they really are. People are much more demonstrative in their devotion than they are in England. Frequently in the course of a service there would be a long queue of men and women—some of them most unlikely-

looking types—waiting to kiss the priest's hand and to receive his blessing.

English visitors might be surprised to find that there are no collections at Orthodox services. In fact, the custom is that all practising Christians buy and burn votive candles, and the Church's financial support comes largely from the sale of these candles. During public services the pricket stands are constantly manned by attendants who replace burned-out candles by new ones from a container into which worshippers put the candles they have bought. Sometimes offerings of money can be seen being passed from hand to hand over the heads of the congregation from those who are unable to get through the press to the front of the church. We were told that church membership is calculated partly on the basis of sales of candles, and that by this means it is reckoned that there are between twenty and thirty million practising members of the Orthodox Church in Russia. (There are about seven million members of the Communist party in the country.)

We acquired some of our most interesting information from our visits to Orthodox seminaries. There are eight of these, and selected students go on from them, at the end of their four-year course of studies to one of the two academies where they do a further four years of study of a more advanced character. There seems to be no shortage of candidates for the ministry, and the church leaders express themselves well-satisfied with the standard of their students.

It is inevitable that the question that everyone asks me is, 'What about the State ?' And this is much the hardest of all the questions. Naturally we kept our eyes open ; but in view of the history of the last forty years we felt that our own enquiries had to be delicate and tactful. I am unwilling to indulge in speculation. Let me confine myself to one fact. We learned that in every province there is an official appointed by the Ministry for Church Affairs. We met two of these men ; they were extremely pleasant. Our hosts described them to us as put there to help in material things. If for example, the nuns at a particular con-

vent want some new machinery, they ask the bishop; he tells the State official, who thereupon sets about procuring it. One can readily understand the advantage of having such help in a bureaucratic society. We saw many signs of what seemed to be effective co-operation between Church and State. Nearly all the churches and monasteries we visited have been recently restored and redecorated. No doubt the Church is hemmed about with restrictions, but she is working vigorously if unobtrusively. Of that I have no doubt.

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Ghana

The following talk by Mr. Edward O. Asafu-Adfaye, High Commissioner for Ghana in the United Kingdom has been published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, October, 1958:

Until 6th March last year Ghana was known as the Gold Coast, a name which recalled the handsome returns which merchant adventurers derived from the country. There is evidence that the Gold Coast was known to the Phoenicians; certainly the country was

known to European navigators in the fourteenth century. It was not, however, until 1482 that the Portuguese began the first permanent European settlement on the coast. The Portuguese were followed to the country by the Danes, the Dutch, the Swiss, the French, and the Brandenburgers. The main interest of these foreigners was trade.

In the initial stages the method was very simple. Fanciful objects would be left on the coast by the European merchant adventurers, who would then retire to their boats. Quantities of gold dust would then be placed beside these fancy goods by interested Africans, who would then retire. The European merchants would then return and remove the gold dust if they found the amount acceptable as fair exchange for their goods. When the merchant adventurers had left, the African traders would go back to the scene and remove the goods left as exchange for their gold. Soon this interesting trade was superseded by the slave trade, and the country entered what was perhaps the darkest period of her history, when millions of her sons and daughters were ferried across the seas under great humiliation and suffering.



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to distant lands. The abolition of the slave trade and the return to legitimate trade saw rapid progress in the country. Today Ghana exports no less than £74 million worth of goods, consisting mainly of cocoa, gold, timber, diamonds and bauxite. These exports enable us to earn sufficient foreign currency to buy some of the daily necessities of a reasonably decent life and also to provide the capital goods needed for our development plans.

To carry out to a successful conclusion such an ambitious programme, a stable and progressive government is an absolute necessity. In the colonial days, generally, the Colonial Office-appointed Governor ruled with or without the advice of Legislative and Executive Councils composed mainly of British administrative officials. Today the Government is similar to that of Britain, except that we have no Upper House in the Ghana Parliament. Dr. Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party controls 72 out of the 104 seats in Parliament, and there is no danger of a fall of government every month!

And what does consolidation of Independence mean? It means the realization of, and the determination to provide for, our shortcomings and needs, without which our independence would be only in name and not a reality. For example, democracy and a full life are extremely difficult in a country with much illiteracy. Thus, to maintain our independent and democratic government, priority must be given to education. Realizing this, the Ghana Government is spending over £7 million on education in the current financial year.

The foundation for a sound educational system has been laid by missionaries and the colonial government, and a great impetus was given to educational expansion by the national Government in 1951. Higher education is not being neglected: Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, can boast of a fine College of Arts and Technology, while Accra, the capital, has fine University College where, by the co-operation of the University of London, internal degrees of that University are awarded.

Sound minds must be in sound bodies,

and so the eradication of disease and the improvement of the health of the people are receiving great attention. Today malaria is under reasonable control in the large towns, and the larger hospitals have the services of a fair number of African as well as foreign specialists. In the villages, dispensaries and health centres form important links in the plan for the control and cure of diseases.

In our determination to build a modern state, we are not forgetting our past. After all, we chose the ancient name of Ghana for our free country to remind us of our links with the past. When the Ghana Empire which flourished in the Western Sudan over a thousand years ago fell to the warriors of Islam, some of the Ghanaians fled southwards and are believed to have settled in what was until recently known as the Gold Coast. And so, when we became independent, we adopted the ancient name of Ghana as a link with the past and an inspiration for the future. The name Ghana is, therefore, the formal expression of our belief that we must take the good of the past and blend it with what we believe to be good and true in the culture of the civilization we are now embracing. Thus, active steps have been taken to encourage the survival of our fine traditions; these are as varied as the many languages of the four and a half million people of Ghana. Each tribe has its own forms and customs, but there is one institution which is common to all—Chieftaincy, and the ceremonial associated with it. This institution is fundamental to the traditional way of our popular Government, and it is the declared intention of both the Government and the Opposition to maintain the institution of Chieftaincy in a progressive form. Other expressions of our traditions and culture like drumming and dancing, carving and weaving, are actively encouraged. In this way we hope that, in our forward march, old and new may be merged together to produce a deep and satisfying harmony which may not only be the expression of the African personality, but also of the African contribution to modern civilization.

